

CULTS AND RELIGIOUS INTEGRATION IN THE ROMAN CITIES OF THE DRAVA
VALLEY (SOUTHERN PANNONIA)

BY

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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Blanka Mišić, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own.

Signed: _____

Dated: _____

For my dearest parents.

ABSTRACT

This work is a detailed examination of pagan cults and deities in three settlements along the Pannonian section of the Drava river (Aquae Iasae – modern Varaždinske Toplice; Iovia-Botivo – modern Ludbreg; and Mursa – modern Osijek) situated within the present-day territory of Croatia. The evidence examined consists primarily of inscribed votive dedications in stone, dating from the Roman conquest of Pannonia to the late third century A.D. Evidence is examined within the theoretical framework of cultural change, taking into account recent theoretical developments in the concepts of “Romanisation”, acculturation, identity-expression and syncretisation in order to determine the extent of cultural and religious integration along the Drava. A thorough examination of evidence reveals the emergence of differing and flexible religious identities specific to each settlement although united by the larger prevailing trend of nature-divinity worship. Our Drava evidence also reveals that economic, social, political and geographic factors all produced an impact on the process and extent of cultural and religious integration, thus helping to form local, regional, provincial and imperial expressions of identity(ies).

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS.....	07
2. LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	08
3. INTRODUCTION.....	10
4. CHAPTER I: THEORIES OF “ROMANISATION”, ACCULTURATION AND <i>INTERPRETATIO ROMANA</i> : CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS INTEGRATION IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE.....	12
5. CHAPTER II: AQUAE IASAE (VARAŽDINSKE TOPLICE, CROATIA).....	52
6. CHAPTER III: IOVIA-BOTIVO (LUDBREG, CROATIA).....	116
7. CHAPTER IV: MURSA (OSIJEK, CROATIA).....	137
8. CHAPTER V: CONCLUSIONS.....	234
9. CATALOGUE OF MITHRAIC RELIEFS FROM MURSA.....	238
10. CATALOGUE OF JUPITER OPTIMUS MAXIMUS DEDICATIONS FROM MURSA.....	240
11. BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	248
SUPPLEMENTS.....	284
I. RELIGION AND CULTS AT POETOVIO (PTUJ, SLOVENIA).....	285
II. CATALOGUE OF MITHRAIC DEDICATIONS FROM POETOVIO: FIRST MITHRAEUM.....	397
III. CATALOGUE OF MITHRAIC DEDICATIONS FROM POETOVIO: SECOND MITHRAEUM.....	402
IV. CATALOGUE OF MITHRAIC DEDICATIONS FROM POETOVIO: THIRD MITHRAEUM.....	410

V.	CATALOGUE OF MITHRAIC DEDICATIONS FROM POETOVIO: FOURTH MITHRAEUM.....	418
VI.	CATALOGUE OF NUTRICES DEDICATIONS FROM POETOVIO: SPODNJA HAJDINA SANCTUARY.....	421
VII.	CATALOGUE OF NUTRICES DEDICATIONS FROM POETOVIO: ZGORNJI BREG SANCTUARY.....	430
VIII.	CATALOGUE OF NUTRICES DEDICATIONS FROM POETOVIO: PANORAMA SANCTUARY.....	433
IX.	CATALOGUE OF ISIS AND SERAPIS DEDICATIONS FROM POETOVIO.....	442
X.	CATALOGUE OF JUPITER OPTIMUS MAXIMUS DEDICATIONS FROM POETOVIO.....	447
XI.	CATALOGUE OF JUPITER DEPULSOR DEDICATIONS FROM POETOVIO.....	459
XII.	CATALOGUE OF I.O.M.D. DEDICATIONS FROM POETOVIO.....	463
XIII.	BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	467

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

1. MAP OF THE PROVINCE OF PANNONIA.....	51
2. MAP OF THE IASI TERRITORY.....	114
3. PLAN OF AQUAE IASAE <i>THERMAE</i> AND FORUM.....	115
4. SILVANUS ALTAR FIG.1.....	134
5. SILVANUS ALTAR FIG.2.....	134
6. SILVANUS ALTAR FIG.3.....	135
7. IOVIA-BOTIVO CITY MAP.....	136
8. EGYPTIAN STELE OF OSIRIS, ISIS, NEPHTYS AND RE.....	210

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIJ – Hoffiller, V. and Saria, B. *Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslawien. 1: Noricum und Pannonia Superior*. Zagreb, 1938.

AE – *L'Année Épigraphique*. Paris, 1888-

CAG – *Carte archéologique de la Gaule 66 : Les Pyrénées-Orientales*. Paris, 2007.

CBI - Schallmayer, E., Eibl, K., Ott, J., Preuss, G., and Wittkopf, E. *Der römische Weihebezirk von Osterburken I: Corpus der griechischen und lateinischen Beneficiärer-Inschriften des Römischen Reiches*. Stuttgart, 1990.

CCID – Hörig, M. and Schwertheim, E. *Corpus Cultus Iovis Dolicheni (CCID)*. Leiden, 1987.

Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum Pannonicarum - Kovács, P. *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum Pannonicarum (CIGP)*. Budapest, 2007.

CIJ – *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum*. Rome, 1936-1952.

CIL – *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*

CILA - *Corpus de Inscripciones Latinas de Andalucia*

HEp – *Hispania Epigraphica*. Madrid, 1989-

HILD – Hild, F. *Supplementum epigraphicum zu CIL III: das pannonische Niederösterreich. Burgenland und Wien, 1902-1968; Wien, 1968*.

ICUR - *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae. Nova series*. Rome, 1922-

IDR – *Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae*. Bukarest, 1975-

ILJug – *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia repertae et editae sunt*. Ljubljana, 1963-1986.

ILS – Dessau, H. *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*. Berlin, 1892-1916.

OPEL – Lőrincz, B. *Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum* (OPEL). Wien, 1994-2002.

PIR – *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*. Berlin, 1897-

RHP - Lőrincz, B. *Die römischen Hilfstruppen in Pannonien während der Prinzipatszeit. I: Die Inschriften*. Wien, 2001.

RIB – Collingwood, R.G. *et al. The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*. Oxford, 1990-

RIU - *Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns*. Budapest, 1972-

ThesCRA – *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum*. Los Angeles, 2005.

TitAq – Kovács, P. and Szabó, Á. *Tituli Aquincenses*. Budapest, 2009-

INTRODUCTION

Over the last few years there has been a rising interest in the topic of cultural change in the Roman Empire, spurred perhaps by our own experiences of living in an ever-globalising world. Several of the more recent publications have attempted to reconcile modern theoretical concepts of cultural change with evidence of religious worship encountered in different provinces of the Empire. Such studies have been conducted most prominently for the provinces of Britain, Gaul, Spain and Egypt, and yet no substantial piece of work on this subject has come to light concerning the province of Pannonia, and especially southern Pannonia and the Drava valley.¹ The present study provides an in-depth analysis of epigraphic dedications to pagan deities in three settlements along the Pannonian section of the Drava river belonging to the modern-day territory of Croatia: Aquae Iasae (Varaždinske Toplice), Iovia-Botivo (Ludbreg) and Mursa (Osijek). A supplement called “Religion and Cults at Poetovio” (with the accompanying catalogues) has been added to “round out” the Pannonian Drava evidence through comparisons and contrasts with our settlements, although this section does not form part of the thesis as Poetovio falls within the borders of modern-day Slovenia. Although Poetovio was originally planned to be included in our survey of the Pannonian Drava evidence, the sheer size of the religious epigraphic material encountered at Poetovio exceeded the word limitations of this thesis. Thus, the Poetovio evidence has been included separately for optional consultation.

By anchoring the votive evidence from our three settlements in recent theoretical advancements on cultural change, specifically with respect to theoretical concepts of acculturation developed in the discipline of Psychology which, to the present author’s knowledge, have not been applied previously to material evidence in the Roman Empire, it is the author’s aim to display the extent of cultural and religious integration as well as the integrative nature of cults and the versatility of religious identities in the Drava region. Conclusions will be drawn on how cultural, professional and social affiliations of the worshippers affect religious integration and the development of religious identities within each settlement.

¹ One recently-published (2012) collection of papers on southern Pannonia strives to put the archaeological evidence in a broader theoretical framework, although the issue of religion is not addressed. See: Migotti, B. (ed.). *The Archaeology of Roman Southern Pannonia. The State of Research and Selected Problems in the Croatian Part of the Roman Province of Pannonia*. BAR International Series 2393. Archaeopress, Oxford, 2012.

This study spans the period from the first century A.D. to the late third century A.D. Although the primary focus of this thesis will be on inscribed votive dedications in stone², an attempt will be made to include other forms of votive evidence such as relief representations and statuary where available, in order to give an accurate representation of religious identities along the Drava. The thesis is divided into five chapters. The first chapter provides a theoretical background for the study of cultural and religious change in the Roman Empire, with a special focus on the concepts of “Romanisation”, cultural integration, identity and syncretisation. These concepts are examined from the psychological perspective of acculturation in the hopes of providing a fresh outlook on the subject. The three subsequent chapters examine votive evidence on a city-by-city basis. Each of these chapters offers a brief historical introduction on the development of the settlement in the Roman period, followed by a detailed examination of votive evidence available, and finally, a concluding analysis and interpretation of this evidence in light of cultural and religious transformations experienced by each settlement. The concluding chapter provides a general overview of religious and cultural trends along the Drava, and the ways in which these trends affected local, regional and provincial religious identities.

² Inscribed votive dedications were deemed the best type of evidence for ascertaining individual religious preferences and identities, as they alone are able to give us an insight into the personality of our worshippers by preserving their “voices”, their wishes, and the nature of relationships that they entertained with the gods as well as with those on behalf of whom they entreated divine help.

CHAPTER I: THEORIES OF “ROMANISATION”, ACCULTURATION AND *INTERPRETATIO ROMANA*: CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS INTEGRATION IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

This chapter aims to provide a theoretical background to the study of cults in the cities along the Drava river, in the southern part of the Roman province of Pannonia. In order to determine how autochthonous and foreign (including Roman, Oriental, etc...) cults interacted in this region during the Imperial period, we must first examine the manner in which Roman culture and religion spread throughout the Empire, and how they were received by the native population: in other words, we need to examine different theories behind the concepts of “Romanisation”, acculturation and *interpretatio Romana*. This chapter will be divided into three parts:

1. A historiographic survey of the concept of “Romanisation” will be presented,³ and an attempt will be made to deconstruct the term and point to its inadequacies.
2. The theories of integration and acculturation will be presented as a more suitable replacement for the concept of “Romanisation”.
3. Finally, the concept of *interpretatio Romana* will be presented, and an attempt will be made to demonstrate how the theory of integration can be applied in a religious context.

Examining the theoretical approaches behind these concepts is necessary in order to ascertain in what ways the native culture and religion changed with the introduction of the Roman element, and how the co-existence of native and Roman gods was negotiated.

THEORIES OF “ROMANISATION”

The term “Romanisation”, coined to explain the way in which the Romans transferred their own culture onto provincial natives, was conceived of early in the twentieth century by a

³ The aim of this study is not to offer a new definition of “Romanisation”. As has been pointed out in previous scholarship, the idea of “Romanisation” is a subjective one, and in addition to being experienced differently by different individuals in different provinces of the Roman Empire, its definition also may vary from one scholar to the next. Woolf, A. (1998), p.119. The aim of this study is to demonstrate how the cultural and material change in the provinces of the Roman Empire can be explained in terms of the (psychological) theory of integration.

British scholar named Francis Haverfield.⁴ Although Haverfield coined the term, the idea of “Romanisation” dates back to the Renaissance.⁵ Francis Haverfield’s theory of “Romanisation” was most profoundly influenced by the work of Theodor Mommsen. In 1885 Mommsen published a study entitled *The Provinces of the Roman Empire*, which strove to display the homogeneity of the Roman Empire by focusing on common elements exhibited in western provinces.⁶ To support his study, Mommsen drew on literary as well as epigraphic evidence. As his successor and collaborator, Haverfield continued in the footsteps of Mommsen, furthering the idea of homogeneity by adding archaeological evidence to the literary and epigraphic.⁷

In his book, *The Romanization of Roman Britain*, Haverfield largely conceived of “Romanisation” as a one-way process: the Romans deliberately transferred their culture on to the natives in order to civilize them and thus keep control of their empire.⁸ This process of “Romanisation”, according to Haverfield, was achieved in two ways. First, by settling Roman veterans in newly conquered provinces, and establishing *coloniae*.⁹ Second, by inducing the natives themselves to participate in their own “Romanization” by offering them the prospect of Roman citizenship.¹⁰ In addition to these state-encouraged measures, “Romanisation” of the provinces was also encouraged by the free emigration of Italian middle class families and businessmen.¹¹ According to Haverfield, the main feature of the Romanising process was the

⁴ Haverfield (1923), p.11.

⁵ Freeman (1997), p.45.

⁶ Freeman (1997), p.31.

⁷ Freeman (1997), pp.43-44. Freeman argues that Haverfield’s background as an epigrapher and his following of Mommsen formed his homogenous idea of “Romanisation” (pp.43-44).

⁸ Haverfield believes that “The Roman government gave more or less direct encouragement” to the process of “Romanisation”. Haverfield (1912), p.13.

⁹ Haverfield, believes that *coloniae* in themselves “served as instruments of repression as well as of culture, at least in the first century of the Empire”. (Haverfield (1912), p.13). See also: Cicero, *Pro Fonteio*, 13.

¹⁰ Haverfield (1912), p.13.

¹¹ Haverfield (1912), pp.13-14.

homogeneity of material culture.¹² Haverfield writes that: “One uniform fashion spread from the Mediterranean throughout central and western Europe, driving out native art and substituting a conventionalized copy of Greco-Roman or Italian art...”¹³ Nevertheless, although “Romanisation” attempted to impose uniformity at least in the Roman west¹⁴, due to the fact that native political structure and economy was not the same everywhere, it took hold most successfully in urban areas and among the upper classes, and to a lesser extent, in the rural areas among the common people.¹⁵ Thus, as Haverfield puts it: “...it did not everywhere and at once destroy all traces of tribal and national sentiments or fashions”.¹⁶ In the rural areas, where Haverfield comes across persistent native elements, he brushes them off as “latent persistence” of the native ways of life.¹⁷ After all, Haverfield’s top-down approach, where the aristocracies are the first to become “Romanised” and lead by example, is logically consistent with his claim that rural areas are less “Romanised”: since the rural population is further away from urban areas and thus has less direct contact with the aristocracy, they are as well less exposed to Roman ways of life.

¹² “Romanization in general extinguished the distinction between Roman and provincial, alike in politics, in material culture, and in language”. Haverfield (1912), p.18. “Native elements succumbed almost wholesale to the conquering foreign influence”. Haverfield (1912), p.30.

¹³ Haverfield (1912), p.15. Haverfield recognized that there were regional differences in material culture, however, he believed that these had no great impact on the driving force of “Romanisation”. “The uniformity of this (Roman) civilization was crossed by local variations, but these do not contradict its Roman character”. Haverfield (1912), p.16.

¹⁴ According to Haverfield, the Roman east was much harder to “Romanize” than the Roman west: “Closely as Greek civilization resembled Roman, easy as the transition might seem from the one to the other, Rome met here that most serious of all obstacles to union, a race whose thoughts and affections and traditions had crystallized into definite coherent form. The Romanization of these lands was political. Their inhabitants ultimately learnt to call and to consider themselves Romans. But they did not adopt the Roman language or the Roman civilization.” Haverfield (1912), pp.11-12.

According to some scholars, the Italians who immigrated to the east tended to eventually acquire the local culture, rather than it being the other way around. “The impact of Roman culture and Latin language on these communities was understandably limited, and in the course of time the Italian element, proud and precious as it might have been, was absorbed into the local fabric.” Yegül (2000), p.133. See also: Price (1984), pp.88-89.

¹⁵ Haverfield (1912), p. 17 and p.59.

¹⁶ Haverfield (1923), pp.18-19; 21.

¹⁷ Haverfield (1923), pp.21-22.

There are several problems with Haverfield's theory. Firstly, Haverfield's view of "Romanisation" is extreme. To conceive of "Romanisation" as an all-powerful driving force is simplistic, but to claim that it is completely a one-sided process without any cultural exchange is completely false, as is attested by the tendency of the Romans to adopt and adapt native elements and vice-versa. Moreover, Haverfield's view of "Romanisation" as creating a uniform culture everywhere throughout the Empire is perhaps overly-enthusiastic. "Roman" culture in itself was a mosaic of several different cultures, most notably Greek and Etruscan. The same concept applies for natives who lived in particular provinces, such as Pannonia. Pannonia was composed of tribes whose origins were found in Illyrian, Pannonian, Celtic, Norican, Dacian and even Thracian cultures. Thus, the Pannonian natives would have adopted and adapted different aspects of those cultures, renegotiating individual and group identities according to various stimuli. Therefore, the combination of Illyrian/Pannonian/Celtic/Roman cultures in Pannonia may not result in the same type of "Romanisation" as that in Gaul or in Africa, due to the different backgrounds of the native peoples.¹⁸ Thus, Haverfield's view that "Romanisation" was creating a uniform culture everywhere throughout the empire is erroneous. Moreover, as Webster points out, Haverfield does not believe that the natives had a choice in adopting Roman culture.¹⁹ This view resulted in his "top-down" hypothesis, ignoring the possibility of "bottom-up" approach, native resistance or "creolisation".²⁰

Although Haverfield's views were widely accepted, they were not uncontested. During the 1930s, R.G. Collingwood put forward an interpretation of "Romanisation" as a fusion of native and Roman cultures.²¹ Although the book in which he advanced his thesis is concerned

¹⁸ Woolf states that: "The nature of the indigenous society also plays a part in determining the end-product of these changes, retarding or accelerating change, or in determining which areas of culture are most affected." Woolf (1998), p.15.

¹⁹ Webster (2001), p.215. Woolf believes that Haverfield's "top-down" approach is highly influenced by imperialistic views of the 19th and 20th centuries, where the simple native peoples are given the gift of a superior, more advanced culture. It must be pointed out that this view of culture is biased in claiming that one culture is inherently better than another, and has in recent times become an outmoded method of examining "Romanisation". Woolf (1998), p.5.

²⁰ Webster (2001), pp.215-216.

²¹ Collingwood believes that one cannot simply say that a distinct Roman and a distinct British culture coexisted in Roman Britain. He believes what we see instead is that the two cultures mixed, borrowing each others' elements. "What we have found is a mixture of Roman and Celtic elements. In a sense it might be said

mainly with Roman Britain, Collingwood recognized that Roman culture in Britain was not “pure”, but a combination of Celtic and Roman cultures, or as he terms it, Romano-British culture.²² Collingwood, however, could not escape Haverfield’s influence entirely. His interpretation of the spread of “Romanisation” resembled that of Haverfield.²³ Collingwood similarly maintained that urban areas were more “Romanised” than rural ones and that the spread of Roman culture started with the elite and disseminated further down the social ladder.²⁴

Even though Collingwood’s definition of “Romanisation” is much more advanced than Haverfield’s, nevertheless, certain objections to it can be made. Webster points out that Collingwood does not account for power relationships in his study of “Romanisation”: “...fusion processes cannot be studied in isolation from the consideration of power (that is, an acknowledgement of the fundamental inequalities of the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized).”²⁵ Webster’s examination of “creolisation”, as an alternative to “Romanisation” (see below), shows that fusion is “a balancing act, in which the complex relationship between power and identity is always to the fore”. This phenomenon is displayed in Creole communities as a negotiation between the adoption of certain elements of the colonizing culture versus the urge to maintain one’s already existing cultural identity.²⁶

that the civilization of Roman Britain is neither Roman nor British but Romano-British, a fusion of the two things into a single thing different from either”. Collingwood (1932), pp.91-92.

²² According to Collingwood, this Romano-British society was not homogenous. The extent of “Romanisation” was affected both by social class and by the urban/rural divisions. “The fact is rather that a scale of Romanization can be recognized. At one end of the scale come the upper classes of society and the towns; at the other end, the lower classes and the country. The British aristocracy were quick to adopt Roman fashions, but the Roman fashions which they adopted were rather those of Roman Gaul than those of Rome itself, so that their borrowings are already Romano-Celtic rather than Roman. But this Romano-Celtic civilization gradually becomes less Roman and more Celtic as we move from the largest towns and largest villas to the small towns, the small villas of humbler landowners, and lastly to the villages.” Collingwood (1932), pp.91-92.

²³ Collingwood maintains, like Haverfield, that Celtic art, pottery and portable material culture were the first to be replaced by Roman material culture. Collingwood (1932), p.88. He claims, however, that while material culture spread, Roman language and customs did not take hold widely. Collingwood (1932), pp.88-89.

²⁴ Collingwood (1932), p.92.

²⁵ Webster (2001), p.211.

²⁶ Webster (2001), p.212.

Haverfield's idea that "Romanisation" spread because the local elites adopted "Roman" culture and the local non-elite imitated the elite is far too simplistic. The reasons behind the adoption of Roman culture need to be viewed in a practical way. Once they saw their power structure threatened by the arrival of a foreign occupation, it would be logical to assume that the local elites embraced the foreign culture, in order to maintain their leading positions in society.²⁷ Thus, the elite adoption of a Roman way of life was practical – if they (the elites) were receptive to Roman rule and strove to work in unison with the Romans, they benefited by preserving their existing status and prestige, and gaining the prospect to move even further in Roman society. If, however, they were unreceptive, they risked losing their position. The situation with non-elites was likewise practical. While there may have been a certain desire to copy the elite, perhaps in terms of following fashion by adopting the Roman pottery which the elites were using, it seems more logical to see the adoption of Roman material culture as due to technological superiority rather than to fashion. Certain Roman goods must have been of better quality than what the natives already had, otherwise the incentive to adopt Roman material culture would not be as strong.²⁸ However, other things (such as armour and

²⁷ "...elites of the period, provincial, Italian and metropolitan alike, were especially interested in public display and self-representation of various kinds, shared a concern to define as well as assert their Roman identity, and were energetic in trying to use these changes to strengthen and entrench their social power." Woolf (2001b), p.175.

There is also reason to think that both the local elites and the Roman newcomers had reason to benefit from integrating. Writing about Roman veteran settlers in Asia Minor, Yegül states: "If their Italian background, citizenship, and military connections were valued as social and political assets, many might have been induced to marry the eligible daughters of the town's upper crust and thus be enfolded into the local aristocracy. Acceptance into the majority culture, too, would have been much to their advantage. Prominent local families might in turn have benefitted from such connections, which would have increased their chances to gain Roman citizenship." Yegül (2000), p.134.

²⁸ Freeman argues that the adoption of Roman material culture was due to practical concerns, such as technological superiority and not necessarily to one's wish to "become Roman". Freeman (1993), p.444. Also, the spread of urbanisation in the provinces of the western empire, for example, has been viewed by some as a means to disseminate Roman culture and ideology (see Whittaker, C. R. "Imperialism and culture: The Roman initiative" in Mattingly, D. (ed.). *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism*. JRA Suppl. 23, Portsmouth, Rhode Island, 1997, pp.143-163.). It must be kept in mind, however, as Woolf rightly points out, that this may not be the only explanation of the phenomenon, and that urbanisation may be due to much more practical concerns. "The street grids of Gallo-Roman and Romano-British cities underwent continual modifications in response to changing demands and needs." Woolf (2000), pp.122-123.

The appearance of Roman goods on the native markets also gave a greater variety of choice to the native consumer. There is a strong indication that even when they did adopt Roman goods, the natives adapted them according to their own uses and tastes. Woolf (2001b), p.179. See also: Fentress, E. (ed.). *Romanization and*

weaponry for example) were adopted by the Romans from the natives, showing that the Romans as well valued technological superiority.²⁹ Thus, it can be assumed that both populations wanted to be current with their times and not remain backward, that indeed they were willing to adopt aspects of each other's cultures in order to evolve. "Romanisation" must not be viewed then as only a "top-down" process, but also as a "bottom-up" one, pulling in both sides of the spectrum.

If Collingwood's interpretation of "Romanisation" was a step in the right direction, then the Nativist movement of the 1970s and 1980s was as extreme as Haverfield. Whilst Haverfield maintained Rome's cultural superiority, and its unstoppable success at civilizing the provincial natives at least in the western European provinces of the Roman empire, the Nativist movement espoused ideas of overt resistance to the dominance of Rome. Picking up on Haverfield's failure to explain why cities became "Romanised" faster than villages, and referring to Haverfield's remarks on the slow spread of the Latin language, and the Celtic revival towards the end of the empire³⁰, the Nativist scholars who wrote about the Roman west, and more particularly Roman Britain, such as Richard Reece and Colin Forcey, claimed that what we saw as "Romanisation" was only a veneer of Roman culture under which native life remained largely as it was before the arrival of the Romans.³¹ Thus, the natives put up pretences of Romanness while in the public sphere, but kept their original cultural identity largely unchanged.³² Another set of nativist scholars, concerned this time with Roman Africa, presented a different take on the theory of resistance. Responding directly to colonial

the City. JRA Suppl. 38, Portsmouth, R.I. 2000 for a study of how Roman and native elements were incorporated into architecture throughout the Empire. This integrationist approach paved the way for the development of provincial cultures.

²⁹ This is a very good example of the integration strategy which is discussed further below. I am indebted to Professor Boris Rankov for pointing out the Roman penchant for adopting native armor and weaponry.

³⁰ Haverfield (1923), pp.60-68.

³¹ Reece (1988), p.74; and Forcey (1997), p.17. Reece believes that in Roman Britain there was a native "British way, which most people in Britain followed before Romanization began, kept to while Romanization was in full flood, and which came back into fashion, or rather became the general way, when Romanization was no more than a symmetrical memory". Reece (1988), p.74.

³² Webster refers to this as "a tactical use of the symbols of *Romanitas* (which) took place in public, but behind closed doors, the majority of Britons declined to become Romans. (Thus) the Roman way was neither embraced nor resisted, but largely ignored". Webster (2001), p.212.

attitudes in much of western scholarship on Roman Africa³³, scholars such as Mohammed Benabou and Abdullah Laroui maintained that the Africans practised passive resistance in their dealings with Roman power.³⁴ Mohammed Benabou, in particular, was a fervent defender of the resistance theory.³⁵ His chief work was a book called “La résistance Africaine à la Romanisation”, published in 1976, in which he examines two primary areas of resistance to “Romanisation”: the religious and the military.³⁶ Basing himself on factors such as the survival of native languages and the adoption of African names upon the receipt of Roman citizenship, Benabou argues that Romano-Africans displayed passive resistance by emphasizing their African side over their Roman side. In addition, Benabou believes that passive resistance was also displayed through the Africanisation of Roman cults.³⁷ He examines the degree of Africanisation by measuring to what extent a Roman god displayed

³³ Western scholarship on Roman Africa is tainted by colonial attitudes of the 19th and 20th centuries. Native Africans were perceived as “barbarian” and “inferior”, and the Romans were praised for bringing the civilizing light to North Africa. See: Picard, G.C. *Les Religions de l’Afrique Romaine*. Paris, 1954, p.37; and Benoit, F. *L’Afrique méditerranéenne. Algérie-Tunisie-Maroc*. Paris, 1931, p.4. David Mattingly, analyzing the scholarship of the period, writes: “The writing of this period spoke almost invariably of Romans and Berbers as opposites, and even in subsequent scholarship the terms Romano-African or Romano-Libyan have been rarely used.” Mattingly (1996), p.52; and p.56. Mattingly points to the fact that this dichotomy not only denigrates the Africans by painting them as “other”, but also produces a segregating effect. Mattingly (1996), p.53. Interestingly, in stark contrast to how Africans were perceived in scholarship, the Gauls and the British are seen not as “inferior” but as active participants in the bettering of the empire. Mattingly (1996), p.56. These colonial attitudes prompted the response of nativist scholars such as Mohammed Benabou, who wished to transcend and weed through these colonial theories. Turcan, R. *Review of Benabou’s “La Résistance Africaine à la Romanisation”*. 1978, p.105.

³⁴ Mattingly (1996), p.57.

³⁵ Benabou believes that the Romans actively sought out the “Romanisation” of newly conquered peoples. Moreover, he also believes that the Romans practised, what he calls “romanisation sélective”, making sure to win over the ruling and wealthier classes of the native society first. Benabou (1978), p.87. This conscious effort at “Romanisation” could in fact be what prompted Benabou’s “passive resistance”.

³⁶ Benabou defines resistance, and in particular religious resistance, as: “...tout ce qui...s’écarte par quelque trait de la religion romaine officielle, et se rattache, d’une façon directe ou indirecte, à des traits connus de la religion africaine traditionnelle.” Benabou (1976), p.262. If we believe Benabou’s interpretation of resistance as anything that deviates from the strictly Roman, then his definition is both very broad and leaves much room to interpretation and criticism. Turcan justly points out that in this case, any attempt at integration of the two cultures (African and Roman) could be taken as a sign of resistance to the Roman culture. Turcan (1978), p.108. Thus, if Benabou’s claim is to stand, there would need to be (at least) two pure, unmixed cultures – the native and the strictly Roman. And as Turcan points out, closer examination of cults in Africa points to the fact that the two cultures did indeed mix. Turcan (1978), pp.106-108.

³⁷ Benabou (1976), p.331; and Mattingly (1996), p.58.

“native” symbols. However, as Robert Turcan points out in his review of Benabou’s book, such an examination risks of misleading the reader, due to the dubious nature of the evidence.³⁸

As with Haverfield, there are two main problems with this extremist view. Firstly, how does one account for the fusion of Roman and native elements found in art, religion etc.? If indeed, the natives kept to themselves, then instead of a mixed material culture, we would have two separate ones: one entirely Roman and one entirely native, without any, or very little, crossover elements. Secondly, it seems highly implausible that over time the two cultures would not have influenced each other. While it can be conceded that at first there may have been some resistance or indifference to “Romanisation”, over time two cultures which coexist will inevitably adopt and adapt each other’s features.

At the start of the 1990s, Millett offered an entirely different take on “Romanisation” from what previous scholars had thought. Whilst previously, scholars were mainly concerned with the way in which Rome fed down her own culture to the natives, Millett’s main hypothesis was that the natives played an active part in their own “Romanisation”.³⁹ Millett accepted Haverfield’s premise that the provinces were given Roman culture, but he also took into consideration the Nativists’ view that the native peoples of the empire had a say in whether they wanted to become “Romanised” or not.⁴⁰ According to Millett, the native aristocracy,

³⁸ Benabou claims that certain animals, such as a ram, a goat, a turtle or a rooster, when associated with Mercury “africanise” the god. Benabou (1976), p.342. However, according to Turcan, there is nothing strictly “African” about these animals, and some of them are just as likely to appear associated with other gods in other provinces. Turcan (1978), p.107.

³⁹ Millett believes that this “one-sided view of Romanization”, where the Romans are seen as the givers of civilization and the natives as the recipients, stems from claims made by writers such as Tacitus, who not only viewed native societies as primitive and barbarian (*Agricola* 11), but also seem to indicate that the Romans had a conscious and fervent Romanising policy (*Agricola* 21). However, to Millett, a Romanisation which “owes as much to the native as to the Roman ingredient” seems more plausible. Millett (1990a), pp.37-38.

⁴⁰ Millett believes that “It is essential from the outset to realize that Romanization was a two-way process of acculturation: it was the interaction of two cultures, such that information and traits passed between them.” Millett (1990b), pp.1-2; and Millett (1990a), p.37. In addition to this, Millett wisely recognises that there was no such thing as a “pure” Roman culture, and that “Romanisation” in itself is a product of a mixing of several cultures and not the imposition of one culture over another. “Roman culture was by definition a cosmopolitan fusion of influences from diverse origins rather than purely the native culture of Rome itself. We must thus see Romanization as a process of dialectical change, rather than the influence of one “pure” culture upon others. Roman culture interacted with native cultures to produce the synthesis that we call Romanized.” Millett (1990b), p.1.

which was left in power by the Romans when the conquest occurred, wanted, of its own accord, to become “Romanised” in order to maintain its status and perhaps even enhance it.⁴¹ Millett believed that the native elites adopted Roman ways not only to keep in power, but also to distance themselves from the lower classes, and to better identify themselves with Rome. In their turn, the native lower classes emulated the elite and eventually, “Romanisation” trickled down through the social and economic hierarchy.⁴² Although he does not explicitly state it, Millett implies that the only way for the native elite and even the lower classes to maintain their identity was to “Romanise”.⁴³ Millett believed that the spread of “Romanisation” was not only voluntary but also spontaneous (not state-driven).⁴⁴

⁴¹ Millett (1990a), pp.37-38.

⁴² Millett writes: “The aristocracy involved in the administrative system thus did not need to be forced to become Romanized as the maintenance of their power within society was sufficient incentive in itself. Within society their social position was reinforced by its identification with the external power (and force) of Rome. This enhanced the desire of the elite to use the symbols of *Romanitas* by emulating Roman material culture. This will have set them apart from the remainder of society and provided a mechanism for the maintenance of their power within society, providing status indicators such that “competition for honour proved as effective as compulsion” (Tacitus *Agricola* 21). Progressive emulation of this symbolism further down the social hierarchy was self-generating encouraging others in society to aspire to things Roman, thereby spreading the culture.” Millett (1990a), p.38. According to Millett, this interpretation encourages us to see “Romanisation” as occurring spontaneously from within, rather than being imposed by the Romans. (For more on this see footnote #35) Millett (1990a), p.38.

⁴³ For example, by employing the medium of stone inscriptions the names of certain native deities are preserved. Referring to Romano-Celtic religion, Anthony King writes: “...it was only from the early Roman period that the full variety of Celtic religion began to be revealed and depicted.” King (1990), p.232. See also: Henig (1984), p.39; Green (1986), p.35, and 102; and Woolf (1998), p.227. John Wilkes likewise believes that Roman stone carving gave a medium to the expression of local Illyrian identities. “Thanks to the rapid spread of stone carving, the early Roman period offers an unprecedented range of authentic Illyrian images, both figured and abstract, which vividly portray local identities and traditions even among the more remote communities.” Wilkes (1995), p.253. Phenomena similar to this occur in other societies: native cultures adapt their religious beliefs in order to better integrate within the conquering society. Referring to Native American cultures Meslin remarks: “En fait, l’acceptation d’une nouvelle religion étrangère a été pour eux le moyen de conserver leur identité ethnique et culturelle, par une absorption lente et réfléchie des mythes, et surtout des rites chrétiens, et par une réinterprétation justifiante” in Meslin (1986), p.17.

⁴⁴ Millett is a strong believer in the laissez-faire attitude of the Romans when it came to dealing with the provincials. He recognises that “incorporation...involved a process of encouraging the native aristocracies to identify their interests with those of Rome”. This was expressed through such media as the education of the upper classes of the native societies (Tacitus, *Agricola* 21), so that they may actively participate in the Roman chain of administration. He warns us, however, that we “must question more closely any idea that Rome had any real policy of Romanizing its conquered territories beyond ensuring an efficient administration without

Although Millett's views on "Romanisation" greatly help to expand our understanding of the concept, they still leave some issues to address. Firstly, Millett concerns himself mostly with the "Romanisation" of the elite and the relationship which the native elites maintained with Rome.⁴⁵ He does not elaborate much on the ordinary native and to what extent that native was "Romanised". Moreover, Millett's "top-down" view does not take into account that perhaps some natives (such as those in isolated areas) did not have as much access to "Romanisation" as urban natives, and maybe even did not want to be "Romanised".⁴⁶ Also, if we accept the "top-down" approach, we must accept in turn the concept that the lower orders would have been "Romanised" by the already "Romanised" native elite. This becomes problematic in that the lower orders would be receiving Roman culture second-hand.⁴⁷ In other words, what the lower classes were receiving was a watered-down, and perhaps quite different, version of Roman culture. In "Romanising" the lower orders, the native elites were also transferring their own preconceptions, biases and misinterpretations of the Roman way of life, so Roman material culture may have been adopted, but may not have been used in the same way as it was by the Romans themselves.⁴⁸

burdening herself with a heavy cost of either military occupation or direct administration." Millett (1990a), pp.37-38.

⁴⁵ Webster (2001), p.214. Freeman criticizes Millett on this point as well, stating that discussing only the "Romanization" of the elites: "produces a one-sided picture of the degree and depth of Romanisation." Freeman (1993), p.441.

⁴⁶ Freeman (1993), p.444.

⁴⁷ Webster (2001), pp.215-216.

⁴⁸ One of the issues which has come to the forefront of scholarly discussion in recent years is the divide between ethnicity and material culture. According to recent interpretations, ethnicity is a fairly modern construct, deriving from the Twentieth-century nationalistic sentiment. Richard Alston has pointed out that ethnic groups are formed around perceived common origins, and tend to share and define themselves according to certain cultural traits, although there may not be a general consensus of what these traits are. Alston (1997), p.84; and Grahame (1998), p.158. Thus individual persons belonging to an ethnic group may display their identities in various ways. Oftentimes, individuals belonging to an ethnic group may hail from completely different backgrounds, and may have so little in common that the only way to assert their belonging to a specific ethnic group would be of their own self-identification. Recent realisations among archaeologists that: "...ethnicity must refer to the self-conscious identification that individuals have with a particular social group and not to arbitrary distributions of material defined by an external observer" have led to the questioning of whether one is truly able to ascertain one's ethnic identity from material culture. Grahame (1998), p.158. A further complication arises from the realisation that material culture may display other types of identity, and not only one's ethnicity. Grahame (1998), p.159. Dzino is aware of this fact by writing: "The position of this criticism is that the linkage of objects of material culture and identity of the social

As the 1990s progressed, so in the same spirit, scholarly views on “Romanisation” evolved. In his 1997 article “Beyond Romans and Natives”, Greg Woolf proposed that we reject not only traditional views of “Romanisation”, as one culture triumphing over another, but also any subsequent theories which have encouraged us to see the Roman and the native cultures as opposites, that is to say, as cultures engaged in conflict or competition. Instead, Woolf believes that what we find in post-conquest society is not two (or more) separate cultures struggling to survive, but rather a creation of a new imperial culture.⁴⁹ While he concedes that

group which used them is an inadequate interpretation, as ethnicity is situational and contextual social phenomena and can be constructed only in a social context. The objects of material culture exist in numerous contexts different from ethnicity, such as gender, social hierarchy, power relationships, fashion etc. and should be interpreted inside those contexts.” Dzino (2008), p.416. Thus, one needs to be aware that the use of “Roman” material culture may not necessarily reflect one’s “Romanness” (Salway (1981), p.506; Jones (1987), p.129; and Bradley (2000), p.216), nor one’s desire to become Roman (Freeman (1993), p.444.). “A particular type of fibula per se does not show ethnicity of the persons which carried it. It shows customs, habits and fashion of its carriers, from a particular period in which the fibula was dated.” Dzino (2008), p.423. A similar parallel could be drawn in a modern context: wearing American jeans does not make one American. It could however, signify that an individual has more than one sense of identity and that there can be multiple, complex layers to one identity, not just the one which expresses ethnic belonging. Bradley (2000), p.217.

In addition to putting one’s “Romanness” into question, one might also justly question what constituted a Roman artefact. Freeman, discussing Samian ware, draws our attention to the fact that: “the Samian industry...used a combination of Gallic and north Italian traditions, was worked in the main by natives, and enjoyed good contacts with the Roman army and other settlements in northwest Europe, but again, nothing makes it specifically “Roman”.” Freeman (1993), p.444. Additionally, we must also keep in mind that, like the fluidity of the concept of culture, material culture may as well be displaced from its original purpose and imbued with new functions. Woolf (1998), p.14. We should thus not only be aware of the integrationist nature of Roman society and material goods, but should also beware from jumping too quickly to conclusions of what is “Roman” and what is not, and thus creating a Roman/native dichotomy.

If material culture then carries the ability to represent different types of an individual’s identity, how do we then discern that individual’s ethnic identity from all the others? A theory from the 1980s, formed by J.R. Sackett, stipulates that the key to analyzing material culture is “style”. Essentially, style refers to the method according to which one executes (i.e. performs) things. Thus, since “material culture inevitably carries information about ethnic identities, it is produced in ethnically bounded contexts. Style, then, is generally passive, that is, there is not a deliberate intention to signify anything: particular ways of doing are simply the product of patterns of enculturation.” Grahame (1998), p.160. Sackett in particular ascribes to isochrastic style: meaning that there are multiple different ways of performing a task, and “The choice of one option as opposed to any other depends purely on one’s upbringing. (Thus) it follows that isochrastic variation in material culture is diagnostic of ethnicity.” Grahame (1998), p.160. It must be remarked, however, that style needs not only be passive, it can be active as well. Thus, one can use and manipulate material culture in order to assert one’s identity. Grahame (1998), p.160. For a further discussion of identity see also the section below on theories of integration.

⁴⁹ Woolf (1997), p.341. Even though he argues for one imperial culture, Woolf does not maintain that this culture was uniform. “...what appears is not the replacement of diversity with uniformity so much as the

this imperial culture originated from the conquest of one nation over others, Woolf does not believe that the indigenous cultures were suppressed by the Romans.⁵⁰ Basing himself on Gallic evidence, Woolf argues that before the Roman conquest native cultures of Gaul bore elements which presented both common and diverse features.⁵¹ The common features were traits of larger shared cultural values, and the differences were to be found at local and regional levels.⁵² However, Woolf argues that as time passed and the indigenous and the Roman cultures became more acquainted with each other, this paradigm shifted slightly.⁵³ With the widespread adoption of Roman material goods, the ways in which those goods were used became more consistent. Thus, Woolf notes that before the conquest Roman goods were imported into Gaul,⁵⁴ but their manner of usage differed from region to region. However,

replacement of a diversity generated by local choice with diversity ordered by imperial power.” Woolf (1997), p.344.

⁵⁰ Woolf (1997), p.341.

⁵¹ The situation after the conquest, however, is one of “unity-in-diversity” according to Woolf. “It is more productive to see Roman imperial culture as a structured system of differences that was highly differentiated, by region, class, social locale, age and gender among other dimensions of variability. Such an approach enables us to admit both the unity and the diversity of imperial culture.” Woolf (1997), p.341.

⁵² Woolf (1997), pp.342-343. As an example Woolf refers to the minting of coins throughout Europe. Several European indigenous peoples used coins, however, the coins themselves differed greatly in size, weight, motif, script etc... Woolf (1997), p.342.

⁵³ According to Woolf, by the mid-second century A.D. two main variants became apparent: “First, it is difficult to see examples of local groups selecting from the new culture vocabulary to create distinctive local combinations and cultural forms. Second, much of the patterning of culture now seems to reflect the structure of the empire as a whole. Cultural diversity in Gaul, in other words, had come more and more to reflect an imperial geography of power.” Woolf (1997), p.343. Even though local differences start to become elided, this, however, does not signify complete lack of regional variants. Drawing on religious examples, Woolf points out: “Cults...of the Matres (are) popular in the Rhineland and eastern Gaul, while large rural sanctuaries were characteristic of Picardy and Poitou. Some of these patterns certainly reflect pre-Roman regional traditions, others were new. In general very localized variants seem less common, but a few examples are known – the distinctive culture of the Vosges hill villages, for example, or the highly localized cults of the Pyrenees valleys or tribal deities like Mercurius Dumias of the Arveni.” Woolf (1997), p.343.

⁵⁴ The distribution of Roman material culture in pre-Roman Gaul is based on the core-periphery system, which stipulates that those regions closest to Rome (such as Gaul, Spain and the Alps), were the most affected by its influence. This influence began with the process of trade, but soon extended into political and social areas as well. Thus, scholars believe that developments like Greek-style urbanization, Greek and Latin writing, coinage, wine and the re-organisation of native politics into an “archaic state” were all due to the core-periphery system. King (1990), pp.220-221. See also: Nash, D. “Territory and state formation in Central Gaul” in: Green, D. (ed.). *Social Organization and Settlement*. British Archaeological Reports, Oxford, 1978, pp.455-475; Bradley, R. *The Social Foundations of Prehistoric Britain*. Harlow, Longman, 1984; Cunliffe, B.W. “Iron Age Wessex:

after the conquest, along with the Roman goods a Roman lifestyle was introduced as well, so that the manner in which these goods were used became consistent.⁵⁵ Although the widespread use of Roman material goods suggested some consistency, at the same time, the introduction of Roman power into Gaul created a more complex and diverse society, differentiating Gauls on individual, regional and social levels.⁵⁶

Yet this adoption of Roman material culture and lifestyle, according to Woolf, should not be termed “Romanisation”. Traditionally the level of “Romanisation” in a given province had been determined (among other factors) by how long that province had been under Roman control, and also by how well the people of that province adopted Roman material goods. Greg Woolf, however, finds these criteria misleading.⁵⁷ In his examination of the spread of Roman culture throughout Gaul, Woolf discovered that it did not matter at what date a given province was conquered: the majority of the provinces of the Roman Empire were swept up in a “Roman cultural revolution”⁵⁸ concurrently.⁵⁹ This “Roman cultural revolution”

continuity and change” in: Cunliffe, B. W. & Miles, D. (eds.). *Aspects of the Iron Age in Central Southern Britain*. Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1984, pp.12-45; and Hasselgrove, C. ““Romanization” before the conquest: Gaulish precedents and British consequences” in: Blagg, T. & King, A. (eds.). *Military and Civilian in Roman Britain: Cultural Relationships in a Frontier Province*. British Archaeological Reports, Oxford, 1984, pp.5-63.

⁵⁵ Woolf (1997), p.344.

⁵⁶ Woolf writes: “...regional variations are apparent to archaeologists in every sphere of material culture...there was more than one kind of Roman, and studies of provincial culture need to account for cultural diversity, as well as the unity, of the empire.” Woolf (1998), p.7. According to Woolf, the introduction of Roman power into Gaul not only diversified the native society, but also offered an opportunity for cultural change. “...growing imperial and civilizing vocation...combined with the need imposed by the new administrative order to recruit local elites to administer the empire, provides one of the preconditions for cultural change. Others were the profits to be made by Romans who assisted locals to civilize themselves, and the willingness of many western elites to join in a new order which elevated them further above their local subordinates than ever before. Essentially, Roman power acted to differentiate the Gauls in ways which benefited the new Gallo-Roman aristocracies and their rulers alike.” Woolf (1997), p.346. Woolf also writes: “Yet the effects of Roman expansion were not limited to recruiting new members to a more complex society. Roman expansion also resulted in a complexification of Roman society itself.” Woolf (1997), p.345.

⁵⁷ One of the failings of “Romanisation” is the fact that it attempts to measure how “Romanised” different peoples and provinces were. According to Woolf, this is a pointless exercise. Woolf (2001b), p.173. In, essence, as Woolf points out, Roman culture was not “pure” and thus there is no standard by which it can be measured. “The city of Rome was a cultural melting pot and Italy experienced similar changes to the provinces.” Woolf (1998), p.7.

⁵⁸ The expression “Roman cultural revolution” was not invented by Woolf, but was coined by Andrew Wallace-Hadrill in his 1990 article “Roman arches and Greek honours: the language of power at Rome”. *Proceedings of*

developed in such a way as to integrate already existing customs with new elements; thus preserving traditions while at the same time, adapting them in order to create new cultural elements better suited to a time of conquest and change.⁶⁰ If the “Roman cultural revolution” occurred simultaneously, as Woolf states, then it would turn the traditional views of “Romanisation” on their head: the provinces were not given Roman culture by Italy, but actively participated with Italy in the creation of a new imperial culture.⁶¹ Thus, Roman culture and Roman material culture were not “fixed”, but were in perpetual evolution.⁶²

There are several advantages, according to Woolf, offered by looking at cultural change in the provinces of the Roman Empire as a “Roman cultural revolution”, instead of viewing it as “Romanisation”. By perceiving change as a cultural revolution, we are getting rid of the Roman-native dichotomy which prevails in the study of “Romanisation”. That is to say that, once we no longer have to think in terms of who “Romanised” whom it becomes much easier to account for the evidence which does not fit either in the assimilation, nor in the resistance theories of “Romanisation”. In the same spirit, change and continuity shift from being viewed as a primarily provincial issue, to an empire-wide one, where all inhabitants, at every level of society are affected. In addition to this, viewing change as a cultural revolution allows us to

the Cambridge Philological Society, 36, pp.143-181. Woolf, however, uses the term “as a convenient shorthand for a set of currently popular arguments about the transformation of metropolitan Roman culture around the turn of the millennium.” Woolf (2001b), p.175.

⁵⁹ Woolf explains: “Mediterranean Spain and much of the Greek world had both, like southern Gaul, been under effective Roman control for generations before any cultural changes took place, yet change, when it came, took place in much the same way everywhere. Seen in proper imperial perspective, Gaul was not recruited to a new cultural order, so much as convulsed by a cultural revolution that also affected Italy and all the provinces in this period.” Woolf (1997), p.346. See also Woolf (2001b), pp.174-175.

⁶⁰ Woolf (2001b), p.176. To illustrate this change, Woolf points to the influence of Hellenism over the development of Latin epic: “So Latin epic was created first through translating, and then through adapting Greek models.” Woolf (2001b), p.176. This “cultural revolution” however, did not extend solely to literature, but also extended to other areas of Roman life, such as religion, philosophy, material culture etc... Woolf (2001b), p.176.

⁶¹ “Rather than the expansion of one national or ethnic culture at the expense of others, we are dealing with the emergence of a new, highly differentiated social formation incorporating a new cultural logic and a new configuration of power. This complex grew up from within, first, Roman and, then, Italian society, and expanded by drawing in more and more groups, individuals and resources. Eventually all participants acquired new places in the imperial system of differences because that system itself had been transformed.” Woolf (1997), p.347.

⁶² Woolf (1997), p.346.

shed the association between “Romanisation” and homogenisation. In this manner, we are able to focus on the differences between provincial cultures, and have a fresh perspective on this phenomenon of change.⁶³

Just like Woolf, in recent years, more and more scholars have come to realize the inadequacy of the whole concept of “Romanisation”.⁶⁴ Among its most stern critics are Richard Hingley, Paul Freeman and Jane Webster. They believe that our understanding of “Romanisation” results from nineteenth-century imperialistic thought. “Romanisation”, as developed by Mommsen and Haverfield, was indeed conceived against the backdrop of European imperialism, and it is easy to see how nineteenth-century scholars may have imbued and distorted the concept of “Romanisation” with the imperialistic values of their own time.⁶⁵ British imperialistic views, in particular, have shaped the way in which later scholars have envisaged Roman imperial expansion and the “Romanisation” of the provinces.⁶⁶ Freeman argues that it is precisely because of this comparison with British imperialism that Roman scholars have a “tendency...to miss the uniqueness of the Roman form”.⁶⁷

Another problem with “Romanisation”, according to Webster and Mattingly, is the fact that the term in itself implies a unidirectional relationship.⁶⁸ Inherent in the term “Romanisation” is the idea that the indigenous cultures are the only ones being submitted through cultural change (moulded according to the Roman manner). This leaves us to believe that Roman culture is somehow unaffected by its contact with native cultures, that it is “static” and “fixed”. As Mattingly points out, this is a false assumption, since “it is clear that not only was culture exchange bilateral, it was also multi-directional”.⁶⁹ Due to mutual contact

⁶³ Woolf (2001b), p.182. Woolf cautions that: “Differentiating the products of local cultural revolutions may have more potential for future analysis than simply ranking areas in terms of how Romanized they are.”

⁶⁴ Freeman (1997), p.28.

⁶⁵ Freeman (1997), p.28; and Webster (2001), pp.214-215.

⁶⁶ For a detailed discussion of imperialism and post-colonial theory consult Webster, J. & Cooper, N. *Roman Imperialism: Post-Colonial Perspectives*. Leicester, 1996 and Mattingly, D.J. *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism*. JRA 23, Portsmouth, RI, 1997.

⁶⁷ Freeman (1997), p.28, p.30.

⁶⁸ Webster (1996), p.11; and Mattingly (1997), pp.8-9.

⁶⁹ Mattingly (1997), p.9.

cultures experienced change. They borrowed each other's features and adopted and adapted them. It would be foolish to assume that Roman culture was "static" or "fixed" and that it did not experience any change. As Rome increased its contact with different tribes across the Empire in its pursuit of expansion, so its culture evolved and changed with time. Thus, the term "Romanisation" is inadequate to describe this cultural change, since it was not a one-way process.

Jane Webster likewise supports this view, claiming that "Romanisation's" fixation on the "top-down" approach and its concept of emulation ignore the possibility of cultural influence from the other end, and in addition, marginalize smaller, rural groups.⁷⁰ "...none of (Romanisation) models allow for adaptive synthesis, in which "Romanised" material culture could be used in ambiguous ways, simultaneously creating new identities and maintaining key aspects of pre-Roman belief and practice".⁷¹ According to Webster, the term "Romanisation" is often generalised. When one talks of "Romanisation" in a particular province, one tends to miss the nuances; to assume that "Romanisation" is standardised across social strata instead of being experienced individually and in various different manners.⁷² Thus, Webster believes that "Romanisation" as a concept is in itself a *cul-de-sac*: "All models of Romanization thus lead us to the same place: a polarized provincial world of Romans (or Romanized natives) and natives, with no grey areas in between".⁷³

As an alternative to "Romanisation", Webster proposes the theory of "creolisation", adapted from the study of the New World colonies. Although originally applied to define a fusion of two languages into a whole new dialect, Webster uses the term "creolisation" to illustrate the blending of two cultures. "Creole material culture represents not the gradual replacement of one way of life by another, but the blending of both, in a clearly nonegalitarian social context".⁷⁴ Thus, Creole culture borrows elements from both the culture of the conqueror and the culture of the conquered, to various degrees in various situations, resulting in a change of

⁷⁰ Webster (2001), p.215.

⁷¹ Webster (2001), p.217.

⁷² Webster (1996), p.11.

⁷³ Webster (2001), p.216.

⁷⁴ Webster (2001), pp.217-218.

meaning according to the setting. Webster believes that the outcome of this is that both cultures come to a compromise on a way of life by incorporating elements from both sides, and thus a whole new culture is created.⁷⁵ In practice, this would mean that the conquered adopt certain elements of the material culture of the conquerors, but figure out ways of using these elements in their own way and for their own purposes. This phenomenon would lead to a formation of a whole new set of cultural values.⁷⁶

While Webster's approach is commendable (she relies not only on the work of classicists but also examines the theories of New World historians), it must be emphasized that basing one's conclusions about Roman provinces on the development of a society far removed in both time and space from ancient Rome can become a highly misleading and dangerous exercise. Not all societies behave and develop in the same way, and thus acculturation may take place differently in one society from another. It is at this stage that I would suggest that we need to follow Webster's example of moving away from classical scholarship, and we need to examine other academic areas which might help throw a fresh light on the concept of "Romanisation". Unlike Webster, I do not propose to compare Rome to another acculturating society, but instead, to examine theories of acculturation from other perspectives, mainly from the psychological point of view.⁷⁷ By doing this, we may gain a better understanding

⁷⁵ A related theory to Webster's "creolization" is Homi Bhabha's theory of "cultural hybridity". In essence, Bhabha argues that a hybrid culture forms when two opposite cultures enter in contact in a non-egalitarian manner (where one culture holds more power than the other – that of the coloniser vs. that of the colonised). In such a situation the colonised adopts (mimics) aspects of the coloniser's culture, but also adapts them, thus altering the coloniser and the colonised and creating an "in-between" identity. In this manner, a hybrid culture avoids becoming "fixed". Bhabha (1994), especially pages 86 and 131. For Danijel Dzino's discussion of the concept see: Dzino (2010), pp.96-110.

⁷⁶ Webster (2001), p.218.

⁷⁷ Woolf believes that in addition to "Romanisation", acculturation is another inappropriate manner of examining cultural change in the Roman Empire. "A second approach rendered obsolete is the explanation of change in terms of the acculturation of one people by another". Woolf (2001b), p.174. While Woolf is a highly respected scholar, the present author believes that acculturation should not be dismissed so lightly. Traditionally classicists and ancient historians, when dealing with acculturation, have tended to examine it mainly from the anthropological viewpoint. In this manner, acculturation has become synonymous with one culture prevailing over another, as Woolf's quote demonstrates above. To the present author's knowledge, no classicist or ancient historian has so far attempted to view the theory of acculturation from the psychological point of view, which is quite different than the anthropological interpretation. It is for this reason that the present author believes that examining acculturation from the psychological viewpoint is worthwhile, before an attempt should be made to dismiss the theory.

not only of how a whole native society acculturated, but of how natives acculturated on an individual level as well.⁷⁸ This approach, I believe, will be particularly useful when examining *interpretatio Romana*, and the manner in which Roman and native deities interacted and were worshipped by both cultures⁷⁹; since religion, and the expression of that religion through dedications, was an extremely personal affair.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Examining acculturation on an individual level is extremely important, as Ando states that: "Reconciliation to Roman rule took place at the level of the individual, as each person incorporated the Roman emperor into his personal pantheon and accommodated himself to the bureaucratic rituals and ceremonial forms that endowed membership in the Roman community with meaning." Ando (2000), p.337. Džino states that while much has been written recently on collective identities in the Roman Empire, research on individual identities is still relatively unexplored but promising field of research. Džino (2010), p.100. "It becomes more and more urgent to break up and finally abandon the grand narrative of ethnicity in Illyricum...and focus on its smaller pieces...such as the negotiation of individual identities..." Džino (2008), p.423.

⁷⁹ In the past funerary inscriptions have been used predominantly in order to determine individual identities. As Džino points out, there are several advantages in using these types of inscriptions: "...they are statements of selfhood, which show how the deceased wished to be remembered, and how his or her particular position and role within the social group were constructed and communicated. They are particularly important as public statements of identity, especially in the case of minority "alien" groups, or inside the unified body of military gravestones." Džino (2010), p.99; and Hope (1998), p.180. In addition to funerary inscriptions, the present author believes that votive inscriptions as well have the potential to reveal much about individual identities. In addition to revealing aspects of religious identities and preferences in the provinces, the combination of the manner in which the dedicator identifies himself/herself and their dedicatory formulation (whether they employ *interpretatio Romana* or not, and which gods they dedicate to) may give insight into individual ways of coping with cultural change. This phenomenon will be explored in detail in the body of the thesis. The present author also believes that examining identities through votive inscriptions is a good way to supplement the research being done with funerary inscriptions, since funerary inscriptions can offer only a partial understanding of identity. Hope (1998), pp.192-193 and Džino (2010), p.99. As well, votive inscriptions may reveal to us a more accurate image of the individual than funeral inscriptions: votive inscriptions were set up while the individual was still alive, thus they represent how the individual saw himself/herself; funerary inscriptions were set up (for the most part) by the friends and family of the deceased, so they represent how others saw the deceased.

⁸⁰ It is not denied here that religion played a vital part in the public life of the inhabitants of the Roman Empire. Cults were managed by public authorities, and religious offices, such as the priesthood of the imperial cult, for example, offered not only public prestige to those who held them, but were also "the culmination of a municipal career." Woolf (2001b), p.178. What is meant here, however, with the declaration that religion was a personal affair, is the recognition that ultimately, an individual chose, out of the plethora of Roman and foreign gods, which god(s) they were going to dedicate to. Thus, dedications set up by individuals to specific gods may offer us clues on how acculturation worked on an individual level.

Woolf makes a good point by stating that individuals were free to worship whichever god they chose, however, the manner of worship was regulated (human sacrifice, for example, was banned). Woolf (1998), p.214.

THEORIES OF ACCULTURATION

The word acculturation, according to psychologists, is a “process whereby individuals (or groups) learn about the rules of behaviour characteristic of another culture”.⁸¹ This process is usually two-way: both the native culture and the conquering culture will experience change, although it is likely that one will be affected more than the other.⁸² Depending on the cultures, this change can be positive or negative. Psychologists have coined the term “reactive acculturation” to describe negative change, i.e. resistance to change in both the native and the conquering cultures. On the other hand, “creative acculturation” describes a situation in which, through mutual contact, new cultural elements are created in both cultures. In addition to being positive or negative, acculturation can also be delayed, in that change in both cultures is likely to appear as time passes, and the two cultures get more and more acquainted with each other.⁸³ There are four different ways of acculturating: by assimilation, by separation, by marginalization and by integration.⁸⁴ As we have seen, classicists who follow Haverfield’s model tend to believe that assimilation is the only way to acculturate. I will attempt to demonstrate, however, that the most likely method of acculturation in the Roman Empire would have been integration. However, before we delve into this, let us examine the four methods individually.

Assimilation, according to psychologists, when chosen freely, consists of completely shedding the native culture and immersing oneself fully into the conquering culture. In this

⁸¹ Hogg & Vaughan, (2005), p.636. Zagefka and Brown define acculturation as: “The changes in the original cultural pattern of either or both groups as a result of...contact.” Zagefka, H. & Brown, R. (2002), p.171.

⁸² Berry (1990) and Berry (1997), p.7.

⁸³ Social Science Research Council, (1954).

⁸⁴ Zagefka, H. & Brown, R. (2002), pp.171-172. It must be pointed out here that these acculturation methods refer both to individuals and to social groups. Ultimately, an individual makes a personal decision on how much he wishes to change his customs/behaviour and to what extent he wants to acculturate. However, social stimuli, such as peer pressure for example, must also be taken into account. Berry (1997), p.7.

Berry and his colleagues call these acculturation methods “acculturation strategies”. The word strategy in itself has an implication that the dominant culture is actively pursuing the acculturation of the non-dominant cultures. It must be pointed out, however, that this is not necessarily the case in this study, and that acculturation may as well arise organically. Thus, I would like to draw attention to the fact that the word “strategy” in this chapter does not signify that I am stating that the Romans actively sought to acculturate the natives.

case, the members of the native culture do not wish to hold on to their own cultural identity, or do not place much value in it, and seek to identify themselves as much as possible with the members of the conquering culture. However, when assimilation is forced, it often leads to either the separation or the marginalization scenarios. When it comes to separation, the natives choose to cling to their own culture, while at the same time refusing to participate or integrate into the conquering culture. However, marginalization, seldom times chosen but rather imposed, results when the natives are forced to assimilate and as a result give up their own culture, while at the same time failing to integrate or relate to the conquering culture.⁸⁵ Both separation and marginalization are negative forms of acculturation because they create acculturative stress and tension within societies.

Integration, then, according to psychologists is the best method of acculturation and the one employed by most societies.⁸⁶ In essence, integration seeks to preserve the native culture while participating and exchanging cultural values with the conquering culture.⁸⁷ Thus, integration seeks not to fuse two cultures together and create a new one, like Webster's "creolization", but borrows elements from two (or more) different cultures and negotiates them according to different settings and situations. In this manner, elements of the existing cultures would be adopted and adapted, and through cultural interaction, new elements and ideas would arise as well.⁸⁸ In order for integration to develop and function properly, the conquering society needs to be tolerant of cultural diversity and open about new ideas and

⁸⁵ Berry (1997), pp.9-10. Zagefka, H. & Brown, R. (2002), p.172.

⁸⁶ Schmitz (1992), p.368; Berry (1997), pp.24-25; and Zagefka, H. & Brown, R. (2002), p.172.

⁸⁷ Zagefka, H. & Brown, R. (2002), p.172.

⁸⁸ The integrationist approach outlined here is quite similar to Webster's "creolization" and Woolf's "imperial culture" concepts. Where the integrationist theory improves on Webster and Woolf is in the fact that the integrationist theory does not maintain that out of the mixing of several cultures we obtain one culture. A fusion of two or more cultures in order to create one culture, as is presented by Webster's "creolization" and Woolf's "imperial culture", runs the risk of that culture becoming "fixed" as time passes. The integrationist theory allows for the co-existence of multiple cultures, who interact, change and evolve as time passes, retaining certain previous elements while also through mutual interaction creating new ones. Thus, the fact that cultural elements are constantly in negotiation and evolution ensures that cultures remain fluid, and do not become "fixed" as time passes. In this respect, the present author conceives of "Romanisation" as a spectrum, where individuals make a conscious decision of how, and to what extent, they wish to change their habits and behaviour. "Culture...is a set of associations or conventions, not rules, and individuals are free to conform, ignore or even change those conventions." Woolf (1998), p.12.

new ways of life.⁸⁹ What we know of Roman society, at least, shows this attitude towards foreign religions.⁹⁰ In Pannonia, much like in the rest of the Roman provinces, we find Roman settlers adopting and worshipping native deities. The sheer popularity of certain “foreign” cults (such as Mithraism or the cult of Isis for example) across the Empire by a variety of worshippers from different cultural and socio-economic backgrounds shows that the Roman attitude towards religion was integrationist, and that there was room for everyone’s gods.⁹¹ Writing about religion in Roman Britain, Martin Henig states that when

⁸⁹ Meslin (1986), p.18; and Berry (1991).

⁹⁰ Martin Henig states that: “Roman government...(had a) tolerant attitude towards practices which did not conflict with the interests of the state”. Henig (1984). p.36. According to Henig, this atmosphere of tolerance extended not only to the worship of the cults but also to religious architecture. Native temples were rebuilt in Roman times according to their original models. Thus, as Henig points out: “To Romans, this was not a symbol of cultural defiance, but of respect for traditional custom (*mos maiorum*)”. (1984), p.38. Ferguson also notes that: “In general ancient religions were accommodating.” Ferguson (1970), p.211.

At this point, one may ask oneself what is the advantage in integrating when differences are tolerated? Firstly, it must be noted that integration is inevitable over time. Individual societies do not live in a bubble, and an exchange of material culture and ideas will eventually lead to an adoption, adaptation and creation of new cultural elements. Secondly, one must consider the idea that individuals saw an advantage in participating in the integration process: native elites, for example, stood to maintain and further their status, gain Roman citizenship which would allow them to participate in public life and bring them further wealth and prestige. Italian settlers to the provinces likewise benefitted from integration. As minorities in a foreign land it was in their interest to form alliances and integrate with the local population. The Roman administration as well benefited from the maintenance of certain established cultural traits, for these provided a certain kind of stability to the people in a changing imperialist world. Thus, as Swain puts it: “...the past served the convenience of the colonial administration.” Swain (1996), p.71.

⁹¹ The nature of polytheistic religions allowed for this integration. It was perfectly acceptable for one to worship both Roman and foreign gods, as is displayed by the popularity of so many “foreign” cults in the Roman Empire. Perhaps one of the best examples of this integrationist attitude is the side-by-side worship of local cults and the imperial cult in Asia Minor. “An important characteristic was the superbly-choreographed mixing of cults of local deities with the cult and sacred presence of the Roman emperor. While the celebrants looked back to the memory of old Greece, by proclaiming loyalty to the system and to the emperor they invested in their future. All this shows a model of co-operation between local donor, community, civic authorities and the Roman administration.” Yegül (2000), p.151. Another example is the Ephesian festival sponsored by C. Vibius Salutaris in which: “Statuettes of Artemis, along with heroes and legendary founders from the distant past, such as Oranos, Ge, Pion, Androklos and Lysimachos, were displayed alongside those of Augustus, Trajan, Plotina, and the personifications of the Roman Senate and People.” Yegül (2000), p.152. This applied not only to the Roman east, but also to more westerly provinces such as Gaul, where we find also side-by-side worship of the emperor and the local deity. King (1990), p.234.

It is worthwhile to note that another theory for the widespread diffusion of eastern cults stipulates that their popularity stemmed from the fact that eastern cults were very well organised and administrated. As is well known, the Romans were fond of organization, so this may be one of the factors why the oriental cults

the native culture encountered the Roman culture “The result was compromise and fusion between the systems”.⁹² According to Henig, the fact that both Roman and native gods held the same position as “divine rulers” displayed “the ease with which Celtic and Roman religion could merge”.⁹³ In addition to the fact that the Romans displayed an integrationist attitude towards native religion, there is evidence to point to the fact that the natives adhered to this principle as well. Gavrilović writes: “The longevity of Celtic religion and customs can be best explained by the flexibility of the Scordisci in the face of the invaders, preserving their own principles on the one hand while, on the other, accepting certain Roman principles”.⁹⁴ This integrationist attitude stretched into other aspects of an individual’s life as well.⁹⁵ Pannonia’s neighbour, Dalmatia, one of the most “Romanised” provinces of the

integrated so well in Roman religious life. “The oriental cults had a strong organization with a professional priesthood, and this must have helped the process of incorporation.” Ferguson (1970), p.99.

⁹² Henig (1984), p.36.

⁹³ Henig (1984), pp.63-65.

⁹⁴ Gavrilović (2007), pp.140-141.

⁹⁵ With respect to Pannonia Gavrilović writes: “Small finds, such as ceramics, utilitarian and decorative metal objects, arms and jewellery, indicate that the autochthonous tradition of production and use of indigenous artefacts continued under Roman domination. At the same time, artefacts such as glass result directly from the Romanisation process, and the Roman monetary system caused the local Scordiscan coins to be discarded.” (2007), p.136.

The situation in other provinces of the Roman Empire appears similar, leading us to opt for the integrationist approach. For example, Roman architecture and urbanism at first glance appear uniform throughout the Empire, yet under closer scrutiny several scholars have detected an integration of Roman and local elements. Yegül notes that in Asia Minor Romans and Greeks lived “side-by-side”. Yegül (2000), p.134.; and that signs of integration can be found in material evidence, such as the use of local mortared rubble in the building of Roman walls (although he does warn the reader that in reality divisions along the lines of “native” and “Roman” can be unclear and that one should be cautious of a solely dichotomous approach). Yegül (2000), p.141., and the creation of the bath-gymnasium which incorporated the Roman bath and the Greek palaestra. Writing about the bath-gymnasium Yegül states: “The development of this new, composite institution demonstrates with remarkable clarity the processes of co-existence, imitation, adaptation, and re-creation in hybrid cultures.” Yegül (2000), p.144. Further evidence can be found in the construction of a *principia* in Dura-Europos: “Although the plan of the building corresponds to a standard Roman type...the construction materials (rubble, presumably with mudbrick above, and reeds and plaster in the ceilings) are typical for pre-Roman Dura.” Downey (2000), p.165.; and in the construction of the camp bathhouse which displays similar integrative features. Downey (2000), pp.166-169. Bowman states that in Egypt there was a “mix of Greek – or Alexandrian-influenced architectural elements with idiosyncratic local detail.” Bowman (2000), p.184. This integrationist approach can even be seen in Italy, a province which the standard of “Romanisation” of the other provinces is measured by. Bradley notes the integration of Greek and Italic elements, particularly in the construction of temples. Bradley (2000), pp.225-226. Lomas identifies the same integrationist approach in

Empire, boasts a variety of native Illyrian and Pannonian apparel (such as *opanci*, the traditional footwear for example) which has survived well through the Roman times and can even be found in rural areas all over ex-Yugoslavia today.⁹⁶ Thus, what we find when we look at religion throughout the Empire is an attitude of mutual accommodation where the Romans in the provinces add native gods into their religious practices and vice-versa.

In addition to mutual accommodation, another requirement for integration to function properly, is that both the conquering and the native societies need to be multicultural.⁹⁷ Psychologically-speaking, a multicultural society is by definition already predisposed to accepting and integrating new cultures. As we have seen, Roman culture with its Greek and Etruscan influences⁹⁸, as well as Pannonian culture⁹⁹ with its Pannonian, Illyrian and Celtic

Italian epigraphy. "...the local population seem to have absorbed outside influences, Greek in the case of Capua and Roman in the case of Tarentum, and to have adapted them into a distinctive local form of funerary monument. The presence of adapted, or non-Romanised forms indicates the resilience of local Italian culture in the lower levels of society, and the continuing ability to absorb and adapt external influences, both Roman and Greek, without being overwhelmed by them." Lomas (1991), p.235. (Although Lomas does note that more local variants are present in monuments set up by persons of lower socio-economic status, and more "Romanised" variants are present in those monuments which were set up by individuals who belonged to a higher ranking stratus of population). For further discussion of integration in architecture see: Dodge, H. "The architectural impact of Rome in the East" in: Henig, M. (ed.). *Architecture and architectural sculpture in the Roman Empire*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1990, pp.108-21.

Examination of smaller, portable material culture reveals evidence of integration as well. Writing about the Roman conquest of Umbria, Bradley stresses that Roman influence could be seen in objects such as pottery, funerary urns and coinage. "The funerary urns and stelai that are used in Umbrian centres...are heavily reliant on late Etruscan forms; in other areas Roman motifs are evident as well." Bradley (2000), p.202. Talking about coins, Bradley states: "They had a duodecimal division of the weight standard, also taken from Rome, and yet were marked with Umbrian legends recording their names." Bradley (2000), p.202. In addition, Bradley states that this integration of material culture reflected religious integration as well. "In fact the shift in material apparent in the religious sphere is analogous to that in other sectors of material culture..." Bradley (2000), p.202.

⁹⁶ Wilkes (1995), p.229.

⁹⁷ Berry, J. & Kalin, R. (1995).

⁹⁸ "By the time of the conquest, Roman culture was itself a complex amalgam of elements, many of which had been derived from Greece or the rest of Italy." Bradley (2000), pp.190-191; and 200-201.

⁹⁹ When speaking of "Pannonian" culture one needs to be aware that what became in Roman times the province of Pannonia was in pre-Roman times a territory inhabited by various tribes, including the Pannonii (after whom the province is named), who shared certain cultural similarities, but were in no way a unified cultural or political entity. Once they were conquered and amalgamated into a single province, these tribes were perceived from the outside as sharing a single identity, when in archaeological fact, they exhibited local

influences¹⁰⁰, were both multicultural and thus already predisposed to adopting the integrationist approach.¹⁰¹ Thus, it is easy to see how, fulfilling both requirements for the integration method of acculturation, the Roman Empire would have, consciously or unconsciously, been drawn to employ this method in its dealings with the conquered natives.

Due in large part to this multiculturalism and mutual accommodation, the integrationist approach is the only acculturation approach which allows an individual to grow and participate in both the native and the conquering culture, thus forming a unified society.¹⁰² In all the other approaches, the individual is either shunned by the conquering society, forced to assimilate or required to give up their own culture completely, resulting not only in cultural shock or hostility for the individual, but also in the mal-functioning of the society as a whole. Integration, on the other hand, being all-inclusive, allows not only for an easier “getting to

and regional differences. The same concept applied to the Illyrians. “The indigenous population of Illyricum never shared the same identity before the Roman conquest. In time inhabitant of Roman Illyricum “became Illyrians” (Dalmatians, Pannonians), in the same way as the population of imperial Gaul, Britain or Roman Germany became “Gauls”, “Britons” and “Germans”, constructing these identities inside Roman imperial ideology in the process of “becoming Roman”, rather than reflecting the pre-existing ethnographic situation. Illyrianness’ might have been a sense of wider regional identity in the later Empire, but in Strabo’s times of the early Principate, “Illyrianness” was nothing but a colonial cultural stereotype imposed from external Graeco-Roman observers as “ethnic” term on heterogeneous indigenous population of this region.” Džino (2008), pp.418-420. Displays of these local, regional and provincial identities will be explored in the context of religion in the body of the thesis.

¹⁰⁰ Strabo notes that several Illyrian and Pannonian tribes exhibit multicultural influences. See Strabo 4.6.10; 7.5.2; 7.5.4; 7.5.1; 7.1.1; 7.3.11; 7.5.2, among others. Likewise King believes that: “Celtic cults nearly everywhere survived and became acceptable by having a sufficiently flexible belief system to accommodate Romanized ceremonial forms.” King (1990), p.237.

¹⁰¹ Woolf believes that it is a unique mix of local and Roman customs which produced particular provincial cultures. “...the peculiarities of local societies affected how change happened and remained reflected in the new provincial cultures that emerged...” Woolf (2001b), p.173.

¹⁰² Berry (1997), p.11.; and Hogg, A. & Vaughan, D. (2005), p.637. It must be pointed out, however, that individuals and societies acculturated to varying degrees and at varying speeds. Thus, the level of integration may not be the same from one province to another, and even from one place to another in the same province. Bowman demonstrates that in Egypt certain cities tended to exhibit more of a Greek character, while others displayed more Egyptian traits. “We must beware of assuming that all developed uniformly. Some towns probably retained a strongly traditional Egyptian ambience.” Bowman (2000), p.179.

know you” period for both cultures, but also makes both peoples feel like they are pulling together rather than making one group feel targeted.¹⁰³

In addition to being the only strategy to promote a unified society, the integration strategy is also the only strategy to allow for the development of dual and even multiple identities.¹⁰⁴ Psychologists have demonstrated that most individuals perceive themselves to have more than one identity (ex: British-Indian, Greek-Australian etc...) ¹⁰⁵ so it is quite plausible to think that people inhabiting the Roman provinces would have exhibited multiple identities as well.¹⁰⁶ These identities were shaped not only by their upbringing, but also by their

¹⁰³ There is an indication that, even in ancient times, Rome’s all-inclusive, integrationist attitude was recognised and admired. The Greek orator Aristides writes that: “Everything lies open to everybody; and no one fit for office or responsibility is an alien.” (Aristides, *To Rome*, 59-60). Perhaps, a modern scholar, Yegül, phrases the concept best when he says: “...the secret of the system lies in Rome’s ability to co-opt local heritages and local values and to create a cultural climate in which it was difficult to feel like an alien.” Yegül (2000), p.138.

¹⁰⁴ Zagefka, H. & Brown, R. (2002), p.184.

¹⁰⁵ Hogg, A. & Vaughan, D. (2005), p.636.

¹⁰⁶ Although it is extremely hard to prove, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that cultural identities functioned in this manner in the ancient world, it is a plausible theory, especially given the integrationist attitude discussed above. There are certain indications which steer us to conclude that it is very likely that an inhabitant of Roman Empire would have harbored multiple cultural allegiances. Writing about Oxyrhynchite aristocracy Bowman states: “I can see nothing that would have prevented them in principle from establishing residence at Alexandria and holding Alexandrian magistracies and offices, whilst maintaining their connection with their home town. This is a typical pattern for upwardly mobile members of aristocracies elsewhere in the empire (Pliny the Younger and Fronto, to name but two prominent examples), and there is no reason why it should not also have occurred, *mutatis mutandis* in Egypt.” Bowman (2000), p.186. Cicero conveys this same type of dual identity: *Ego mehercule et ille et omnibus municipibus duas esse censeo patrias, unam naturae, alteram civitatis* (*De Legibus* 2.1.2-2.2.5). From the epigraphic standpoint, one can turn to numerous inscriptions, such as *CIL* XIII 8305, of soldiers who bear Roman names yet mention their native tribe of origin or their lineage.

A recent study done by Danijel Džino on the identities of Dalmatian sailors serving in the Roman navy argued very convincingly for the existence of multiple identities in the ancient world. According to Džino, epigraphic evidence (*CIL* X 3618; *CIL* X 3468; *AE* (1912) 184; *CIL* X 3666; among others) shows that Dalmatian sailors displayed their dual identity on funerary inscriptions one of three ways: by providing their Roman name and their origin as *natione Delmata*; by providing their native name and, either their *civitas* or their origin as *natione Delmata*; or by providing both their Roman and native names and, either not citing their origin or citing it as *natione Delmata*. Džino (2010), p.109. Either way, in all the cases concurrent Roman and native identities were displayed. Džino (2010), p.96. (Džino notes that this display of dual identity also occurred with sailors from other provinces: *CIL* X 3406; *CIL* VI 3165; *CIL* VI 3377; *CIL* VI 3406; *CIL* VI 3492; *CIL* VI 3622). Džino (2010), p.103. In addition to displaying dual identities, Džino argues that the Dalmatian sailors display their Roman identity as their “public” identity and their native identity as their “private” identity. Their Roman public identity is displayed in their use of epigraphic habit, Roman names and Latin language, and also in their

profession – their participation in the Roman army or navy. Džino (2010), pp.97-98. Their private identity, however, is displayed by the use of their native names and places of origin and in their interaction with other Dalmatians. Džino (2010), p. 103. Džino notes that while Dalmatian sailors display their native identity on funerary inscriptions outside Dalmatia/Illyricum, if buried at home they omit stating their origin but do include their public identity (their profession as a soldier or a sailor). Džino (2010), p.108. Džino thus concludes that their identity is situational. “...in some situations they were perceived as “Dalmatians”, in other situations as “Romans”. The sailors employed both of their identity matrices, Roman and Dalmatian, throughout their service in the navy and switched between them, according to the context of communication...” Džino (2010), p.108. Džino’s theory would then perfectly fall in line with the integrationist approach, which stipulates that identity is negotiated according to different settings. Thus, there existed a variety of ways to become Roman and to display one’s Romanness. The same concept applied to being Dalmatian or Pannonian – there were different versions of Pannonian identity depending on one’s background; and different ways of displaying that identity depending on one’s personal preferences. Džino (2010), pp.109-110. For an example see *CIL* VI 2552. Ray Laurence also subscribes to the negotiability of identity, stating that people not only had different ways of representing themselves, but more importantly, their own image might be misread or misinterpreted by outsiders. Thus, there was a variety of ways one could perceive oneself and be perceived. Laurence (1998a), p.8; and Laurence (1998b), p.105.

Bradley ascribes as well to the notion that an individual can display different types of identity. He perceives an individual as having: “...a range of separate identities fluctuating relatively independently, rather than directly at the expense of each other.” Bradley (2000), pp.199-200. According to Bradley, an individual does not have to privilege one identity over others; that idea stems from modern nationalistic views. “...individuals in agrarian societies have a variety of fluid identities...(and) several types of identity (are) able to coexist.” Bradley (2000), p.200.

Simon Swain shares a similar view. Writing about the Greek elite he states: “For it hardly needs to be said that personal identity is not a homogenous mass. It is quite wrong to assume the priority of one area of a man’s life – such as his Roman career – without at least asking whether other areas may not have been more important. For most of the time there is no essential incompatibility between such views, and they can easily be held in tandem without conflict. It is indeed only the crude discourse of nationalism, subconsciously absorbed and so difficult to dislodge, that pits groups against other groups, and leads to the stark assumption that the Greek elite must have been pro-Roman in all respects, since they could not otherwise have supported Rome at all.” Swain (1996), p.70.

This notion of coexistence of identities is furthermore supported by Ian Haynes’ study of religion in the auxilia. Haynes concludes that an auxiliary needn’t have given up his native gods in order to worship Roman gods or to worship the local gods of the place where he was stationed. Potentially, all three religious systems could be incorporated. “These new stimuli did not necessarily compete to win his allegiance away from the beliefs with which he was raised; they could complement them, but they inevitably changed his perceptions of the gods and the world around him. It may not, therefore, have been intended that the religious practices of the army would Romanise the auxiliary soldier, but it was inevitable that they would serve to transform his cultural identity.” Haynes (1993), p.157. Thus, we see a development of the “layering” of identity. For further reading on this topic see: Gellner, E. *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1983; and Curti, E., Dench, E. & Patterson, J. “The Archaeology of Central and Southern Roman Italy: Recent Trends and Approaches”, *JRS* 86 (1996).

interactions and experiences.¹⁰⁷ Thus, they would have exhibited a sort of a “layering” of identity. One’s identity, whether they were Roman or native, or something in between, was defined from birth, firstly by the household one grew up in and secondly by one’s city. A large number of Pannonian cities were settled by Roman veterans. In all likelihood, these veterans took for wives native women, and any children born from this union would from the start be not Roman, but of mixed nationality. Since during their early years, children were primarily in the care of their mothers, it makes perfect sense to assume that their early identities were shaped by their mothers’ cultural background. They would have most likely learned their mother’s native tongue and customs and even become familiar with the deities which their mother worshipped.¹⁰⁸ Thus, from their early days, they most probably did not have a single identity, but rather saw themselves, consciously or unconsciously, influenced by their mother’s native identity, their father’s Roman identity, their schoolmaster’s Greek identity and so on, thus resulting in them developing a multi-faceted identity, a sort of layering of customs, values and beliefs. This layering, influenced by the particular

¹⁰⁷ “Personal identity...is influenced by personal experiences and circumstances, social background, memories, internal narrative and the cultural discourses that an individual is exposed to throughout his or her lifetime.” Džino (2010), p.99. For further literature supporting this viewpoint see: Bourdieu, P. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge, 1977; Bakhtin, M. *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*. London, 1981; Ewing, K. “The illusion of wholeness: culture, self and the experience of inconsistency”, *Ethos*, 18 (1990), pp.251-278; Bourdieu, P. *The Logic of Practice*. Cambridge, 1990; and Friese, H. (ed.). *Identities: Time, Difference and Boundaries*. London, 2002. Group identities, however, were formed from “...regional belongings, shared cultural *habitus*, the communication of that *habitus* to the surrounding *habiti* (perception of “others”), and politization of regional identities.” Džino (2008), p.422. A common sense of identity may also arise from sharing a common enemy (the Romans) or may be imposed artificially by the creation of a *civitas* for example. Overall Džino believes that: “...individuals and communities who lived in ancient Illyricum formed their identities on the intersection between sameness and difference with other communities and across a number of different social spaces and contexts that they inhabited and participated in.” Džino (2008), pp. 422-423. For further literature on the concept of identity in antiquity see: Wells, P.S. *The Barbarians Speak. How the Conquered Peoples Shaped Roman Europe*. Princeton, 1999; Dench, E. *Romulus’ Asylum. Roman Identities from the Age of Alexander to the Age of Hadrian*. Cambridge, 2005; and Hingley, R. *Globalising Roman Culture. Unity, Diversity and Empire*. London, 2005, esp. pages 14-48.

¹⁰⁸ Taylor writes that: “Children are inducted into a culture, are taught the meanings which constitute it, partly through inculcation of the appropriate *habitus*. We learn how to hold ourselves, how to defer to others, how to be present for others...” Taylor (1999), p.42.

Irby-Massie points out that “...mixed marriages were frequent, and Latin may have remained a second language for many. Inscriptions imply that, at least in the earlier years, Latin was a language learned at school, rather than spoken at home”. Irby-Massie (1999), p.182.

geographical, social, political and other environments that they were brought up in, in its turn, would have resulted in the formation of provincial identities throughout the Empire.

One issue which is stressed in particular by psychologists is that a society, over time, may exhibit more than one method of acculturation.¹⁰⁹ A major factor in this shift of acculturation methods is time, or as Berry calls it “generational status”. In essence, the initial contact between the native and the conquering culture will be the hardest, the most stressful to adapt to. Thus, during the initial period of contact usually an integration approach is favoured in order to smooth over the transition and to diminish acculturative stress.¹¹⁰ This may be one of the reasons why the Romans adopted native gods – in order to ease the transition and prevent unrest among the natives.¹¹¹ However, as time goes on and the two cultures get comfortable with each other, usually the dominant culture, or in our case the conquering culture, will slowly start to integrate more and more of its own elements, whether consciously or unconsciously, so that over a lengthened period of time the natives will begin to consider themselves more and more “Roman”.¹¹² This phenomenon, for example, can be seen in

¹⁰⁹ Berry (1997), p.12.

¹¹⁰ Bradley notes that during the initial period of contact it is very likely that both the native and the Latin language coexisted side by side, in order to diminish the traumatic effect of the transition. We thus find bilingual inscriptions, such as *CIL* I 2873. This personal preference for bilingualism would point as well to the existence of at least a dual, if not multiple, identity. “We should probably think instead of an element of choice emerging: if anything, this evidence coincides with the model promoted earlier of a plurality of identities, rather than one monolithic identity.” Bradley (2000), p.214-215. It would seem, according to Bradley, that *interpretatio Romana* is also a feature of this transitional period as well. Bradley (2000), pp.209-210.

¹¹¹ Meslin (1986), pp.15-16.

¹¹² King (1990), p.234.

At this point we may ask what defines a “Roman”? This is a complex issue which cannot be covered here in detail, but an attempt will be made to briefly outline the major points.

Firstly, it must be recognised that there was no “standard” way of being “Roman”. If we define “being Roman” as belonging to a “Roman” culture (and there is much debate on what a culture was, but for the purposes of the present study we shall adopt Woolf’s definition: “...a range of objects, beliefs and practices that were characteristic of people who considered themselves to be, and were widely acknowledged as, Roman.” (Woolf (1998), p.11)), then almost everyone in the Roman Empire (and perhaps even beyond), would have been considered Roman since it is very likely that almost everyone used some kind of “Roman” object in their daily life or employed some kind of behaviour “considered” Roman. A further confusion of how to define “Romaness” stems from the fact that “Roman” culture was not static: it changed and evolved with time and due to interactions with other cultures. Thus, as Woolf puts it: “Becoming Roman was not a matter of acquiring a ready-made cultural package, then, so much as joining the insiders’ debate about what that

package did or ought to consist of at that particular time.” Woolf (1998), p.11. Thus, in essence, there was a variety of different ways in which one might be considered to be Roman.

There is an indication that the receipt of Roman citizenship may lead one to feel more “Roman”. Finley (1973), p.47; Laurence (1998a), p.2; Laurence (1998b), p.103; Woolf (2001a), p.316; Velleius Paterculus 1.14-15. “To be Roman was to be a Roman citizen, to enjoy political rights at Rome, and to be subject to Roman law.” Alston (1997), p.86. Writing about the “Romanisation” of Umbria, Bradley notes that before the Social War the allies were organized militarily along ethnic lines. Once they were granted Roman citizenship they joined the Roman legions. This is not to say that their native identity was automatically replaced by a Roman one, for Alston states that “entry to the Roman *ethos* did not require any cultural conversion on the part of the allies” (Alston (1997), p.86), but that a Roman identity was added to an already-existing native one. In essence, ethnic military units united the natives in fighting for a single cause. The legions did not take away the natives’ identities, they just provided a new sense of unity and a new cause to the natives and the Romans, who now fought side by side. Bradley (2000), p.239 and p.241. Thus, there is an indication that Umbrian ethnic identity survived, although de-politicized, through religion, customs and common mentality into the Imperial period. Bradley (2000), pp.241-245. According to Clifford Ando, Cicero as well ascribed to the idea of citizenship as a unifying factor in an ethnically diverse, growing empire. Ando (2002), pp.133-134. Cicero states that: “...we consider as our *patria* both the place where we were born, and that place by which we are adopted. But that *patria* must be preeminent in our affection, in which the name of the *res publica* signifies the common citizenship of us all.” Cicero, *Leg.* 2.5. Thus, Cicero does not deny that one may have multiple identities, but he does establish that a common Roman citizenship inducts one into the Roman community. If we are to define “Romaness” in these legal terms, then after the grant of the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, all the inhabitants of the Empire could claim to be Roman. Thus, according to Alston, we see a shift from a legal definition of “Romaness” to a cultural one. “The grant of universal citizenship effectively ended the usefulness of the legal definition of Romanity. The empire changed from being an empire based largely upon her citizenry of varied social and economic status, to being an empire with a culturally defined elite, a group whose unity rested upon a shared set of cultural values rather than a shared citizenship.” Alston (1997), pp.86-87.

In addition to Roman citizenship, another indicator of “being Roman” was tied to geography. One gets the sense from our sources that the borders of the Empire delineated who was Roman and who was not. This sentiment is expressed in Josephus by King Agrippa: “For in the habitable world all are Romans, unless, maybe, the hopes of some of you soar beyond the Euphrates and you count on obtaining aid from your kinsmen in Adiabene.” Josephus, *Bell. Iud.* 2.388. Additionally, Ando writes: “A perceived change in Roman policy toward expansion allowed provincials to view the ideals and aims of their government as their own: all could now share a vision of humanity that bound residents of the empire together in opposition to those outside.” Ando (2000), p.337-338. Additionally, those living inside the borders of the Empire were governed by Roman laws, and it is obedience to the Roman laws which also signified one’s “Romanness”. “...those emperors had used the uniformity and rationality of Roman law to express their vision of what united the empire, and of what distinguished life inside the empire from the outside.” Ando (2000), p.340. See also: Ammianus Marcellinus, 14.8.13; and *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, Tacitus, 14.2.

A sense of “Romanness” could also be derived from taking part in religious, political and social activities. “Romans characterized membership in their community through participation in political and religious rituals that were variously open to or required of people of differing legal ranks.” Ando (2000), p.339 According to Ando, these rituals provided for both citizens and non-citizens, rich and poor, patrician and plebeian an opportunity to experience a sense of common unity, if they so wished. “Like the iconography of imperial victories, the rituals that concretized the ideology of governance proved susceptible to alternative interpretations. Provincials so inclined could manipulate their meaning to render them more inclusive, using

onomastics, where the native names will over generations become more and more “Romanised” so that eventually, the native presence will be masked under a full Roman *tria nomina*. This mixing of integration and assimilation methodologies does not necessarily spell a complete eradication of native identity. Even as late as the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. native Pannonian deities, whether by themselves or paired up with a Roman deity, are still being worshipped by both Romans and natives.¹¹³ This shows a strong initial implementation of the integration methodology. If in fact, as according to Haverfield and his followers, the Romans only employed an assimilation strategy, then native deities would not be preserved in our record. The fact that the native deities survive well into the Roman Empire, is a testament to the fact that they were accepted and integrated into Roman culture and religion. They were precisely able to stand the test of time because the Romans themselves started to participate in their worship.

INTEGRATION AND *INTERPRETATIO ROMANA*

No theoretical discourse on the integration of the native cults in the Roman Empire would be complete without considering the issues surrounding *interpretatio Romana*. In recent literature, many scholars have attempted to come to grips with the meaning of Tacitus’ obscure term.¹¹⁴ Since Tacitus is the only ancient writer to use the expression *interpretatio Romana*, we can only understand it as far as he explains it to us. Talking about the Germanic Naharvali, Tacitus points out that they have twin gods who in *interpretatio Romana* are similar to Castor and Pollux. Yet what exactly does Tacitus mean by *interpretatio Romana*? Is it simply a translation of gods? If so, it would be a translation on the basis of what?

them to erase the border between citizen and alien and to reposition it between resident and nonresident. As with histories constructed from documentary texts, or ethnic identities fashioned from triumphal iconography, so here Roman concepts and Roman rituals provided the raw material from which others could forge new, more inclusive definitions of emperor and empire.” Ando (2000), p.339.

Thus, “becoming Roman” did not necessarily have to do with one’s ethnicity, cultural identity or use of material culture. Finley (1973), p.47; and Laurence (1998b), p.103. It was a much more complex concept, taking account, among other things, of where one lived, whether one obeyed the Roman laws and whether one participated in society. Thus, one did not need to lose one’s “native” identity to “become Roman”, having a plural identity was perfectly acceptable, the same way that worshipping different gods was perfectly acceptable.

¹¹³ Gavrilović (2007), pp.140-141; and Jerem (2007), pp.129-131.

¹¹⁴ Tacitus, *Germania*, 43.

Powers? Iconography? Does it signal some deeper intellectual understanding of the gods? Is it an interpretation? These questions have been posed by several scholars of ancient religion, most notably by Jane Webster and Clifford Ando. We shall examine the predominant views on *interpretatio Romana*, and attempt to unpack its meaning, and its connection with the integrationist approach outlined above.

Interpretatio Romana, according to Ando, can best be explained as “a broad identification among (the)...Romans of a foreign godhead with a member of their own pantheon”.¹¹⁵ Ando points out that in past scholarship, *interpretatio Romana* has mainly been viewed in terms of language (translation), naming, and interpreting; and not in terms of understanding and identifying.¹¹⁶ There are several problems in assuming that *interpretatio* can simply be taken as a translation or as name-pairing. Firstly, if *interpretatio* is simply a translation, what criteria does it use? Is it a translation on the basis of powers? While, some may say that this is the case, two issues must be raised first. Jane Webster points out that both Celtic and Roman gods may have had more than one power each.¹¹⁷ This poses a problem when equating gods in terms of their powers. Certain gods’ powers overlapped, and if the dedicator is not completely familiar with both the Celtic and the Roman pantheons, he is very likely to mis-equate the gods.¹¹⁸ This type of mistake must have been very common in the ancient world¹¹⁹, since on top of the established Graeco-Roman pantheon there existed a myriad of local deities. Thus it was impossible to put two gods of different cultures on a completely equal footing since their powers and their essence could never be fully translated, while at the same time retaining all of their subtleties. The second problem, in terms of translating or name-pairing, stems from the fact that if indeed it was so easy to equate gods on the basis of

¹¹⁵ Ando (2008), p.43. Woolf defines *interpretatio* as: “...the assertion of some form of equivalence between a foreign deity and a Roman one.” Woolf (1998), p.214.

¹¹⁶ Graf (1998), pp.1042-1043. On *interpretatio* see also Wissowa, G. “Interpretatio Romana: Romische Götter im Barbarenlande”, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 19 (1916-1919), pp.1-49; and Le Glay, M. “Les religions populaires dans l’Occident Romain”, *Praktika of the 8th International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy I*, Athens, 1984, pp.150-170; among many others.

¹¹⁷ Webster (1995), pp.155-156.

¹¹⁸ Irby-Massie (1999), p.158 footnote #2.

¹¹⁹ Ferguson notes that: “An Egyptian might think of Yahweh as Osiris, a Roman as Jupiter.” Thus, in a mix-up of Sabazios and Sabaoth, a dedicator ended up with an inscription to Iuo Dionysus. Ferguson (1970), p.223.

their powers, then we would have fixed pairs of gods, rather than multiple variants.¹²⁰ We would also have more name-pairings than we do, since if it were that easy, every god would then have their equivalent. Ando justly writes: “For if *interpretatio* were merely a matter of cataloguing names – if, that is, it consisted solely in *nominis pro nomine* position – then we might expect two things: a more extensive set of mappings than is attested, the vast majority of names of gods receiving no *interpretatio*; and near universal consensus of particular *interpretationes*, especially in later periods, and especially at particular cult sites, within, as it were, a specific linguistic or cultic community. But that we do not find.”¹²¹ Thus, we see how problematic translating and name-pairing gods on the basis of their powers can become.

In addition to the danger of mis-equating gods on the basis of their powers, another problem with viewing *interpretatio* simply as translation stems from the fact that scholars have attempted to translate gods on the basis of their iconography. As Ando points out, this practice is futile because gods are represented differently in each culture, in each province, and even in each locality.¹²² How is one to be sure, looking only at iconography, that a god is one and the same if he/she is represented completely differently in each region? Even Cicero was aware of this conundrum when he tells us that the goddess Juno is represented with different features by the Argives and by the Lanuvians.¹²³

If then we cannot view *interpretatio* as translation nor as simple name-pairing, are we to conceive of it as understanding, identifying and interpreting? While this is tempting at first, there are hidden dangers in this approach as well. Understanding, identifying and interpreting in itself, is a highly subjective exercise. The person performing these tasks automatically imposes their own personal biases, cultural set of values and mores; thus giving additional

¹²⁰ Ferguson notes that: “Identifications were casual and careless; thus the same deity may be identified with Mars or Mercury...” Ferguson (1970), p.214. We find, for example, the Punic god Ba'al, a god of fertility, equated with both Jupiter and Saturn. There is an indication that forming divinity equations was a matter of personal preference (one would equate gods on the basis of one's personal understanding of their powers, their mythology etc...) and that there was no general, standardized rule on how to form equations. Ferguson (1970), p.215 and p.217.

¹²¹ Ando (2008), pp.55-56.

¹²² Ando (2008), p.50.

¹²³ Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, 1.82.

nuances which may not necessarily be found in the original meaning. In this case again, one is very likely to misinterpret the foreign god which one is trying to understand.

The fact that *interpretatio* caused problems and was confusing even to ancient dedicators can be ascertained from the fact that there are so many inscriptions dedicated to Mother-goddesses¹²⁴ and to either the *genius* or the *praesides huius loci*.¹²⁵ This tendency to worship an unnamed god or gods of a specific locale stems surely from the fact that first, the Roman incomers were uncertain about how to interpret, translate and categorize native gods, and second, that they (the Romans) being unfamiliar with foreign gods, did not want to offend them. Thus dedicating to a *genius* would be a safe bet: the local god which they needed the most would be invoked, without having to trouble oneself over how exactly to invoke him.

While Clifford Ando is concerned with whether *interpretatio* should be viewed as a translation or an interpretation of gods, Jane Webster, however, is concerned with examining the power inequalities within the concept of *interpretatio*, and looking below the surface to ascertain the hidden meanings. Basing her conclusions solely on evidence coming from Roman Britain¹²⁶, Webster claims that *interpretatio* in itself was a manifestation of power inequality: a “superimposition of one belief system on another”.¹²⁷ The act of name-pairing

¹²⁴ Ferguson notes the confusion of the dedicators when addressing the Mother-goddesses – the dedicators were unsure of how to invoke them without offending them. Thus, Ferguson states: “At Skinburness and Carlisle they were identified with the Parcae or Fates. More often they were simply sensed as alien intruders – the Deae Matres Ollototae, which seems to mean “belonging to other peoples”. Occasionally this is more specific. As early as 100 AD at Winchester Antonius Lucretianus made a dedication to the Mothers, Italian, German, Gallic, British. A similar dedication at York casts the net wider, to the Mothers, African, Italian, Gallic.” Ferguson (1970), p.213.

The same confusion and concern to not offend can be felt in North Africa. Ferguson cites the case of a Roman governor, who gives general thanks to “the gods of the Mauri”. Ferguson (1970), p.215.

¹²⁵ Ando (2008), pp.56-57.

¹²⁶ I would like to point out here that the reason why this chapter turns to British evidence as well as Pannonian evidence is twofold: firstly, a large majority of scholars who have written about “Romanisation” are British scholars and have done so referring to examples from Roman Britain. Thus, I deemed it best to supplement Pannonian evidence with evidence from a well-researched and well-documented province. Secondly, the reason why I use other evidence than Pannonian is in order to test if the theory of integration, laid out in this chapter, proves effective for other provinces as well.

¹²⁷ Webster (1995), p.157.

Celtic gods, initiated by the incomer¹²⁸, was a step in the process of “taming” them. Upon conquest, this process began with the ritual of *evocatio* – victory over foreign gods and their defection to the Roman side.¹²⁹ The process was then continued in terms of *interpretatio* – name-pairing foreign gods with Roman ones, in order to display mastery over them. Roman tolerance towards native religion could therefore only be achieved as a result of this process. Thus, according to Webster, *interpretatio* was not a “benign policy of religious integration”¹³⁰, but rather an asymmetry of power where the dominant culture (that of the conqueror) is displayed over and over again through the pairing of native and Roman deities.

To illustrate the point that *interpretatio* displayed an inequality of power, Webster draws our attention to the fact that *interpretatio* can be found more commonly among the higher ranking (and Italic by origin) soldiers in Britain than among lower-ranking (and native) ones. According to her, although lower ranking and native soldiers did employ the epigraphic habit, they tended to steer clear of using *interpretatio*. Thus, their inscriptions, in majority, refer solely to Roman gods or solely to native gods. To Webster, this indicates “indigenous resistance” to the concept of *interpretatio* and the power inequality implied in it.¹³¹

While Webster’s article offers some convincing arguments in support of viewing *interpretatio* as an unequal power relationship, certain issues must be addressed. Firstly, Webster’s view that *interpretatio* was the domain of Roman incomers is not entirely supported by evidence. Irby-Massie shows that *interpretatio* in Britain was not only used by the Roman newcomers, but by the natives as well.¹³² In addition to this, she points out that for a large number of *interpretatio* inscriptions, it is impossible for us to know whether they were dedicated by incomers or natives since they bear no name.¹³³ Furthermore, Webster’s argument that by name-pairing native and Roman gods the Romans exerted mastery over native divinities is completely turned on its head when we consider the fact that we find not

¹²⁸ Webster (1995), p.156.

¹²⁹ Webster (1995), p.158; and Irby-Massie (1999), pp.158-159.

¹³⁰ Webster (1995), p.157.

¹³¹ Webster (1995), pp.159-160.

¹³² *CIL* VII 36; *CIL* VII 335; *RIB* 731; *CIL* VII 139; and *RIB* 617 to name a few.

¹³³ Irby-Massie (1999), p.158 footnote #3.

only Roman-native pairings of divinities but native-native as well.¹³⁴ Thus, how are we to explain native gods paired with other native gods in terms of Roman-native power inequalities?

Perhaps we should not view *interpretatio* as a power game, nor as a translation or interpretation of gods on the basis of powers and/or iconography. Perhaps the best way to view *interpretatio* is not as a collective practice, but an individual one. After all, religion was a deeply personal matter in the ancient world, as it is today, and ultimately, what went on an inscription came down to the personal preference of the dedicator.¹³⁵ Thus, the decision of whether to name-pair or not was extremely individual. Berry, in his study of acculturation, has noted that: "...not all individuals participate to the same extent in the general acculturation being experienced by their group. While the general changes may be profound in the group, individuals are known to vary greatly in the degree to which they participate in these community changes".¹³⁶ Thus, personal preference seems to be the best explanation for all the "anomalies" encountered when examining *interpretatio*.

In addition to personal preference, one further factor should be taken into account: cost. Perhaps the name-pairing of deities does not necessarily indicate that the worshipper perceives them as equivalents performing the same functions, perhaps the habit of name-pairing is simply economical. Setting up a stone inscription was surely a costly enterprise. If the two gods happened to be localized (worshipped at the same spot), it would make sense to mention them on the same inscription, whether or not they performed the same function.¹³⁷

¹³⁴ *CIL* VII 958; and *CIL* VII 9, among others. Irby-Massie (1999), p.158 footnote #3. An interesting case, mentioned by Ferguson, is that of Ialonus Contrebis, discovered in Lancaster: a pairing of a Celtic god and a local god. Ferguson (1970), p.213.

¹³⁵ It must be pointed out, however, that there were certain conventions for worshipping and name-pairing. Woolf states that goddesses kept their indigenous names in the north-east, while male gods were either paired up or simply evocated in Roman form. Likewise, it was the custom for the Roman appellation to stand before the indigenous one. It must be noted however, that despite these conventions there was no law prohibiting one to name-pair as they pleased, and all individuals needn't have necessarily obeyed these conventions. Woolf (1998), pp.233-234. This is demonstrated by the variety of name-pairings which we find throughout the Empire.

¹³⁶ Berry (1997), p.7.

¹³⁷ Ferguson states that: "An alternative to the absorption of a local god by the Roman deity was the establishment of a joint cult, such as Apollo and Sirona, or Sucellus and Nautosuelta, or Mercury and Rosmerta...At the military station of Corbridge there is an altar with a dedication to Jupiter Dolichenus,

This way a worshipper would not only have a better chance of his vow reaching divine ears, but also he would not offend either deity by forgetting them.¹³⁸ This type of name-pairing does not necessarily need to be native-Roman, it may as well be native-native as we have previously seen, or even Roman-Roman (as dedications to Mars-Silvanus and Mars-Mercury attest in Britain¹³⁹). What these do show, however, beyond cost-effectiveness, is integration.¹⁴⁰ The worshipper is taking care to integrate and call upon any god (native or Roman) which he or she thinks could best help them.¹⁴¹ This integrationist view is supported by Irby-Massie who writes: “...*interpretatio* was not merely the process by which the Roman imperialist religion replaced indigenous practices. Both systems were changed.”¹⁴² Although she concedes that the natives integrated Roman religious practices and rituals, nevertheless, native influence could be seen in iconography and symbolism.¹⁴³ This integrationist process

Caelestis Brigantia, and Salus. Here absorption and co-ordination work side by side, since Brigantia is a regional goddess, the tutelary spirit of the Brigantes, but she is identified with Juno Caelestis, the Roman version of the Syrian goddess, and so made into the god's consort, and Salus, the personification of the principle of healing, is brought into the triad. Numerous inscriptions from other parts bring together the old Roman gods, local gods and gods from the East in this way.” Ferguson (1970), pp.216-217.

¹³⁸ Henig points out that: “Extreme localisation of cults came about because people were anxious that the shrine of every divine power received its due”. (1984), p.47.

¹³⁹ Hassall and Tomlin (1979), p.344; and Henig (1984), p.55.

¹⁴⁰ Woolf maintains that viewing *interpretatio Romana* as a “translation is not an appropriate metaphor, since what was being created was in fact a new language in which elements of the old had a place alongside innovations.” (i.e. integration). Woolf (1998), p.232. “References made to the ancestral traditions of *both* Gauls and Romans were thus deliberate.” Woolf (1998), p.234. This would seem to indicate that the integrationist approach was not only preferred, but encouraged.

¹⁴¹ Irby-Massie argues that in all likelihood, it did not make much difference to the dedicant whether they worshipped Roman or native gods, as long as these gods fulfilled their wishes. “...the average worshipper probably did not distinguish between Roman and non-Roman gods, or even “official” and “private”. Officers and soldiers often worshipped “foreign” gods, treating them as fully Roman. Furthermore, few enlisted men (that is, the majority of the standing army) would have enjoyed the benefits of an elite, classical education – unlikely they would have made subtle distinctions in myth or theocracy. Roman, Celt and Oriental thought it prudent to acknowledge, propitiate and seek the protection of local gods...” (1999), pp.159-160. Ferguson likewise notes the example of Alexander Severus who adhered to many different gods: “The emperor Alexander Severus is a particularly good example of the readiness to seek power wherever it may be found. In his private chapel, in the shrine of the Lares, he had a series of statues which included the deified emperors, revered spirits like Apollonius of Tyana, Christ, Abraham, Orpheus and all the others of that character.” Ferguson (1970), p.220. The inscription *CIL VI 510* seems to corroborate this theory.

¹⁴² Irby-Massie (1999), p.159.

is something which not even Webster can deny: "...*interpretatio* was a dynamic rather than destructive concept: it changed the Celtic gods, but it did not destroy them".¹⁴⁴

This type of religious integration can be seen not only in inscriptions dedicated to gods, but also in iconographic representations of deities.¹⁴⁵ Two examples from Britain show us how Roman and Celtic elements integrated in the case of worship of the same god. The first example, from Verulamium is that of Mercury, a Roman deity, wearing a Celtic symbol of divine power – a silver torque necklace. The second example, from Gloucester, is again a depiction of Mercury, who this time is accompanied by a woman who resembles the native goddess Rosmerta much more than his own mother Maia.¹⁴⁶ These two examples are relevant in showing us that integration was a two-way process, we see not only the "Romanisation" of Celtic gods, but a "Celticising" of Roman gods as well.¹⁴⁷

What we have tried to demonstrate throughout this chapter is that traditional views of "Romanisation" as assimilation are no longer valid when it comes to discussing acculturation in the provinces of the Roman Empire. "Romanisation" as a term is not only outmoded, but flawed in itself: it inherently implies that one culture is being exterminated by another. As we have attempted to point out, this is not the case. The most likely method of acculturation in the Roman Empire would have been integration, and not assimilation. This makes sense logically, first because the native and Roman societies, by virtue of their multiculturalism, were both predisposed already to adopting the integration method. Second because in order to create a unified, well-functioning society and prevent strife within that society, the integration

¹⁴³ Irby-Massie (1999), p.159. Greg Woolf shares this view: "It is not just in humbler, cheaper imagery that the Gallo-Roman gods retained some non-Roman features. Whether by making divine epithets out of indigenous gods or by providing new images of gods with "visual epithets" – a wheel for a Jupiter, a horse for an Epona – the syncretizers made certain to signal that they were adapting, rather than adopting Roman gods." Woolf (2001b), p.178.

¹⁴⁴ Webster (1995), p.161.

¹⁴⁵ Woolf, G. (1998), p.227.

¹⁴⁶ Henig (1984), pp.57-58.

¹⁴⁷ "This total process of the *interpretatio Romana* was two-way; the Romans might make their identification of local gods with their own, but in the process their own gods became Celtic; the *interpretatio Romana* was accompanied by an *interpretatio Celtica*." Ferguson (1970), p.214. To illustrate this point, Ferguson points to a depiction of Mercury, who displays two of his heads in the Roman fashion and two in Celtic, found in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Ferguson (1970), p.214.

method would have been the best suited. And third, because our epigraphic and iconographic evidence has actually shown us that in the provinces, we see an integration of native and Roman elements, both in art and in religion. Thus, what we see is not a strictly “Roman” identity, as those advocating the assimilation strategy would have us believe, but a multitude of local, regional, provincial and imperial expressions of identities, incorporating various cultural and religious elements. Within this framework, we are drawn to notice individual expressions of identity, which differed greatly in their interpretation, display and participation in the Roman imperial culture and society. One of the ways in which these identities are displayed is through religious worship. The choice of specific deities, their syncretisations, and the use (or lack of use) of *interpretatio Romana* can all reveal much to us about how the ancient inhabitants of southern Pannonia perceived themselves, what relationships they formed with the gods around them, and how their cultural, social, political and ethnic identities shaped the way they interacted not only with their deities, but also with their larger local, regional, provincial and imperial communities.

CHAPTER II: AQUAE IASAE (VARAŽDINSKE TOPLICE, CROATIA)

Aquae Iasae is an ancient site incorporating natural thermal baths, situated on the river Bednja, in close proximity of the Drava fluvial route and directly on the land road running parallel to the Drava, connecting Poetovio and Iovia-Botivo.¹⁴⁸ The site lies within the territory of the Pannonian Iasi tribe.¹⁴⁹ Although our sources do not offer much information about Aquae Iasae's pre-Roman inhabitants, Mayer, in his etymological study of the name "Aquae Iasae", claims that the name "Iasi" signifies "people of the hot spring". He suggests that such a name may have been obtained due to the fact that, apart from Aquae Iasae, several other thermal springs were to be found on the territory of the Iasi. This territory stretched roughly from Aquae Iasae to Aquae Balissae, incorporating much of the land between the Sava and the Drava rivers. Within this territory were included thermal springs at Krapinske Toplice, Stubičke Toplice, Tuheljske Toplice, Čateške Toplice, Lipik and Daruvar, which itself was known as Aquae Balissae, and according to recorded sources, was the seat of the Iasi tribe.¹⁵⁰ Thus, it seems perfectly possible that the Iasi defined themselves, and were defined by others, according to the most distinct feature of their territory, their thermal springs.

Our knowledge of the pre-Roman settlement of Aquae Iasae and its inhabitants is fairly limited. No archaeological remains of the pre-Roman settlement have been discovered, apart from prehistoric canals dug into the thermal spring, indicating that the autochthonous inhabitants of the region had used and visited the site since prehistoric times for the therapeutic and healing properties of the thermal waters.¹⁵¹

Portable material culture discovered on the territory of the Iasi indicates that they belonged to the Hallstatt Martijanec-Kaptol culture. It is possible that a female deity, perhaps a mother goddess or a healing goddess, was worshipped on this territory since the Neolithic times. This has been suggested by the discovery of a fragment of a female votive statue and a fragment of

¹⁴⁸ Vikić-Belančić (1972-1973), p.75.

¹⁴⁹ Iasi: Pliny, *Natural History*, 3.147; and *Iassioi*: Ptolemy, 2.13.2. See map of the Iasi at the end of this chapter.

¹⁵⁰ *CIL* III 4000 notes the *R(es) P(ublica) IAS(orum)*. Etymology: Mayer (1935), pp.69-82. See also: Kukuljević (1873), p.92 and p.102; Schejbal (2003a), p.99 and p.103; and Schejbal (2003b), pp.395-401.

¹⁵¹ Faber (1960), pp.8-11; Cabrian, J., Gorenc, M. and Vikić, B. (1966); Gorenc, M. and Vikić, B. (1971), p.129; Vikić-Belančić (1972-1973), p.121; Gorenc, M. and Vikić, B. (1973), p.93; and Vikić-Belančić (1978), pp.165-170.

a clay votive altar, both found in proximity of *Aquae Balissae*.¹⁵² Although these fragments are central to *Aquae Balissae*, and are not sufficient to confirm worship of a particular female deity throughout the Iasian territory (including *Aquae Iasae*), the fact that the (possible) worship of a female deity occurs in proximity of a thermal spring would seem to suggest that such a deity was connected with water and healing. This suggestion could be bolstered by the fact that the thermal springs in this region were traditionally famous for curing female ailments and fertility-related problems¹⁵³; and although we have no proof that the Roman women made use of the springs in the same manner, this supposition seems logical given the fact that the proportion of female deities and female worshippers at *Aquae Iasae* is higher than in any other settlement on the Pannonian section of the Drava river. Thus, the attestation of predominantly female deities (Nymphs, *Silvanae*, Juno, *Minerva*...) in the Roman period at the site of *Aquae Iasae* could indicate that this tradition of worshipping a female deity connected to a thermal spring was a pre-Roman remnant. Other elements of portable material culture which could give us clues of religious inclinations of the Iasi in the pre-conquest period consist of pottery frequently found in a funeral context on the larger territory of the Iasi featuring spiral, meander, sun-shaped and animal-shaped decorations. According to some scholars, these decorations might be viewed as representations of core religious beliefs of the Iasi; thus, sun-shaped decorations and animal-shaped decorations might represent nature, fertility and agricultural deities.¹⁵⁴ Although these theories cannot be confirmed in absence of clear epigraphic proof, however, again, the worship of fertility and nature/agricultural/pastoral divinities falls in line with later popular religious trends observed during the Roman period at *Aquae Iasae* (i.e. the worship of the Nymphs and *Silvanae*, for example).

Much like in other settlements in southern Pannonia, the third century B.C. saw the arrival of the Celts who subsequently brought changes to the autochthonous way of life. The territory of the Iasi was settled by the Celtic Taurisci tribe, and material evidence points to the fact that

¹⁵² For more detail on these finds please consult: Dimitrijević (1978), p.99; Gimbutaš (1991), pp.307-321; Minichreiter (1992), pp.12-13; Schejbal (2003b), p.398; and Schejbal (2003a), p.104.

¹⁵³ Schejbal (2003b), p.402.

¹⁵⁴ Vinski-Gasparini (1987), pp.204-206; and pp.222-223; and Schejbal (2003b), p.401. It is to be noted that similar animal-shaped decorations as well as animal-shaped figurines are to be found on the territory of the Scordisci, suggesting religious and probably cultural integration and exchange long before the arrival of the Romans. Brukner (1987), pp.39-40.

the two groups integrated and adapted to each other's culture and customs. Roman epigraphic evidence suggests that, to an extent, the Iasi maintained their autochthonous names¹⁵⁵, while archaeological evidence indicates that they adopted and adapted Celtic material culture.¹⁵⁶ This cultural integration was not a novelty to the region, as the river Drava was a prehistoric trade conduit which carried influences from various cultures, connecting the West with the East. Thus, for example, Graeco-Illyrian armour can be found in tumuli on the Iasian territory dating back to 750 B.C.¹⁵⁷

As the Iasian names recorded on Latin epigraphic monuments testify, cultural integration continued well into the Roman period. The Iasi most likely first came into contact with the Romans in the 150s B.C., when the latter ventured to Segestica (later Siscia). It is, however, very likely that their first prolonged contact occurred after the Pannonian-Illyrian revolt of A.D. 6-9. After the revolt was quelled, Roman forces established a military presence in what would become Aquae Balissae on the Iasian territory. This had previously been the central seat of the Iasi tribe, and continued the same purpose well into Roman times, as can be deduced by its appellation as *res publica Iasorum* and *municipium Iasorum* recorded on epigraphic monuments.¹⁵⁸ Iasian integration in the Roman system seems to have happened relatively quickly, as already within the first century of Roman rule men of Iasian heritage are recorded as serving in the Roman army.¹⁵⁹

In Roman times, Aquae Iasae became a therapeutic resort, frequented by the rich and affluent city officials, as well as by (presumably) wounded soldiers, all seeking rest and rejuvenation in the thermal springs. Archaeological evidence points to the fact that Aquae Iasae was also a

¹⁵⁵ These include examples such as Scenus and Tato. Katičić (1968), pp.147-148; Katičić (1976), pp.18-19; and Schejbal (2003a), p.105.

¹⁵⁶ For further evidence of integration, especially through pottery, please consult the Iovia-Botivo chapter. Petru (1968), p.364; Marković (1984), p.300; Marković (1992), p.7; and Schejbal (2003a), p.105.

¹⁵⁷ Marković (1984), pp.295-391; Vinski-Gasparini (1987), p.219; Stipčević (1991), p.216; Marković (1992), pp.3-10; Majnarić-Pandžić (1998), pp.231-250; Schejbal (2003b), p.402; and Schejbal (2003a), p.104.

¹⁵⁸ *Res Publica Iasorum*: CIL III 4000 (Commodus' reign); AIJ 586 (reign of Gordian III); and AIJ 587 (reign of Gordian III). *Municipium Iasorum*: ILJug 1132 (Hadrian's reign). Schejbal (2003a), p.99, and p.108.

¹⁵⁹ *Fronto Sceni f. Iasus* serving in the *coh I Lusitanorum* is recorded on a military diploma of A.D. 85 (CIL XVI 31), and M. Sentilius Iasus is recorded on a military diploma of A.D. 148 (CIL XVI 96), to name a few. See also: CIL III 10317; CIL III 12014 and CIL VI 2697 for other Iasi serving in the army. Pinterović (1975), p.137; and Schejbal (2003a), pp.106-108.

lively commercial centre, as is attested by the large number of *tabernae* discovered, probably constructed to supply the visitors to the thermal waters.¹⁶⁰ Like other settlements along the Drava, Aquae Iasae displays commercial relations with other Pannonian cities, and cities further afield in the Roman Empire. This is attested through abundant evidence of imported pottery¹⁶¹, as well as brickstamps and lamp stamps originating from foreign (and nearby) workshops.¹⁶² Although votive epigraphic evidence is abundant in Aquae Iasae, and attests to a vibrant and varied religious life connected closely with the thermal springs, we have no other significant epigraphic or literary evidence which could shed a light on this Roman site. This is especially problematic when attempting to ascertain the ethnic and cultural composition of the population of Aquae Iasae, as no cemeteries or funerary inscriptions have

¹⁶⁰ Vikić-Belančić (1972-1973), p.123.

¹⁶¹ Aquae Iasae yields Italic pottery imports, as well as pottery imports from Gaul (Banassaca and Montans in the late first century, LaGraufesenque in the Flavian period, Lezoux and Trier in the second century) and Rheinzbern (second century). Similar examples of imported pottery found in Aquae Iasae can also be found at Poetovio (from Lezoux), Brigetio (from Lezoux), Neviodunum and Emona. Certain decorative elements found on Lezoux imports at Aquae Iasae are identical or very similar to those produced by Poetovio potters, like for example Cinnamus and Comitialis VI (Vikić-Belančić (1972-1973), nos. 6, 7, 8 and 13, pp.94-96). This would seem to indicate that local potters integrated and adapted elements from across the Empire for their own clientèles. Mikl-Curk (1969), p.16; Vikić-Belančić, B. and Gorenc, M. (1970), p.126; and Vikić-Belančić (1972-1973), pp.92-95. In the early phases of Roman occupation, we predominantly see the local coarse pottery decorated with the Celtic comb motif. This type of pottery can be found throughout the whole Roman period, from the first to the fifth centuries, indicating the survival of local tradition. Importation begins in the first century with the appearance of black and grey *terra sigillata*, although the local coarse ware is still widespread. In addition to these, barbotine can be found as well, but in lesser quantities. Towards the end of the first century A.D. we begin to see the production of imitation *sigillata* by local workshops. This *sigillata* does not carbon-copy imports from Gaul and further afield, but integrates typical elements of *sigillata* decoration such as the *planta pedis*, and other elements specific to Lezoux, Trier, Rheinzbern, Westendorf and so on with local Illyrian-Celtic motifs, such as the pine branch motif, and other Celtic motifs, such as the net motif found on Belgian pottery. This integration of foreign and local motifs in decoration is applied to local techniques of fabrication. This kind of eclectic imitation *sigillata* persists until the end of the second century. Red and marbled pottery is also very widespread in the late first to late second century A.D. This reflects well the trend found in the rest of southern Pannonia, as these pottery fragments are attested at Jalžabet, Iovia-Botivo, Poetovio, Siscia, Andautonia, Neviodunum and Emona, among other places. Vikić-Belančić (1972-1973), p.79, p.84, p.87, p.92, pp.97-102, and p.104.

¹⁶² In addition to pottery lamps were imported into Aquae Iasae as well, mainly from northern Italy in the first and second centuries, as a stamp from the workshop of Festus attests. Lamps from local Pannonian workshops are found in Aquae Iasae as well, as the stamp of Ursulus from Poetovio attests, whose workshop was active during the Antonine period. Ursulus supplied southern Pannonia, as well as Noricum and Dacia. Šubić (1968), p.455; Vikić-Belančić, B. and Gorenc, M. (1970), p.138; and Vikić-Belančić (1972-1973), pp.107-108.

so far been discovered.¹⁶³ Additionally, our evidence is so poor that we are not even completely certain of the founding date of the Roman settlement (the Flavian period is generally accepted).¹⁶⁴ We do not know the nature of Aquae Iasae's administrative status, nor do we know if it was included in the *ager* of Poetovio or Iovia-Botivo.¹⁶⁵ While it seems more likely that Aquae Iasae could have belonged to the Poetovian *ager* at least in the early Roman period (it was geographically closer to Poetovio¹⁶⁶ and seems to have enjoyed a special relationship with this city¹⁶⁷), it must be noted that, as of the fourth century, Poetovio became part of the province of Noricum¹⁶⁸, and any special relationship that it may have entertained with Aquae Iasae was most likely severed. It could be hypothesised that at this point Aquae Iasae fell under the *ager* of Iovia-Botivo. One piece of evidence which may corroborate this theory is an inscription from the time of Constantine, recording the reconstruction of Aquae Iasae after it was devastated by a fire. The inscription records that Aquae Iasae was a Pannonian settlement¹⁶⁹, thus it most likely would not have been connected to Poetovio administratively any longer. Migotti suggests that it could have been due to the (possible) transfer of Aquae Iasae to Iovia-Botivo, that the latter received its bishopric. It is also likewise possible that Aquae Iasae received Christianity from Iovia-Botivo, as the *thermae* at Aquae Iasae become a Christian place of worship in the late fourth century, at about the same time when Poetovio is transferred to Noricum, and Aquae Iasae (presumably) to Iovia-Botivo.

¹⁶³ Rendić-Miočević (1991-1992), p.68.

¹⁶⁴ Vikić-Belančić (1972-1973), p.118.

¹⁶⁵ Migotti (2002), p.52; and Gregl, Z. and Migotti, B. (2004), p.135.

¹⁶⁶ Aquae Iasae was situated approximately sixty kilometres from Poetovio. Migotti (2002), p.54.

¹⁶⁷ *ILJug* 1168 attests a dedication set up on behalf of the people of Poetovio. This may indicate a special administrative or diplomatic relationship between the two cities, especially if we interpret the inscription as recording a gift to a temple. Likewise *CIL* III 4117 dating from A.D. 161-170 attests a connection with the city of Poetovio. Vikić (1960), pp.47-49; and Rendić-Miočević (1991-1992), p.69.

¹⁶⁸ Mócsy (1962), p.750; and Migotti (2002), p.54.

¹⁶⁹ *CIL* III 4121; Migotti (1997), p.54; and Migotti (2002), p.54.

The outline of Aquae Iasae is particular, as it is centered around the thermal spring.¹⁷⁰ The baths and the forum have been erected directly on top of the most potent spring, which is situated on an elevated plateau. Due to the healing nature of the spring, temples to the Nymphs and various healing deities, as well as a Capitoline temple were erected within the forum complex and adjacent to the baths; so that this space soon developed into the public and cultic area of the city (see the plan of the baths and the forum p.112).¹⁷¹ Archaeological surveys have revealed that the commercial area of the city was situated along the river Bednja, while the residential space was situated on the slope leading down from the public area.¹⁷² It would appear that the commercial and residential areas were originally of wooden construction, which sustained heavy damage during the Marcomannic Wars, as a coin of Marcus Aurelius was found amongst the charred remains of the *tabernae*.¹⁷³ After the wars the damaged areas were rebuilt in stone, closely following the previous urban outlines. All three areas, the commercial, the public and the residential, show continuous occupation

¹⁷⁰ In addition to the thermal spring, the configuration of the city was also affected by its proximity to the Drava and the *limes* installations. Aquae Iasae's connection to the *limes* is particularly evident in the nature of the worshippers recorded in the early period, most of whom are soldiers or who are connected to the army in one way or another. From the Antonine period onwards, the *thermae* at Aquae Iasae are frequented both by the military and the civilians. It is due to these factors that Vikić-Belančić and Petrikovitz believe that the *thermae* at Aquae Iasae are unique compared to *thermae* in the rest of the Empire. Petrikovitz (1968), p.89; and Vikić-Belančić, B. and Gorenc, M. (1970), pp.147-148, p.152.

¹⁷¹ Nemeth-Ehrlich (1997), p.73; Nemeth-Ehrlich and Kušan (1999), p.68; and Nemeth-Ehrlich and Kušan Spalj (2003), p.91.

¹⁷² It would appear that the location of public and residential/commercial spheres was determined according to geography and not according to any pre-Roman autochthonous urban planning. This is exemplified by the fact that the city of Aquae Balissae, likewise an Iasian settlement, features an opposing city plan to that of Aquae Iasae. Namely, the residential/commercial area of Aquae Balissae is situated on an elevated ground, whereas the public area occupies the lower ground. Vikić-Belančić (1972-1973), p.75; Vikić-Belančić (1978), p.165; and Schejbal (2003a), p.99.

¹⁷³ According to Vikić-Belančić, the wooden construction employed during the early Roman period is a remnant of local, pre-Roman building techniques. Although as of yet, no trace of the supposed pre-Roman native settlement remains, Vikić-Belančić supposes that such a settlement existed on the basis of the preservation of the tribal name in the appellation Aquae Iasae. Moreover, she conjectures that since the native inhabitants had knowledge of the thermal waters at Aquae Iasae, it is thus natural that they would have made use of them by establishing a settlement in proximity. It is to be noted that the *tabernae* at Aquae Iasae much resemble the ones found at Verulamium in Britain. Frère (1972), p.11; Vikić-Belančić (1972-1973), p.75, p.86, p.114, p.118 and p.121; and Vikić-Belančić (1978), p.168.

during the Roman period, from the Flavian reign to the end of the fourth century A.D., as is attested by numismatic evidence of Constans and Valentinian I.¹⁷⁴

The heart of the city, the *thermae*, were constructed in the first century A.D.¹⁷⁵, and continued to be repaired and modified until the end of the fourth century, indicating continual use. Although certain earlier architectural elements were incorporated into later construction, the largely haphazard extension of the *thermae* was utilitarian, according to excavators, reflecting the nature of its patrons. The orderly layout of the rooms and the large size of the pools in the early period would seem to indicate that the *thermae* were frequented by the army.¹⁷⁶ It would appear that by the time of the Antonines the *thermae* started being frequented as well by wealthy and prominent civilians.¹⁷⁷ This trend of military and civilian patrons continued into Constantine's reign.

Apart from hygienic purposes, a section of the thermal complex also served as a shrine to the Nymphs (and possibly other healing deities such as the Silvanae), as most of the dedications to the goddesses were found in the *thermae* and the forum or in their close proximity.¹⁷⁸ In addition to the epigraphic dedications, other evidence found would also seem to suggest that the thermal complex was employed for votive purposes, most likely on account of the thermal spring. Scholars have suggested that several objects, including an elaborate military belt, may have been deposited here as votive offerings.¹⁷⁹ This practice of depositing votive

¹⁷⁴ Vikić (1960), p.47; Vikić-Belančić (1972-1973), p.75, p.114, and p.116; and Vikić-Belančić (1978), p.168.

¹⁷⁵ The oldest sections of the *thermae* are the canals built under the rooms 16, 17, 18 and 19, in the western and southwestern parts of the *thermae*, which date to the beginning of the first century A.D. The first bath rooms are believed to have been built in the mid to late first century, dated according to the bricks used displaying the stamp of the brickmaker Quintus Spurius, whose workshop was active in the first century. These southwestern bathrooms ceased being in use in the Antonine period (see the plan of the baths and the forum). Vikić-Belančić, B. and Gorenc, M. (1970), p.139; p.142; pp.147-148, and p.150.

¹⁷⁶ This is corroborated by votive dedications from the first and the early second centuries: *CIL* III 10.893 = *A/IJ* 1938, 462; and *CIL* III 4118 = *ILS* 996 = *A/IJ* 1938, 463. Vikić-Belančić, B. and Gorenc, M. (1970), p.151; Rendić-Miočević (1975), pp.43-44; Rendić-Miočević (1991-1992), p.74; Vikić-Belančić (1996), pp.21-22; and Galić and Radman-Livaja (2006), pp.173-174.

¹⁷⁷ This is likewise corroborated by votive dedications: *CIL* III 4117 = *A/IJ* 1938, 461; *A/IJ* 1938, 458; *A/IJ* 1938, 459; and *CIL* III 10890 = *A/IJ* 1938, 467. Vikić-Belančić, B. and Gorenc, M. (1970), p.151.

¹⁷⁸ Vikić-Belančić (1962), pp.172-173.

¹⁷⁹ Vikić-Belančić (1978), pp.38-41; Vikić-Belančić (1996), p.12; and Galić and Radman-Livaja (2006), p.173.

offerings in bodies of water was not unusual, and considering the nature of this site as a thermal healing resort, and the predominance of healing and nature deities encountered here, it would be perfectly logical to assume that the various objects discovered within the *thermae* at Aquae Iasae may have been “sacrificed” on purpose in return for health benefits.¹⁸⁰ After all, not everyone could afford to erect a votive dedication, nor may have subscribed to this type of worship. Thus, the offering of a personal object, such as jewellery, was an alternative way of expressing gratitude to a deity. The military belt found at Aquae Iasae may constitute such an offering reflecting the nature of its military visitors.¹⁸¹

Archaeological excavations have shown that the baths were lavishly constructed and decorated, and during the first two centuries of the new era at least, used to be larger, as remains of the *thermae* were discovered under the south portico of the forum. Archaeologists have suggested that this part of the baths fell out of use towards Constantine’s time, and that this space was utilised for the extension of the forum and other public structures.¹⁸² Towards the end of the fourth century, the *thermae* may have been transformed into an early Christian church, as frescoes depicting imagery of Eden and (presumably) St. John adorn the building at this time.¹⁸³ This may perhaps explain why certain sections of the baths were no longer in use and became remodelled. The refurbishment of the *thermae* at this time is also evident through the reuse of votive dedications in building construction. Namely, some of the votive dedications previously belonging to the *thermae* from the first and the second centuries A.D.

¹⁸⁰ A similar occurrence is to be found at Aquae Sulis in Britain where coins, jewellery, bronze vessels and pieces of military uniform, among others, were deposited as votive offerings. See, among others: Cunliffe, B. *Roman Bath Discovered*. London, 1971; and Cunliffe B. and Davenport, P. *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath Vols. 1 and 2*. Oxford University Committee for Archaeology. 1985 and 1988.

¹⁸¹ Galić and Radman-Livaja (2006), p.174.

¹⁸² The section of the *thermae* which fell out of use could be the Nymphaeum, as pagan deities were becoming replaced by Christianity. Vikić, B., Gorenc, M. and Damevski, V. (1979), p.89; and Vikić, B., Gorenc, M. and Damevski, V. (1980), pp.92-93.

¹⁸³ For a detailed account of the changes and developments that the baths sustained during the Roman period see: Vikić-Belančić, B. (1956-1957), p.141; Vikić-Belančić, B. and Gorenc, M. (1958); Vikić-Belančić, B. and Gorenc, M. (1961), pp.210-212; Vikić-Belančić, B. and Gorenc, M. (1970), p.122, and p.149; and Vikić-Belančić, B. (1978), p.165. Most recent excavations on the site have cast some doubt on whether the *thermae* were indeed turned into a Christian place of worship. See: Kušan Špalj and Nemeth-Ehrlich (2012).

were now built into the western wall of the baths complex.¹⁸⁴ Thus, we see that as the baths may have been transformed into a Christian place of worship, pagan religious dedications lost their cultural and spiritual value.

Adjacent to the *thermae* was the forum and the religious centre of Aquae Iasae. Square in shape and measuring 26m x 23m, the construction of the forum began in the early first century A.D., and much like the *thermae*, continued throughout the Roman period. The forum seems to have been imbued with special religious significance; not only since it was here that many epigraphic dedications to the Nymphs were erected and, subsequently, reused in the repaving of the forum floor¹⁸⁵, but also since in the 1998 and 2001-2002 excavations a thermal spring and what is believed to be a Nymphaeum were discovered in the central part of the forum (see the plan of the forum).¹⁸⁶ Although only the eastern and northern part of the structure has been uncovered, the spring is thought to measure 12.5 x 9 metres. It is possible that votive offerings to the Nymphs and other healing deities were deposited here, although further excavations are necessary. The adjoining temple, most likely the Nymphaeum, measures 4 x 5 metres and featured a number of stone fragments, belonging to votive reliefs and dedications, although none have been published in detail so far. According to excavators, these were most likely reused in later renovations of the forum during the reign of Constantine.¹⁸⁷ The religious significance of the forum is further exhibited by the fact that the Capitoline temple, which itself was of an unusual outline, was located adjacent to the forum. The Capitoline temple featured one large connected temple with three rooms and not the standard three separate but adjacent temples. The north side of the forum gave out to a monumental staircase and a platform, which provided access to the Capitoline temple; with

¹⁸⁴ These include four dedications to the Nymphs: *ILJug* 1170; *ILJug* 1171a; *ILJug* 1171b; and *ILJug* 1171c; and a dedication to Juno and Fortuna (*ILJug* 1168). Vikić-Belančić (1962), p.173; Vikić-Belančić (1963), p.113; and Nemeth-Ehrlich and Kušan (1999), p.70.

¹⁸⁵ During the excavations in the southeastern part of the forum, archaeologists discovered a section of the floor measuring approximately 6m x 6m which was constructed of slabs and broken off pieces of votive dedications. Although some of the dedications were badly damaged and some featured worn-out inscriptions, the excavators were able to determine that the majority of these were dedications set up to the Nymphs. These may have been used to pave the southern extension of the forum in the reign of Constantine, when Christianity had taken hold and pagan dedications fell out of fashion. Gorenc, M. and Damevski, V. (1976), pp.75; and Vikić-Belančić (1982), pp.69-71.

¹⁸⁶ Nemeth-Ehrlich and Kušan (1999), pp.72-73.

¹⁸⁷ Nemeth-Ehrlich and Kušan-Špalj (2006), pp.104-105.

the middle and larger one of the three rooms dedicated to the supreme deity, Jupiter, and the eastern and western rooms dedicated to Juno and Minerva respectively. Like the forum and the *thermae*, the Capitoline temple was repaired, reconstructed and re-extended between the first and the fourth centuries A.D.¹⁸⁸ Scholars suspect that the original outline of the temple in the first century consisted of an open space (forum) next to which was a sole sanctuary. The two smaller side rooms are believed to have been added later on, along with a portico.¹⁸⁹ This fact, along with the fact that so far no dedicatory inscriptions to the deity Jupiter are attested from Aquae Iasae, has led Sinobad to believe that perhaps the original intention was not to build a temple to the Capitoline deities, but to construct a shrine to the imperial cult.¹⁹⁰ Until further excavations are conducted, however, this cannot be confirmed.

The last reliable date for the functioning of Aquae Iasae comes from a coin of Valentinian, discovered in the public area of the city. It is probably around this time that the city experienced its decline and fall. It is possible that a series of unfortunate events caused the downfall of the settlement. The inscription recording the refurbishment of the baths during Constantine's reign (*CIL* III 4121) indicates that the baths were ravaged by a fire. Other archaeological evidence found would seem to suggest that the settlement was subsequently sacked by barbarian invaders and most likely burned again.¹⁹¹ It is possible that thus weakened and wrought with danger, Aquae Iasae lost its appeal as a visitor destination and extinguished sometime towards the end of the fourth century.

Although Aquae Iasae yields a fair number of religious dedications, all of them in Latin, the deities recorded are predominantly female deities connected with the thermal springs and its healing properties.¹⁹² This suggests that the religious life of Aquae Iasae was inevitably intertwined with its geographic features. It is possible that the prevalence of female healing deities in the Roman period reflected autochthonous religious trends. Thus, pre-Roman female deities and spirits connected to nature, fertility and healing may have been honoured

¹⁸⁸ Vikić, B. and Gorenc, M. (1967), pp.102-105; Vikić, B. and Gorenc, M. (1969), p.10; Vikić-Belančić (1978), pp.165-166, 168; and Nemeth-Ehrlich and Kušan (1999), p.70.

¹⁸⁹ Gorenc, M. and Vikić, B. (1980), p.10 and p.12; and Vikić-Belančić (1996), p.19.

¹⁹⁰ Sinobad (2008), pp.251-252.

¹⁹¹ Vikić-Belančić (1972-1973), p.124; Vikić-Belančić (1996), p.30; and Galić and Radman-Livaja (2006), p.175.

¹⁹² Rendić-Miočević (1991-1992), p.67.

in Roman times through the worship of similar deities already well-known to the Roman visitors of this thermal resort, such as the Nymphs and the Silvanae, who were numerous and versatile enough to embody not only the spirit of the springs, but also perhaps other autochthonous spirits such as wood nymphs, field nymphs, and other fertility and nature deities.¹⁹³ Perhaps it is for this reason that we have no surviving pre-Roman deity names recorded on votive dedications from Aquae Iasae. Most prevalent among the deities at Aquae Iasae are the Nymphs. They are closely followed by other nature divinities such as the Silvanae and Diana. The Capitoline deities Juno and Minerva are likewise attested; although a complete lack of dedications (so far) to Pannonia's most important deity, Jupiter, is rather baffling considering that Aquae Iasae (supposedly) featured a Capitoline temple. Deities beloved by soldiers such as Mithras, Sol, Hercules and Fortuna are also represented. This is unsurprising considering that Aquae Iasae was a thermal healing resort where wounded soldiers were likely to seek recuperation.

Diana

The Roman nature goddess Diana is attested on three dedications at Aquae Iasae. Two of these are erected to the goddess herself, and one is erected jointly to the goddess and the Nymphs. Since Diana was the goddess of wilderness and the protector of women and childbirth¹⁹⁴, it is no wonder that she is so popular at Aquae Iasae, where nature, healing and protector deities predominate. The first dedication attesting the goddess is an altar measuring 47 x 16 x 13.5cm, slightly damaged.¹⁹⁵ It was discovered in the context of the bath complex in the years 1953-1955. The dedication reads:

DIAN[AE] / AVG(ustae) SAC(rum) / VE[----] / V(otum) S(olvit) [L(ibens) M(erito)]

The second dedication, dating most likely to the Antonine period, reads¹⁹⁶:

*DOM(inae) ET D(eae) [DI]ANAE / M(onitu) V(otum) S(olvit) / EPVRIA / UR[S]VLA RE / [--
--*

¹⁹³ Rendić-Miočević (1986), p.480; and Schejbal (2003b), p.403.

¹⁹⁴ Adkins and Adkins (1996), pp.60-61; and Simon (1993), pp.51-58.

¹⁹⁵ *ILJug* 1963, 356 = *ILJug* 1166 = *AII* 460. Vikić-Belančić, B. and Gorenc, M. (1958), p.114.

¹⁹⁶ *AII* 459. Vikić-Belančić, B. and Gorenc, M. (1970), p.151, footnote #14.

Fitz believes that due to the sheer popularity of Oriental cults in Pannonia the worship of Diana should be regarded in most cases as attesting the worship of Syrian Diana. He believes that the popularity of the goddess stems from the Severan empresses who themselves originated from the East, thus reflecting not only religious trends influenced by imperial power at the time, but also expressions of loyalty on the part of Pannonians towards the Severan dynasty.¹⁹⁷ Our two dedications to the goddess above give us no irrefutable proof that the Syrian Diana is the goddess intended. Although the first inscription is difficult to date and the name of the dedicator does not survive, the use of the epithet “Augusta” would suggest a closer connection to the imperial cult, and subsequently to displays of loyalty towards the emperor, than to Oriental syncretism. The second dedication, dating from the Antonine period, is much too early to give support to Fitz’s thesis. The dedicator, Epuria Ursula, may be very likely of Italic or even Pannonian-Illyrian autochthonous origin, as her name is found most frequently in Italy and the Danubian provinces such as Pannonia, Moesia, Dacia and Noricum.¹⁹⁸ She reveals that she was prompted to set up the dedication, perhaps by a vision. It is significant that our second dedicator (and perhaps even our first!) is a woman, as Diana was a protector of women and childbirth. Given that our dedicator visits Aquae Iasae, whose thermal waters are known for treating infertility, it could be speculated that Ursula herself dedicates for this very purpose. Considering the pairing of Diana with the Nymphs on the dedication below, as well as the findspot of *AII* 460 within the bath complex, it is extremely likely that Diana was worshipped in a joint sanctuary with the Nymphs, an unsurprising idea considering that these divinities belonged to the larger group of nature and protector deities.

Diana and Nymphs

¹⁹⁷ Fitz (1959), pp.258-263; and Pinterović (1960), p.27.

¹⁹⁸ The *nomen* Epuria appears only one other time in the epigraphic record to our knowledge, on an inscription from Italy. The *cognomen* Ursula is more frequent, with most attestations being recorded in Italy (especially in the city of Rome and Regio X, namely Aquileia), and in Pannonia, Dalmatia and Noricum. Considering that the name is to be found most frequently in northern Italy and in the provinces with the closest geographical proximity to this region (Noricum, Dalmatia and Pannonia), we are inclined to believe that the dedicator may have been of northern Italic origin, possibly belonging to one of the early northern Italian settler families to the region. See *OPEL* IV, p.187.

One joint dedication to Diana and the Nymphs has been discovered at Aquae Iasae. The dedication reads¹⁹⁹:

*DIANAE ET / NYMPHIS / SACR(um) / COLLEGIVM / IVVENTVTIS / V(otum) S(olvit)
L(ibens) M(erito)*

Diana appears to have been, by the sheer number of dedications, the third most popular deity in Pannonia after Jupiter Optimus Maximus and Silvanus. Like the Nymphs and the Silvanae, Diana is a deity tied to the natural world. It is thus not unusual that she is associated with the Nymphs, who are believed to be her assistants.²⁰⁰ It is unusual, however, that this is the only dedication attesting the pairing of the Nymphs with Diana in this region. The pairing is well-attested, however, in the province of Dalmatia, especially on the territory of the Delmatae. The two deities are often attested alongside Silvanus in this province, both in iconography and epigraphy. Rendić-Miočević believes that in this context they may have formed a cult group, a reflection perhaps of pre-Roman cultic practices and religious preferences of the Delmatae.²⁰¹ Although Diana and the Nymphs are not attested jointly with Silvanus at Aquae Iasae, the attestation of the Silvanae, Silvanus' female attendants often interpreted as akin to the Nymphs (see below) at Aquae Iasae would seem to indicate that a practice of cult grouping of nature deities *could* have been observed in this region as well, and may have reflected pre-Roman Pannonian-Illyrian religious practices and identities. The present dedication was erected by a *collegium iuventutis*, which we are to presume would have been a local Poetovian association.²⁰²

Nymphs

By far the largest number of dedications from Aquae Iasae are attributed to the Nymphs. All the dedications were discovered within the confines of the forum, which was located directly adjacent to the baths and to the Capitoline temple.²⁰³ In addition to the inscribed dedications,

¹⁹⁹ *AIJ* 460 = *AE* 1938,156.

²⁰⁰ Thomas (1980), pp.177-181; and Schejbal (2003b), p.404.

²⁰¹ Rendić-Miočević (1980), p.110.

²⁰² Rendić-Miočević (1991-1992), p.70, footnote #16.

²⁰³ It is to be noted that a large number of relief and inscribed fragments have not as of yet been published, thus our evidence for the worship of the Nymphs is far larger in reality than what is recorded here. We are

two marble reliefs were also discovered. The first relief was found during the 1956-1959 excavations, just to the north of the *thermae*. It is a small fragment depicting only the head of a Nymph. It was dated by the excavators to the second century A.D.²⁰⁴ The second relief was discovered in the forum in 1976. It measures 23cm x 17.5cm x 5cm, and depicts a Nymph from the back. According to the excavators, it is well executed and well-preserved, as it may have been built into a wall.²⁰⁵

Our first epigraphic dedication is dated most likely either between the years A.D. 45 and A.D. 69, when the *XIII Gemina* was present in Poetovio, and before it took part in the battle of Cremona and was subsequently sent to the Rhineland against the Batavians in A.D. 70; or, according to Galić and Radman Livaja, between A.D. 69 and A.D. 84, after having already participated in the battle of Cremona.²⁰⁶ This dedication, along with the dedication below, is the earliest epigraphic attestation of the worship of the Nymphs at Aquae Iasae. The inscription reads²⁰⁷:

*NYMPHAS SALVTARES / M(arcus) RVTILIVS LVPVS TR(ibunus) MIL(itum) / LEG(ionis)
XXII Q(uaestor) TR(ibunus) P(lebis) / LEG(atus) AVG(usti) LEG(ionis) XIII GEM(inae)*

Our dedicator, Marcus Rutilius Lupus, identifies himself as occupying the post of legate of the *XIII Gemina* legion, as well as having previously occupied the post of tribune in the *legio XXII*. He does not specify whether he refers to the *XXII Primigenia* or the *XXII Deiotariana*. Considering the fact that the *XXII Deiotariana* was stationed in Egypt during the first century²⁰⁸, the present author is inclined to believe that a reference to the *XXII Primigenia* is

only able to examine in this thesis the published evidence, and make further mention of two unpublished dedications which have come to our attention.

²⁰⁴ Vikić-Belančić, B. and Gorenc, M. (1970), p.136.

²⁰⁵ Gorenc, M. and Damevski, V. (1976), pp.72-76.

²⁰⁶ Galić and Radman-Livaja (2006), p.174, footnote #17. If the dedication dates between A.D. 69 and 84 this could suggest that our dedicator was possibly injured during the battle of Cremona and sent to recuperate at Aquae Iasae, thus not having followed the rest of his legion to the Rhineland. Unless he was replaced by another *legatus*, it seems fairly unlikely to this author that the legion would continue on without him. Thus, we are more inclined towards the earlier date.

²⁰⁷ *CIL* III 10.893 = *AII* 1938, 462. Vikić (1960), p.49, footnote #5; and Vikić-Belančić, B. and Gorenc, M. (1970), p.151, footnote #13.

²⁰⁸ Daris (2000), pp.365-367.

intended here. The *XXII Primigenia* was stationed much closer to Pannonia, on the German *limes*, and thus it makes more sense to imagine its tribune reassigned to a legion occupying similar terrain. Likewise, the fact that Lupus does not specify the name of the *legio XXII* is telling. It is likely that he omits the name of the legion on purpose, as he may have thought that fellow soldiers who saw his dedication would have immediately been inclined to associate him to the geographically closer alternative. Lupus is likely of northern Italic and/or Celtic origin, considering the early dating of this dedication, his prominent *cursus honorum*, and the fact that both the *legio XXII Primigenia*, when it was raised in A.D. 39, and the *legio XIII Gemina*, as far as we know, were composed almost entirely of men originating from northern Italian cities such as Concordia, Mediolanum, Brixia, Ateste, Verona, and Industria.²⁰⁹ With the *legio XXII* Lupus would have been most likely stationed in Mainz, where the legion was encamped, before being promoted to legate of the *XIII Gemina* and moving to Poetovio. Unlike the other dedications which invoke the Nymphs in the dative, this dedication is interesting due to the fact that it invokes the goddesses in the accusative. According to Rendić-Miočević a dedication in the accusative would usually entail the use of a verb such as *posuit* or *fecit*; implying that a relief or a statue might have accompanied this dedication. It is unusual that such a verb is omitted here, and that no accompanying monument has been found. Another interesting element of this dedication is that it omits the traditional *V.S.L.M.* formula, as do most of the other dedications to the Nymphs from Aquae Iasae (see below). Rendić-Miočević believes that the dedicant may not have intended to erect this dedication for traditional purposes, but that he may have wanted to flaunt his wealth and position. This can be seen especially from the care with which he took to display his *cursus honorum*. This may also be supported by the fact that the only dedications to the Nymphs which employ the *V.S.L.M.* formula at Aquae Iasae are “private” dedications, where the

²⁰⁹ *Legio XXII Primigenia*: Forni (1953), p.235; and Forni (1974). *Legio XIII Gemina*: Forni (1953), pp.230-231; Forni (1974); Forni (1992), p.135; and Wolff (2000), p.204. Our dedicant's name is encountered very frequently in Italy, and especially in *Regio X*. See for example : *CIL* I 0275-0280; *CIL* V 2510; and *CIL* V 2678; which seem to suggest the presence of a large and prominent family of that name at Ateste. For “Rutilius” see *OPEL* IV, p.38 which shows the greatest distribution of the name in Italy, followed closely by Spain. For “Lupus” see *OPEL* III, p.39 which notes the particular frequency of the *cognomen* in Spain and Dalmatia. I am indebted to Dr. Benet Salway for pointing out that the origin of officers does not necessarily reflect the origin of the troops; however, due to the early dating of this inscription I am nevertheless inclined to believe that Lupus was likely of northern Italic and/or Celtic origin.

dedicators do not explicitly state their social or professional affiliations.²¹⁰ Thus, the dedicant was perhaps simply making an homage to the healing Nymphs, rather than indicating a fulfilled vow. However, the possibility that the dedicant may be expressing his gratitude for a previous service must not be discarded either.²¹¹

The second dedication is an altar, dating most likely between A.D. 45 and 69, when the *XIII Gemina* was stationed in Poetovio. It is a dedication by another legate of the *XIII Gemina*, Marcus Fabius Fabullus. The dedication reads:²¹²

*M(arcus) FABIVS / FABVLLVS / TRIB(unus) MILITVM / LEG(ionis) XIII GEM(inae) /
LEG(atus) AVG(usti) PROVINC(iae) / AFRICAE PR(o) PR(aetore) / LEG(atus) AVG(usti)
LEG(ionis) XIII GEM(inae) / SACR(um) NYMP(his)*

Our dedicator, Marcus Fabius Fabullus, identifies himself as a legate of the *XIII Gemina* legion, having previously held the post of tribune in the same legion, and the governorship of the province of Africa. It is to be remarked that the word “AVG(usti)” in the fifth line is inserted by mistake by the carver, either due to carelessness or to the still-limited knowledge of Roman senior posts by the (presumably) local craftsman at this early period.²¹³ It is possible that Fabullus may have originated from Italy or Spain, as his name is most often found in Italy, Hispania Citerior and Baetica.²¹⁴ According to Forni, up to Hadrian’s time, the men enrolled in the *XIII Gemina* originated mainly from northern Italy, so it is also very likely that our dedicator may have been of northern Italian origin.²¹⁵ Given the post which he occupied, Fabius was most certainly of senatorial rank, like his fellow legate Lupus. It is very likely that the two men may have served together and known each other, if not even

²¹⁰ It is to be noted, however, that *CIL* III 10892 is too badly damaged to exclude the possibility that it may have been of “official” character.

²¹¹ Rendić-Miočević (1991-1992), p.71.

²¹² *CIL* III 4118 = *AIJ* 1938, 463 = *ILS* 996. Vikić (1960), p.49, footnote #5; Vikić-Belančić, B. and Gorenc, M. (1970), p.151, footnote #13; and Galić and Radman-Livaja (2006), p.174, footnote #17.

²¹³ See the entries in *CIL* III 4118; *ILS* 996 and *PIR*² III, p.100, #32.

²¹⁴ “Fabius”: *OPEL* II, p.132 records the name most frequently in Spain, followed by Italy and Gallia Narbonensis. “Fabullus”: *OPEL* II, p.133 records this name appearing as well most frequently in Spain. Also, see for example: *AE* 2002, 728a; *CIL* II 1425; *CIL* II 3018 and *AE* 1993, 1051j, to name a few.

²¹⁵ Forni (1953), pp.230-231.

entertained a friendship, given the fact that they both sejourne and dedicate at Aquae Iasae around the same time.

The third dedication to the Nymphs, likewise from the first century, is a dedication set up by the *primus pilus* of either the *XIII* or the *XIV Gemina*, Lucius Larius Celer. While it is hard to divine Celer's origin, given the early dating of this dedication, Celer's name, as well as his rank lead us to attribute to him an Italic, possibly Celtic, background. First century recruits from *XIII* and *XIV Gemina* originated from northern Italy, Gaul, and to a lesser extent, Spain, so it is very likely that he may have come from one of these provinces.²¹⁶ Although mentioned in passing in scholarly literature, the dedication is as yet unpublished, so no further commentary may be given.²¹⁷

The fourth dedication is an inscription erected by a certain Marcus Aurelianus and his wife, dating to the Antonine period. Judging by his name, our dedicator may have acquired citizenship recently, most likely under Marcus Aurelius, or may have been adopted into the Aurelia gens. Kajanto notes that the name Aurelianus was surprisingly uncommon.²¹⁸ It is possible that Aurelianus may have been of autochthonous origin, however, this cannot be confirmed. Although mentioned in passing in scholarly literature, this dedication is as of yet unpublished, so no further commentary may be offered.²¹⁹

The fifth dedication to the Nymphs dates to the first or early second century A.D. and reads²²⁰:

*NYMPHIS / SALVTARIB(us) / AVG(ustis) SAC(rum) / IVL(ius) MAXIMV[S ----] / DEC(urio)
MVNI[C(ipii)] / [----]*

²¹⁶ Forni (1953), pp.230-232. The *nomen* "Larius" appears most frequently in Spain (*OPEL* III, p.19), while the *cognomen* "Celer" is likewise frequent both in Spain and in Italy (*OPEL* II, p.47).

²¹⁷ *ILJug* 1172. Vikić-Belančić, B. and Gorenc, M. (1970), p.151, footnote #13; Rendić-Miočević (1975), p.43, footnote #27; and Galić and Radman-Livaja (2006), p.174, footnote #15.

²¹⁸ Kajanto (1965), p.32 and p.35. According to *OPEL* I, p.237 "Aurelianus" appears most frequently in Italy, Spain, Pannonia, Gallia Narbonensis and Moesia Superior. It is thus possible that our dedicator may have been of autochthonous or Celtic background.

²¹⁹ Vikić-Belančić, B. and Gorenc, M. (1970), p.151, footnote #14.

²²⁰ *CIL* III 10891 = *AII* 464.

Due to the damage on the dedication we are not able to ascertain in which city our dedicator held the post of decurion. It is possible that he may have exercised the role of decurion at nearby Municipium Iasorum (Aquae Balissae), which gained its civic rights under Hadrian. Our dedicator's name is extremely frequent throughout the Empire²²¹ so it is hard to divine his origin. Considering the early dating of this dedication it is almost certain that his family received citizenship under the Julio-Claudians, so we may presume that our dedicator's family hailed perhaps from northern Italy or Gaul. This dedication is interesting in the fact that it is the only dedication to the Nymphs from Aquae Iasae where the goddesses are invoked with two epithets: *NYMPHIS SALVTARIBVS AVGVSTIS*. Given the public and official nature of our dedicator's post it could be presumed that the use of the epithet "Augustae" may have been a display of loyalty towards the imperial house, linking the Nymphs to the imperial cult. As the Nymphs are already defined as "healing", the attribution of an additional epithet "Augustae" could be interpreted as an attempt to create a cultural and religious bridge between the Roman religious tradition and local nature and healing deities and spirits embodied by the Nymphs at Aquae Iasae. A similar phenomenon can be seen with the neighbouring Poetovian Nutrices who are always invoked with the epithet "Augustae" which is interpreted as linking them to the official cult and giving them a higher, semi-official standing among the other cults at Poetovio due to their popularity.²²² Both the Poetovian Nutrices and the Iasian Nymphs were invoked for healing purposes, and considering the geographical proximity of the two sites, a connection between these female healing deities is thus not unlikely. This connection may be implied by one other dedication invoking the Nymphs as "Augustae" at Aquae Iasae set up by the *respublica Poetovionensis* (see below). Thus, it is possible that the Poetovian Nutrices, connected with their freshwater spring at Poetovio, and the Iasian Nymphs, connected with the thermal spring at Aquae Iasae are the same, or at least, similar pre-Roman local natural and healing divinities/spirits, which have come to be worshipped in Roman times as separate but connected goddesses, the Nymphs catering perhaps to the health of adults and the Nutrices to the health of infants. If this hypothesis is true, then the separation of these divinities may have occurred in Roman times

²²¹ Kajanto (1965), p.29. While the *nomen* "Iulius" is extremely popular throughout the Empire (*OPEL* II, p.201), the *cognomen* "Maximus" while also extremely popular, predominates in Italy, Dalmatia, Spain, Pannonia and Gallia Narbonensis (*OPEL* III, p.70).

²²² Šašel-Kos (1999), pp.180-181. For the use and meaning of the epithet *Augusta/Augustus* please consult: Fishwick (1991), pp.446-454 and Tassaux (1997), pp.77-84.

perhaps due to the Roman administrative influence, as perhaps each settlement yearned for their own defining local religious identity, thus creating the Poetovio-specific Nutrices, and attributing the epithet “Iasae” to the local goddesses of this region.

The sixth dedication is an altar discovered in the year 1874. It can be dated between the mid-second and the mid-third centuries A.D. The inscription reads²²³:

NYMPHIS / IASIS / FL(avius) HERM / ADION CIR(citor) / VEC(tigalis) ILLY(rici) ET / VL(pia) PISTE EI(us?) / CVM AVITO ET / SVRIACO / F(iliis) PHIALAM / ARG(enteam) P(ondo) II D(ono) D(ederunt)

The dedicator Hermadion identifies himself as inspector within the Illyrian customs service. The title *circitor* seems to imply that Hermadion was not only assigned to a single customs post (most likely Poetovio), but was also in charge of a larger customs territory which he visited and surveyed.²²⁴ He thus would have been in charge of controlling the flow of merchandise on his territory and of preventing smuggling. France speculates that he would have most likely been assisted in this endeavour by a few *custodes* under his command. Hermadion dedicates here to the Iasian Nymphs in conjunction with Ulpia Piste, presumably his wife, and his sons Avitus and Suriacus (Syriacus?). Judging by his name, Hermadion is most likely either of Greek or Oriental origin. The name given to his son, Suriacus, could suggest that Hermadion hails from Syria, although this may not necessarily be the case as a person can receive their name due to various circumstances. The name of his other son, Avitus, and possibly his wife, may indicate that Hermadion married an autochthonous/Celtic woman, and that his family thus may have been multicultural.²²⁵ Hermadion's family received citizenship under the Flavian dynasty, as his name suggests, while his wife's family became citizens under Trajan, implying that she may have been native to Poetovio as this city received its colonial status under Trajan. Due to his profession (and perhaps his familial ties), Hermadion was most certainly connected to Poetovio, and may likely have been settled there

²²³ AE 1985, 714. Gorenc, M. and Vikić, B. (1975), p.47; and Šašel (1984), pp.247-248.

²²⁴ This particular title occurs only in the context of two other inscriptions. One inscription is from Ratiaria in Moesia (AE 1938, 91 = AE 1984, 740), and another from Augusta Praetoria in *Regio XI* (AE 1989, 334). France (2001), pp.157-159; 328-329; and 443-444.

²²⁵ Kajanto notes that the name “Avitus” is particularly popular in Celtic regions. Kajanto (1965), p.18 and p.80. According to *OPEL I*, p.231 the name occurs frequently in Spain, Gallia Narbonensis, Gallia Belgica, Pannonia and Noricum, all provinces with a heavy Celtic element.

permanently with his family. A dedication from Poetovio confirms this theory. Namely, *ILJug* 02, 1145, a Mithraic dedication, records a certain Felix who identifies himself as a freedman. He dedicates for the wellbeing of Flavius Hermadion and his sons, Avitus and Syriacus, who were most likely his former masters, and may even have been his present employers within the customs service. Although the Hermadion on the Poetovio dedication is not identified with a profession, this is most certainly the same man recorded here, as his familial associations and Aquae Iasae's geographical proximity to Poetovio suggest. It is thus perfectly possible that Hermadion could have taken his wife and his sons perhaps on a family vacation to Aquae Iasae. That he dedicates specifically to the Iasian Nymphs would indeed suggest that as an inhabitant of Poetovio he was familiar with the region and perhaps even with the local deities and religious practices. An additional dedication from Rome may also refer to our Hermadion. It is a dedication erected by a Lucius Flavius Hermadion to the nymph Nana>Nama, the daughter of the Asian river god Sangarius and mother of Attis.²²⁶ France believes that this is the same person recorded on this dedication and the Poetovio dedication.²²⁷ Since no family members are mentioned on the dedication from Rome, we are to presume that Hermadion may have visited, or even lived in Rome prior to his marriage and his posting to Poetovio. That he is associated with a Mithraic and an Attis dedication may indeed point to his Oriental origins, while his explicit worship of the Iasian Nymphs may indicate a certain level of religious, and perhaps even cultural, integration among local autochthonous inhabitants due to his prolonged settlement and contact with this region. Thus, in our opinion, if all three dedications do indeed refer to the same person, what we see then is a development of a dual and perhaps even multi-faceted religious identity within the same worshipper due to social, cultural and environmental factors.

The seventh dedication is an inscription found built into the wall of the *thermae*. The dedication is inscribed on a column measuring 25 cm x 59 cm.²²⁸ It dates to the second century A.D. The inscription reads:

NYM / PHIS / AVG(ustis) / SACR(um) / T(itus) IVL(ius) / IANV / ARIVS / PRO T(ito) IVL(io) / SECVNDO / FIL(io) / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

²²⁶ *CIL* VI 731 = *ILS* 4239; and Adkins and Adkins (1996), pp.22-23.

²²⁷ France (2001), p. 443.

²²⁸ *CIL* III 4119 = *AII* 1938, 465.

Ianuarius sets up the dedication for the benefit of his son who he most likely must have brought to Aquae Iasae to be cured. Ianuarius was possibly African in origin as his name is common in Numidia, and to a lesser extent, in Africa Proconsularis and in Mauretania,²²⁹ although Kajanto does note that the name is frequently found throughout the Empire in general.²³⁰ Although he does not offer us his professional or social affiliation, it is possible that Ianuarius may have been a soldier or a merchant. A dedication discovered in Germania Superior at around the same time (mid to late second century A.D.), may support this claim. The dedication to Jupiter Optimus Maximus was erected by Iulius Secundus and Iulius Ianuarius who identify themselves as brothers.²³¹ It is *possible* that these two brothers are descendents of our Ianuarius, and the Secundus mentioned in our dedication *may* even be the same man mentioned with his brother. The location of both dedications in provinces with a heavy military presence, as well as the worship of the state deity Jupiter Optimus Maximus (among whose worshippers soldiers and public officials are predominant); in addition to the attribution of the epithet “Augustae” to the Nymphs in our dedication (possibly connecting them to the official cult), and the fact that Ianuarius and his son choose to recuperate at Aquae Iasae, a well-known rehabilitation site for soldiers, all lead the present author to suspect that Ianuarius, and possibly his sons, may have served in the army.

The eighth dedication is a marble slab commemorating the construction of the Nymphaeum on behalf of the people of Poetovio. The slab is dated most likely to A.D. 164 due to the mention of the two officials. The dedication reads²³²:

*NYMPHIS AVG(ustis) SACR(um) / RESPVBLICA POET(ovionensis) MANDANTE / L(ucio)
TVLLIO TVSCO LEG(ato) AVGG(ustorum) PR(o) PR(aetore) / CVRANTE T(ito)
[G]EM(i)NIO RVFINO PROC(uratore) AVGG(ustorum)*

The inscription tells us that the construction (or more likely the reconstruction) of the Nymphaeum was ordered by the governor Lucius Tullius Tuscus and overseen by the procurator Titus Geminius Rufinus on behalf of the people of Poetovio. Lucius Dasumius

²²⁹ See for example: *CIL* VIII 2300; *CIL* VIII 3705; and *CIL* VIII 3722.

²³⁰ Kajanto (1965), pp.29-30; and p.61.

²³¹ *CIL* XIII 6395.

²³² *CIL* III 4117 = *AIJ* 1938, 461.

Tullius Tuscus was a well-known governor of Pannonia Superior during the reign of Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 162-166), as well as a distant cousin of the emperor Hadrian. He is attested on at least two other dedications, one from Etruria listing his full *cursus honorum*,²³³ and one from Brigetio.²³⁴ He is known for accompanying the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus in the first campaign against the Marcomannic tribes in A.D. 168.²³⁵ It is likely that Tuscus may have ordered the reconstruction of the Nymphaeum in response to the barbarian attacks on Pannonia which had already started by the early A.D. 160s. That this reconstruction was done on behalf of the people of Poetovio would seem to suggest that Aquae Iasae may have belonged administratively to Poetovio at this period.²³⁶ The procurator of A.D. 164, Titus Geminius Rufinus was most likely himself seated at Poetovio as this was the primary administrative centre of Pannonia Superior. This dedication is clearly very official in nature, indicated by the official titles of Tuscus and Rufinus, and by the use of the epithet “Augustae” given to the Nymphs, suggesting an official display of loyalty to the imperial house and the connection to the imperial cult. Although at Aquae Iasae we primarily find this type of official support and funding awarded to the official and Capitoline deities (see for example *ILJug* 1168 and *ILJug* 1169 in this chapter), the fact that the Nymphs are honoured in this manner must point to the high level of importance and respect that they are awarded as local deities of this region. This is as well supported by the sheer number of dedications which are erected to them, indicating their predominance in this region.

The ninth dedication to the goddesses is very damaged and dates most likely from the mid to late second century A.D.²³⁷ The inscription reads:

NYMPHIS / AVG(ustis) SAC(rum) / FL(avius) VALENTINVS / [----E----] / [----STILLI] / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

²³³ *CIL* XI 3365.

²³⁴ *AE* 1960, 21 = *AE* 1982, 795.

²³⁵ Le Bohec (1994), pp.40-41; and Birley (2000), p.155. For more on Tuscus see *PIR* VIII/1, p.121.

²³⁶ Mayer (1935), p.79; Vikić (1960), pp.147-149; and Vikić-Belančić, B. and Gorenc, M. (1970), p.151, footnote #14.

²³⁷ *CIL* III 10892.

Our dedicator's name indicates that his family received citizenship under the Flavian dynasty. Although his name is common in Pannonia, no obvious patterns emerge which may give us a clue about his origins. Fitz believes that our dedicator's *cognomen* may be autochthonous, originating from the region of Savaria, although it is entirely possible that it could also be Italic.²³⁸ Due to the extant damage on the inscription it is likewise hard to determine the social and professional background of our worshipper. However, considering the fact that the majority of dedications to the Nymphs from this period at Aquae Iasae originate from civilian worshippers, and more precisely, from wealthy public officials, it is possible that our dedicator belonged to this class. That he invokes the Nymphs with the epithet "Augustae" may likewise point to the official nature of his dedication, as is attested by several other dedications employing the same epithet throughout this chapter.

The tenth, eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth dedications to the Nymphs were discovered in 1962-1963 built into the western wall of the *thermae* at Aquae Iasae. All three are dated to the second or the third centuries A.D.²³⁹

The tenth dedication reads²⁴⁰:

NYMPHIS IASIS

The eleventh dedication reads²⁴¹:

NYMPHIS AVITVS

This dedication was set up by a certain Avitus. Given the dating of this dedication it is possible that this is the same Avitus mentioned on *AE* 1985, 714, the son of Hermadion. This name, however, is common in Pannonia and in other regions with Celtic populations, so our dedicator, although he may not necessarily be the son of Hermadion, is likely of autochthonous origin.

The twelfth dedication reads²⁴²:

²³⁸ Fitz (1977), pp.398-399. In *OPEL* IV, p.140 "Valentinus" appears most frequently in Pannonia, followed closely by Dalmatia, Dacia and Italy.

²³⁹ Vikić-Belančić (1962), pp.172-173; and Vikić-Belančić (1963), p.113.

²⁴⁰ *ILJug* 1170.

²⁴¹ *ILJug* 1171a.

NYMPHIS CAESIVS

This dedication was set up by a certain Caesius. One man bearing this name is found at Poetovio²⁴³, and considering the already established connections between dedicators from this city and dedications to the Nymphs at Aquae Iasae, it seems perfectly possible that this may be the same person, or at least, a member of the same family. Caius Caesius Ingenuus identifies himself as native of Poetovio, although he does not offer us his professional or social affiliation. It is quite likely that he was a private citizen, and as such, he most likely had no need to flaunt his professional accomplishments, unlike many of our dedicators who hold public offices. It would seem natural thus, if he is indeed the same person recorded on this dedication, that he omits a professional affiliation. The name Caesius indicates that he may have been of Celtic or even north Italian origin, as it is to be found most frequently in Italy, and Spain.²⁴⁴ The name Ingenuus, however, points to Norican/Pannonian autochthonous origins and thus the dedicator may be a man of mixed Italic/autochthonous background.²⁴⁵ Since our present dedication is extremely succinct, we cannot confirm a connection with the Poetovio inscription, however, the present author is inclined to believe that this indeed may be the same person.

The thirteenth dedication reads²⁴⁶:

NYMPHIS AVRELIVS

This dedication was set up by a certain Aurelius. Considering the date of the dedication, we can assume that our Aurelius gained citizenship under *constitutio Antoniniana*, and thus could be of autochthonous origin, as most autochthonous inhabitants of Pannonia gained citizenship under Caracalla.

²⁴² *ILJug* 1171b.

²⁴³ *CIL* III 4071.

²⁴⁴ Kajanto (1965), p.18; and *OPEL* II, p.20.

²⁴⁵ *OPEL* II, p.194. This *cognomen* occurs most frequently in Noricum (56 times), followed closely by Pannonia (44 times).

²⁴⁶ *ILJug* 1171c.

An examination of the evidence above (combined with the fact that our dedications were erected or recovered in close proximity to the thermal spring), leads us to conclude that the Nymphs were deities closely tied to the thermal waters at Aquae Iasae; both in terms of the geographical location (*NYMPHIS IASIS*²⁴⁷), and in terms of the spring's healing powers (*NYMPHIS SALVTARES/SALVTARIBVS*²⁴⁸). In this respect they may have been perceived as the spirits of the spring personified.²⁴⁹ Their invocation as *NYMPHIS IASIS* could further suggest that, similarly to the Silvanae, they may have embodied not only healing deities, but also other local nature spirits.²⁵⁰ In this respect they would have incorporated not only spirits of the thermal springs, which seemed to have been the defining and central feature of the Iasian territory, but also other local divinities, such as the various nature deities and *genii loci*. That the Nymphs at Aquae Iasae may have embodied specifically local deities is supported by Rendić-Miočević, who thinks that their invocation as “*NYMPHIS IASIS*” should be viewed only with respect to the settlement of Aquae Iasae, and not as an ethnonym reflected upon the larger Iasian territory, as they are not invoked in other settlements situated on the Iasian territory (such as Aquae Balissae) with this epithet.²⁵¹ Thus, the Nymphs at Aquae Iasae may have been viewed as versatile local divinities, exemplified by the variety of epithets that they are awarded, who were tied closely, and possibly syncretised with, other nature deities attested in this region, such as Diana, the Silvanae, and the Nutrices, both through explicit joint worship²⁵², as well as through shared physical and character attributes.²⁵³

Further clues about the character of these versatile nature and healing deities may be gleaned from their invocation as *NYMPHIS AVGVSTIS*²⁵⁴. An examination of our evidence quickly

²⁴⁷ *ILJug* 1170 and *AE* 1985,714.

²⁴⁸ *CIL* III 10891 = *AIJ* 464 and *CIL* III 10.893 = *AIJ* 1938, 462.

²⁴⁹ Rendić-Miočević (1980), p.108; and Rendić-Miočević (1991-1992), p.69.

²⁵⁰ Rendić-Miočević (1986), p.480; and Schejbal (2003b), p.403.

²⁵¹ Rendić-Miočević (1991-1992), p.70.

²⁵² Such as for example as attendants of Diana on *AIJ* 460 = *AE* 1938, 156 in this chapter.

²⁵³ For further discussion please see the Silvanae and the concluding sections of this chapter.

²⁵⁴ *CIL* III 4117 = *AIJ* 1938, 461; *CIL* III 10891 = *AIJ* 464; *CIL* III 4119 = *AIJ* 1938, 465; and *CIL* III 10892.

reveals that the epithet “Augustae” is the most frequently employed epithet attributed to the Nymphs at Aquae Iasae. According to Rendić-Miočević, this epithet was awarded primarily to minor deities.²⁵⁵ Our evidence from Aquae Iasae, however, seems to contradict this theory. By their sheer number of dedications, as well as by the high standing of some of their worshippers and by their official ties to the administration of Poetovio (*CIL* III 4117), the Nymphs, although minor deities within the Graeco-Roman Pantheon, prove to be at Aquae Iasae the most popular cult, gaining, perhaps due to this popularity, a semi-official status in this region. Their importance within this settlement and the religious life of this region most likely stemmed from the fact that they were inextricably connected to the thermal spring, around which the urban planning and the social and economic life of the town itself was organised. Due to their importance to the economic and social life of Aquae Iasae, the present author thus does not believe that they were awarded the epithet “Augustae” because they were minor deities. Instead, we offer two alternate but connected explanations for the popularity of this epithet among the Nymphs at Aquae Iasae. Firstly, the present author believes that the epithet may have been employed in order to give the cult of the Nymphs some “official” standing by likening it with the official imperial cult, considering their importance at Aquae Iasae. This is firstly supported by the fact that the two earliest dedications to the Nymphs bear the epithet “*salutares*” and that the epithet “Augustae” begins to appear only towards the beginning of the second century A.D. This would seem to indicate that the Nymphs were worshipped in their initial and primary role as healing deities, and (presumably) only gained the epithet “Augustae” later when their importance and their healing powers became increasingly recognised and appreciated by the visitors to the thermal spring. Given their increased popularity and importance to the city, as well as the number of prominent worshippers that they attracted (most of whom were public or high military officials), it is no wonder that these local healing deities gained some manner of semi-official standing within Aquae Iasae. That the Nymphs may have held a semi-official standing is suggested as well by the support and recognition that they received from Poetovian officials. Namely, *CIL* III 4117 attests the (re)construction of the Nymphaeum on behalf of the *Respublica Poetovionensis*. If, according to Rendić-Miočević, the Nymphs were such minor deities, why then would have the Poetovian administration cared to finance the reconstruction of their temple? The fact that the people of Poetovio display official support to the Nymphs

²⁵⁵ Rendić-Miočević (1980), p.108.

attests not only to their importance in the community of Aquae Iasae and the region, but also to the high regard and most likely the semi-official standing that they held. In addition to denoting their importance in the region by likening them to the official cult, the epithet “Augustae” may likewise have been employed to highlight a possible connection with the similar Poetovio-specific healing and protector deities Nutrices and the city of Poetovio itself. An administrative connection between Aquae Iasae and Poetovio has already been suggested on the basis of geographic proximity and inscriptions found, which suggest that the city of Poetovio may have been tasked with maintaining public works at Aquae Iasae. A similar religious connection may have been perceived between the Nutrices and the Nymphs. Since both of these sets of deities share similar characteristics and spheres of power, in addition to both being connected with water springs and healing, it is only natural that worshippers may have likened them together by invoking them with the epithet “Augustae”. This is not to say that all deities who bore this epithet displayed an automatic connection; however, evidence from Aquae Iasae does show that nature and protector deities, so predominant in Aquae Iasae, all share this epithet.²⁵⁶ Thus, the epithet may have been employed not only as a distinction, linking certain unofficial deities to the imperial cult; but may also have acted as a religious (and cultural) bridge, linking and integrating official and unofficial, Roman and autochthonous cults, and their worshippers, not only within Aquae Iasae, but also with neighbouring settlements and their cults²⁵⁷, thus creating a veritable religious and cultural network.

Mithras

One dedication to Mithras has been found at Aquae Iasae. It consists of a votive tablet made out of marble, with a tauroctony scene, measuring 43.5 x 51.5 x 6.8cm. It was found in the year 1941 at Pregrada, on the outskirts of Aquae Iasae.²⁵⁸ The dedication reads:

²⁵⁶ *Dianae Augustae* (AIJ 460); *Nymphis Augustis* (CIL III 10891; CIL III 4119; CIL III 4117; and CIL III 10892); *Silvanis Augustis* (AIJ 467 and AIJ 468); *Herculi Augusto* (CIL III 10890); and possibly Minerva if Vikić-Belančić’s interpretation is correct (see below – *ILJug* 1169).

²⁵⁷ Several of the worshippers at Aquae Iasae show overt connections to other settlements both nearby (Poetovio – *AE* 1985, 714; and CIL III 4117), and further afield (Savaria and Salla – *ILJug* 1169; and Oescus – *AE* 1976, 540).

²⁵⁸ *ILJug* 1963, 355.

*I(nvicto) D(eo) O(mnipotenti) VAL(erius) MARCELI / ANVS EX VOTO L(ibens) L(aetus) P(osuit)*²⁵⁹

Our dedicator, Valerius Marcellianus, reveals that he set up the dedication due to a vow. The *Valerii* are known to have been a prominent merchant family of north Italian descent in Poetovio, who originally settled the city in its formative years. Considering Aquae Iasae's close connections to Poetovio, we could possibly presume that our Marcellianus had connections to this clan, even though this dedication dates to much later, probably the late second or early third century A.D. Although his *nomen* indicates ties to northern Italy, his *cognomen* is most frequently found in Pannonia, thus making us suspect that he may have been of mixed autochthonous/Italian origin.²⁶⁰ Since Marcellianus does not offer us any professional or social affiliation, we can only presume that he may have been a private citizen, perhaps a merchant, as merchants, in addition to soldiers and customs officials, were well-known worshippers of Mithras. This is the first instance in our Drava evidence that the deity Mithras is invoked as “*Invicto Deo Omnipotenti*”. To our knowledge, the god is invoked only five other times in this manner throughout the Empire, this dedication being the sole example from Pannonia.²⁶¹ An examination of other dedications employing this invocation proves that a number of them originate from neighbouring provinces, such as Dalmatia, Noricum and Dacia, reflecting perhaps a regional preference for this invocatory formula. As the previous footnote indicates the use of this particular invocatory formula may also imply syncretisations with other similar deities, such as Sol, who is attested in association with the epithet “*Invictus*”.²⁶² Thus, it is likely that Mithras and Sol may have been worshipped jointly at Aquae Iasae. Additionally, considering that this is our only Mithraic dedication from Aquae Iasae, it seems unlikely to the present author that Aquae Iasae featured its own Mithraeum, especially considering its close geographic proximity to the large Mithraic centre

²⁵⁹ An alternative reading of the second line was given as: *ANVS EX VOTO I(nvicto) L(ibens) P(osuit)* by Seper. Seper (1942), p.7; and Vermaseren (1960), 1468.

²⁶⁰ *OPEL* III, p.53.

²⁶¹ *AE* 2002, 1065 from Germania Superior (*Deo Invicto Omnipotenti*); *CIL* III 3158b from Dalmatia (*Deo Soli Invicto Omnipotenti Mithrae*); *CIL* III 4771 from Noricum (*Deo Omnipotenti Mithrae Invicto*); *CIL* III 7779 from Dacia (*Deo Invicto Omnipotenti Mithrae*); and *CIL* XIV 4309 from *Regio I* (*Invicto Deo Soli Omnipotenti*).

²⁶² See for example: *AE* 1998, 1127; *AE* 1990, 331; and *AE* 2002, 1104, among others.

Poetovio. Thus, in addition to Sol, Mithras may have been worshipped jointly with our other martial deities, Hercules and Pollux, as only one dedication survives for each of these gods.

Juno Regina and Fortuna

One joint dedication to the goddesses Juno Regina and Fortuna has been found at Aquae Iasae, in front of Juno's temple. The dedication dates from the first century A.D.²⁶³ The inscription reads:

IVNONI / REGINAE / ADQ(ue) / FORTVNAE / D(onum) D(ederunt) / POET(ovionenses) PVB(lice)

While the goddess Juno Regina is considered the divine consort of the Eastern god Jupiter Dolichenus, it is unlikely that it is this eastern goddess which is referred to here, as the dedication dates from the first century, before the spread of the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus into Pannonia. Thus, it is more likely that the Roman goddess Juno is invoked here, especially as she is placed in the context of the (presumed) Capitoline temple. The fact that this dedication was erected jointly by the people of Poetovio could be further proof of an administrative connection between the two settlements.²⁶⁴ The official character of the dedication is undoubtable, and it is possible that the dedication implies an accompanying gift of funds from the Poetovian people, perhaps for the construction or the remodelling of Juno's temple or the Capitoline temple in its entirety.

Fortuna

Two dedications to the goddess Fortuna are to be found at Aquae Iasae. The first dedication was discovered during excavations in 1962, to the south of the *thermae*, below a lead water pipe. The dedication is carved on a sandstone block and is well-preserved, except for a lower right-hand side piece of the base which is missing. The inscription reads²⁶⁵:

FORTVNAE AVG(ustae) / T(itus) FL(avius) TITI FIL(ius) PAPIR / IA (domo) OESCI DOMI / TIVS VALERIAN / VS / (centurio) LEGIONA / RIVS FACTVS AT (AD?) / SVFFRAGIVM

²⁶³ *ILJug* 1168. Vikić-Belančić (1962), pp.172-173; and Vikić, B. and Gorenc, M. (1967), pp.102-105.

²⁶⁴ Vikić-Belančić (1978), p.166.

²⁶⁵ *AE* 1976, 540. Vikić-Belančić, B. and Gorenc, M. (1970), p.130; and Rendić-Miočević (1975), pp.37-38.

LEG(ionis) / XIII GEM(inae) M(artiae) V(ictricis) SEVE(rianae) / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito) / C(laudio?) PO[M]PEIANO ET [PAELIGNIA]NO CO(n)S(ulibus)

Due to the mention of the consuls, this dedication can be dated to A.D. 231.²⁶⁶ Rendić-Miočević further states that the monument can be dated to the early third century A.D. based on the award of the name Severiana to the *XIV Gemina* legion. According to Rendić-Miočević the legion received this title during the reign of Alexander Severus, between the years A.D. 222 and 235. As can be seen from the inscription, the dedicator was a centurion of the *XIV Gemina* legion, Titus Flavius Domitius Valerianus. Immediately noticeable is the fact that our dedicator holds two *nomina*, Domitius and Valerianus, indicating perhaps that he may have been adopted into the *gens Flavia*.²⁶⁷ He identifies himself as hailing from the city Oescus, a frontier Moesian settlement which boasted a legionary garrison. It is thus no surprise that our dedicator chose a military career. In this dedication he stresses the fact that he was a *centurio legionarius*, a post with higher honour than its non-legionary equivalent. He likewise identifies himself as belonging to the *tribus* Papiria, which is consistent with his Oescan origin as this was indeed the *tribus* of the city.²⁶⁸ It is not unusual to see him honouring the goddess Fortuna due to two reasons. Firstly, the goddess is well-attested in his native hometown. This would seem to indicate that although Valerianus' career took him to various parts of the Empire, he nevertheless maintained a connection with his upbringing, proudly displaying his origins by denoting his homeland and continuing to worship the deities of his home city.²⁶⁹ There is a possibility that Valerianus was not alone in this practice, as several dedications examined in this thesis would seem to indicate that foreign settlers brought their homeland divinities with them, such as the Egyptian merchant attested worshipping Isis, Nephtys, Osiris and Re in Mursa. Secondly, the fact that Valerianus dedicates to the goddess Fortuna is perfectly natural considering his situation. Namely, Valerianus' dedication implies that he obtained a promotion to legionary centurion, having previously exercised perhaps a lower rank, or have held the post of a centurion in a less

²⁶⁶ Rendić-Miočević (1975), p.38; pp.41-42; and Galić and Radman-Livaja (2006), p.174, footnote #17.

²⁶⁷ Rendić-Miočević (1975), p.38; and p.40.

²⁶⁸ Rendić-Miočević (1975), pp.40-41.

²⁶⁹ Rendić-Miočević believes that Valerianus' Fortuna worshipped here may have been a Thracian version of the goddess, although nothing in the present dedication points to this conclusion. Rendić-Miočević (1975), p.46.

prestigious unit. It is even more significant that his legionary centurionate was obtained by way of a *suffragium*, an unusual method which could reflect the unstable political atmosphere of the period. Thus, he was voted into the post and not nominated. Given this fact, one can see why he would be grateful to the goddess.²⁷⁰ His invocation of the goddess as Fortuna Augusta is likewise in line with the “official” character of the rest of the inscription. It could be supposed that in thanking Fortuna he is also expressing loyalty to the emperor and the imperial cult, a gesture which would certainly help further his military career.²⁷¹ It is interesting that Valerianus does not state in his dedication why he was sejourning at Aquae Iasae, although given the reputation of its healing waters one may assume that he was recuperating at this resort, perhaps from an injury. If this was the case, however, why would he not have set up a dedication to the Nymphs, as several other military personnel appear to have done? Rendić-Miočević notes that dedications to Fortuna are rare in this region, thus Valerianus’ dedication is even more intriguing. His purpose, therefore, remains mysterious. It is interesting to note that this is the only dedication definitively attesting the *XIV Gemina* legion at Aquae Iasae. Rendić-Miočević believes that a unit of the legion may have been stationed at nearby Ad Fines, as several dedications have been discovered attesting its soldiers there.²⁷² Thus, it is perhaps possible that Valerianus belonged to this unit.

The second inscription simply reads²⁷³:

FORTVNAE

Minerva

Only one dedication to the goddess Minerva has been discovered in the goddess’ temple at Aquae Iasae.²⁷⁴ The dedication is inscribed at the base of a larger-than-life marble statue, and measures 135 x 85 x 45cm. This statue of the goddess was most likely the main cult statue.

²⁷⁰ Rendić-Miočević (1975), p.41.

²⁷¹ Rendić-Miočević (1975), p.45.

²⁷² *CIL* III 10828; *CIL* III 14045; and *CIL* III 14048, among others. Rendić-Miočević (1975), pp.43-44.

²⁷³ *ILJug* 1167.

²⁷⁴ *ILJug* 1169 = *AE* 1979,468 = *AE* 1983,774 = *AE* 1993,1289. Gorenc, M. and Vikić, B. (1968), pp.120-121; Gorenc, M. and Vikić, B. (1975), p.39; Mócsy (1982), pp.309-312; Gorenc (1983-1984), pp.95-108; and Rendić-Miočević (1991-1992), pp.72-73; p.76. See Gorenc (1983-1984) for detailed pictures of the statue.

Seventeen fragments of the statue have been found in total, between the temples of Minerva and Jupiter. The fragments depict the goddess standing, her left hand placed on the shield which leans against her left leg, and her right arm raised, supposedly holding a now-lost spear. Her head is adorned with a helmet, and although her arms are bare, her body is covered with an elegant robe featuring multiple folds. The shield of the goddess is decorated with the head of Medusa, as is her torso, and a very large snake recoils at the bottom and around the shield. According to Gorenc, the statue is made out of local Pohorje marble and is masterfully executed, probably by a local or a Poetovian sculptor. Although it conforms with traditional depictions of Minerva, Gorenc believes that it is not a copy but an original creation of a Pannonian sculptor, incorporating Classical elements with local influences (“Norico-Pannonian traditions”). Namely, Minerva’s limbs show movement, and the sheer size of the statue and the way it has been executed, according to Gorenc, make the goddess appear as if she is levitating.²⁷⁵ The statue and the inscription are dated to the mid to late second century A.D. The inscription reads:

MINERVAM / AVG(ustam) / L(ucius) CL(audius) TI(beri) F(ilius) QVIRINA / MODERATVS / DEC(urio) C(oloniae) C(laudiae) SAVARIA(e) / DEC(urio) MVNICIPI(i) / AE(li) SALLAE SACERDOT(alis) / ARAE AVG(usti) E Q(uinque) DECVR(iis) / POSVIT

The cult statue along with the inscription dedicated to Minerva Augusta have been set up by a high-ranking official named Lucius Claudius Moderatus, who held the rank of decurion of the colony of Savaria (Szombathely, Hungary), as well as holding a decurionate in the city of Salla (Zalalövő, Hungary). It is possible that Moderatus was Norican or Pannonian in origin, since the *Claudii* are well-attested in southern Noricum, after the grant of municipal status to several settlements there under the emperor Claudius; as well as in Savaria, which was a Claudian colony, and from where our dedicator may have possibly originated.²⁷⁶ The actual dedication is at present broken up into several pieces, some of which are missing. Although

²⁷⁵ Apart from Minerva’s youthfulness and the movement in her limbs, Gorenc offers no other specific iconographic examples of “Norico-Pannonian traditions” in the execution of the statue. It is possible, supposedly, since the statue was made of local marble that the stonecutter was an autochthonous Pannonian and that this constitutes the presence of “Norico-Pannonian traditions”. Vikić, B. and Gorenc, M. (1967), pp.102-105; and Gorenc (1983-1984), p.100 and p.104.

²⁷⁶ Šašel-Kos, M. (2010), p.112; p.114; and p.217. While Moderatus’ *cognomen* is most frequently found in Italy, it is also well-attested in Noricum and Pannonia, raising the possibility that he may indeed have been of autochthonous origin (OPEL III, p.84).

most scholars agree that the above reconstruction and reading is correct, Vikić-Belančić suggests that the original inscription would have contained the letter “*M*” carved after the invocation “*MINERVAM*”. The “*M*”, according to Vikić-Belančić would have stood for the epithet “*medica*” attributed to the goddess Minerva.²⁷⁷ Although at present none of the actual inscription fragments seem to collaborate this theory, Vikić-Belančić bases her argument on the fact that such an epithet would have been vastly appropriate considering the fact that Minerva’s temple was adjacent to the baths and the thermal spring, which many people visited for health benefits. Additionally, Vikić-Belančić notes that the statue of Minerva, along with the inscription, was found *in situ* at her temple, unlike most other dedications from Aquae Iasae, suggesting not only that the temple was spared destruction by the early Christians, but also that the temple may have continued to be used by the early Christians, long after temples to other pagan gods were destroyed or converted. Vikić-Belančić thus justifies the existence of Minerva’s temple in late antiquity to her medical properties.²⁷⁸ While the temple of Minerva may have continued to be in use well into late antiquity, the present author would caution against the arguments put forward by Vikić-Belančić, especially as they are based on an epithet whose presence is not (yet) confirmed on the original inscription. It is also to be noted that in the instances where we do find Minerva invoked as “*medica*”, the epithet is never abbreviated, but is written out in its full form.²⁷⁹ Since Vikić-Belančić claims that only the letter “*M*” can be seen on this dedication, it is unlikely that the dedicator had the epithet “*medica*” in mind. On the other hand, the epithet “*Augusta*” given to Minerva on this dedication is entirely evident and appropriate. Considering that the dedicator is a public official and that he is invoking a Capitoline deity, one can only come to a conclusion that this dedication was intended as an official display of loyalty to the state, and by association, to the Emperor. The question of why a public official from Savaria would fund a cult statue for the Capitoline temple of Aquae Iasae, as opposed to a public official from Poetovio, to which Aquae Iasae supposedly belonged, is a mystery. One can only

²⁷⁷ Gorenc, M. and Vikić, B. (1968), p.121.

²⁷⁸ Numismatic evidence attests that Jupiter’s temple at Aquae Iasae, adjacent to Minerva’s temple, was destroyed in the fourth century A.D., while Minerva’s temple continued to be in use. Vikić-Belančić (1978), p.168.

²⁷⁹ *CIL* XI 1306; and *CIL* VI 10155. Rendić-Miočević (1991-1992), p.73.

assume that the decurion, Lucius Claudius Moderatus, wished to aggrandise himself, as is suggested by the full display of his *cursus honorum*.

Sol and (possibly?) Apollo

One joint dedication to the deities Sol and Apollo originates from Aquae Iasae. It was discovered in the forum in 1965 and is dated to late third or early fourth century A.D., making it our latest dedication from Aquae Iasae.²⁸⁰ It is made of marble and measures 67.5 x 58.5 x 22cm. The dedication has been extensively damaged; only the top and right-hand side of the inscription is preserved, with the left and the bottom sides broken off. Due to the damage, two interpretations of the inscription have so far been proposed. The first interpretation reads²⁸¹:

SOLI / [----RA----NIIS / SIMO / [A]POLLI[NI] / [----

The second interpretation reads²⁸²:

SOLI / [----RA[DIA]NTIS / SIMO----] / [----A]POLLINI(?) / [----

Due to the damaged nature of the stone, a confirmed reading among scholars has not yet been established. It is possible that this is a dedication intended only for the god Sol; while it is also possible that it has been erected jointly to the gods Sol and Apollo, since both deities have similar spheres of power and are known to be worshipped jointly on epigraphic dedications.²⁸³ Due to the damaged nature of the inscription, however, neither this syncretism of the two deities nor the name of the dedicator can be confirmed. Apart from the damage to the inscription, this dedication bears another, more peculiar feature. Namely, below the letter “O” in the word “SOLI” four lines have been incised which slope slightly to the right-hand side. These look slightly like claw-marks. Migotti has interpreted them as sun rays²⁸⁴, although it is to be noted that they do not encircle the letter “O”, but only appear on the

²⁸⁰ Migotti (2002), pp.52-53.

²⁸¹ *AE* 1994,1386.

²⁸² *AE* 1998,1044. Demo (1994), p.72.

²⁸³ See for example: *AE* 1984, 144 (*Soli et Apollini*); *CIL* VI 31032 (*Soli Lunae Apollini Dianae*); and *CIL* VII 543 (*Soli Apollini Aniceto Mithrae*), among others.

²⁸⁴ Migotti (2002), p.52; and Migotti (1999), pp.54-58.

lower-right side of the letter. In her article on Christianity in Aquae Iasae and Iovia-Botivo, Migotti argues that the cult of Sol may have been a pre-cursor to the institution of Christianity at Aquae Iasae. She remarks that the emperor Constantine, in addition to favouring Christianity, was likewise fond of the Sun God²⁸⁵, and that what we see in the addition of sun rays to the letter “O” here is a “Christianisation” of the cult. While it is true that the emperor Constantine showed favour to Aquae Iasae by sponsoring its reconstruction after the city was destroyed in a fire, and it seems possible that the dedicator would have deliberately added the “sun rays” to this inscription in order to “Christianise” it, to show gratitude/loyalty to the Emperor, or even to perhaps individualise it; the present author likewise believes that it is possible that the “sun rays” were added to the inscription subsequently, perhaps as an act of vandalism. While it is possible that the “sun rays” on the dedication may indicate a “Christianisation” of the cult, we must be careful about forming conclusions on the basis of a sole dedication. Thus we must not rule out other explanations for the presence of these marks, such as acts of vandalism to the monument, or marks made accidentally, perhaps in the re-use of the monument.

Silvanus and the Silvanae

Two joint dedications to the deities Silvanus and Silvanae originate from Aquae Iasae. Although little is known about these female attendants of the god Silvanus, scholars believe that they were Nymph-like creatures who, like Silvanus, held power over several features of the natural world.²⁸⁶ An overwhelming proportion of epigraphic and iconographic attestations of Silvanus and the Silvanae originate from Pannonia (approximately two-thirds of the

²⁸⁵ Pohlsander (1996); and Migotti (2002), p.53.

²⁸⁶ Silvanus’ attendants in literature are invoked as the Nymphs (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 1.193; and Servius, *Commentary on the Georgics of Vergil*, 2.493), whereas in epigraphic evidence they are invoked both as Nymphs and Silvanae. Whether these were identical or similar deities is uncertain. Although they share some characteristics, such as their undefined number (they most often occur in a cluster of three but could also appear in combinations of four or nine), their youthfulness and their similar iconographic representations, the fact that the Nymphs and the Silvanae are invoked in epigraphy under different names may indicate that they were separate but connected nature deities. Dorsey is of the opinion that the Silvanae are merely an epigraphic appellation for the Nymphs, and that there are no cultic differentiations between these deities. Dorsey (1992), pp.42-44. Considering the predominant distribution of worship of the Silvanae in the Danubian provinces, and especially in Pannonia (see below), the present author is inclined to believe that their popularity in Pannonia may reflect a particular variation and continuity of pre-Roman female nature deities specific to this region (see below). For a more detailed analysis of the cult of Silvanus in Pannonia see the section on Silvanus in “Religion and Cults at Poetovio”.

evidence)²⁸⁷, with only a few attestations from Italy, Gaul, Britain, Dacia, Dalmatia and Moesia combined.²⁸⁸ Thus, the Silvanae appear to be a particularly Pannonian feature of the Silvanus-cult, perhaps reflecting influences of pre-Roman local female deities, which, having transformed under various cultural and religious stimuli, have come to be embodied under the name Silvanae. That the Silvanae may express local Pannonian religious trends is also displayed by the fact that in the neighbouring province of Dalmatia, Silvanus is primarily attested in conjunction with the Nymphs as his attendants and not with the Silvanae; whereas attestations of the Nymphs as Silvanus' attendants in Pannonia are nonexistent.²⁸⁹ One explanation for this phenomenon could be the possible connection of the Silvanae to Celtic religion. Namely, a large proportion of the Silvanae dedications in Pannonia are to be found in the northern and western parts of the province, where Celtic culture took a much stronger hold than in the south of the province and in neighbouring Dalmatia. This concentration of dedications, combined with certain traits reminiscent of the Celtic mother-goddesses (occurrence in clusters of three, invocation as "Silvanae Mammulae", association with the Celtic Quadriviae and Matres Campestres...) has led certain scholars to speculate that the Silvanae may perhaps be rooted in, or at least related to, Celtic religious beliefs.²⁹⁰ This, however, is not entirely certain, as other non-Celtic deities may also appear as a trinity (the Fates or the Capitoline Triad, for example), and several other female deities in the ancient world, apart from the Celtic mothers, were also regarded and worshipped as motherly figures (Cybele, Isis etc...). The present author is inclined to believe that these female nature deities morphed according to local cultural, geographic and religious contexts, as well as according to how they were perceived by individual worshippers, gaining more "Celtic" traits where such a population was predominant, becoming associated with geographical features such as

²⁸⁷ Andautonia: *AII* 467; and *AII* 468; Aequinoctium: *CIL* III 4534; Aquae Balissae: *AE* 1978, 657; Aquincum: *CIL* III 10394; *CIL* III 10460; *AE* 1937, 209; and *AE* 1965, 124; Brigetio: *CIL* III 4304; Campona: *CIL* III 3393; Carnuntum: *CIL* III 4441; *CIL* III 4442; *CIL* III 11179; *CIL* III 13474; and *CIL* III 14089; Enzersdorf: *AE* 1957, 164; Siscia: *CIL* III 10847; Topusko: *ILJ* 1127; and Vindobona: *CIL* III 13497.

²⁸⁸ Italy: *CIL* V 817; *CIL* V 3303; *CIL* VI 549; *CIL* VI 694; *CIL* VI 834; and *CIL* VI 31001; Moesia: *CIL* III 12367; and *AE* 1955, 67; Dalmatia: *CIL* III 10077; Gaul: *CIL* II 4499; *AE* 1946, 197; *CIL* XII 1103; and *AE* 1969-1970, 346; Dacia: *AE* 1967, 405; and Britain: *AE* 1964, 175. Dorcey (1992), pp.42-44.

²⁸⁹ Dorcey (1992), p.43.

²⁹⁰ Dorcey (1992), pp.45-47. The Silvanae, perhaps accompanied by the god Silvanus and invoked together as "Silvani" are also attested in Gaul (*CIL* XII 1103 and *AE* 1969-1970, 346) in association with the Celtic "Mallet God".

thermal waters where such features occurred, and displaying syncretistic associations with other deities according to the manner in which they were understood by the worshipper. They thus became worshipped in different locales under different names, as Nymphs, Silvanae, Quadriviae, Matres, or even Nutrices.

Although the Silvanae, in their role as Silvanus' attendants, are often perceived to share his sphere of powers, rooted in the natural world; certain scholars additionally believe that among their powers, they held healing properties, especially when connected with thermal springs.²⁹¹ This may indeed explain their presence and worship at Aquae Iasae, and likewise their absence from our other sites along the Drava, which did not feature thermal waters. While this interpretation may be true, it is to be noted that the Silvanae are also attested at sites which do not feature thermal waters, indicating that their healing properties, when specifically connected to thermal springs, may be only one facet of their identities.²⁹² Although the goddesses are seldom awarded epithets, nevertheless there are some instances which may offer us clues to their other powers, and the various ways in which they may have been perceived by their worshippers. *CIL* III 4534 from Carnuntum employs the invocation "Silvanis Silvestribus", indicating that the goddesses were connected to the natural world, and more precisely to the wilderness of the woods. This is consistent with the image of Silvanus as the deity of forests and wilderness. The goddesses thus could have been akin to woodland nymphs, associated with and assisting the god of the woods. Another invocation which might throw light on the nature of the goddesses is *CIL* III 11179 from Carnuntum, where the goddesses are invoked as "Silvanae Mammulae" or "Silvanae Mammae". The indication here is that the goddesses may be viewed as motherly, nursing deities, in the same

²⁹¹ In addition to the two votive dedications recorded here, one other dedication to the Silvanae is known from the territory of the Iasi (*AE* 1978, 657). This is the joint dedication to the gods Silvanus and Silvanae from Aquae Balissae (modern-day Daruvar in Croatia), another healing centre located in the proximity of Aquae Iasae, featuring a thermal spring. Pinterović (1975), pp.123-157; and Schejbal (2003a), p.110.

²⁹² See for example: *Silvanae Mammulae* – *CIL* III 11179 (Carnuntum, Pannonia Superior); *Silvanis Augustis sacrum* – *ILJug* 02, 1127 (Ad Fines, Pannonia Superior); *Silvanis et Silvano Campestribus* – *AE* 1967, 405 (Germisara, Dacia); *Silvanis et Quadriviis Caelestibus sacrum* – *AE* 1964, 175 (Westerwood, Britannia); *Silvano et Silvanis et Quadriviis sacrum* – *CIL* III 13497 (Vindobona, Pannonia Superior); and *Silvanis Silvestribus* – *CIL* III 4534 (Carnuntum, Pannonia Superior), among others. Dorcey (1992), pp.43-44.

vein perhaps as the *Nutrices* from Poetovio.²⁹³ Unlike the *Nutrices*, there is nothing to suggest in the iconography of the *Silvanae* that they may be connected with nursing. Apart from these two examples, the nature of the *Silvanae* can perhaps be further deduced from their association with the *Quadriviae* as is shown on *CIL* III 14089 from Carnuntum and *CIL* III 13497 from Vindobona, among others. These female deities may have been akin to the Nymphs and the *Silvanae*.²⁹⁴

As can be seen from the examples provided above, it would appear that the *Silvanae*, through their epithets “*Silvestrae*” and “*Mammae*”, as well as through their association with the *Quadriviae* and the *Campestres*, were versatile deities, perhaps akin to Nymphs and other multi-purpose female *numina*. Like the Nymphs which are invoked at *Aquae Iasae*, the *Silvanae* may have embodied several pre-Roman autochthonous deities or spirits connected with the natural world.²⁹⁵ Thus, at thermal sites like *Aquae Iasae* and *Aquae Balissae*, part of their worship may have consisted of viewing them as healing and fertility deities, like the Nymphs; while it is possible that at other sites which did not feature thermal waters, they may have been worshipped as deities of other aspects of the natural world, such as forests or fields. According to Rendić-Miočević such a grouping of pre-Roman autochthonous deities under the appellation of Nymphs and/or *Silvanae* may have helped reconcile the autochthonous and the Roman divinities, rendering the process of integration of newly-arrived settlers from across the Roman Empire and Pannonian native peoples easier.²⁹⁶ By grouping pre-Roman nature deities under the name of Nymphs and *Silvanae*, multi-cultural immigrants arriving into Pannonia from across the Empire would have found familiarity and comfort with these deities, since it is likely that they would have come across similar Nymph-like nature deities in their own homelands. Thus, their integration into Pannonian provincial society would have been less stressful, the same way perhaps that accepting foreign deities would have been made easier for the autochthonous Pannonian peoples if they could see that these foreign settlers had similar spiritual concerns and that their deities performed similar

²⁹³ The connection of *Silvanus* and the *Silvanae* to other “motherly” deities is well attested. Thus, they are associated with the *Matres* (*CIL* VI 31140; *CIL* VI 31174; *CIL* VI 31175; and *CIL* XIII 8492, among others), as well as with *Caelestis* (*Astarte*), and the *Campestres* (see above).

²⁹⁴ Rendić-Miočević (1980), p.107, footnote #6.

²⁹⁵ Rendić-Miočević (1980), p.108.

²⁹⁶ Rendić-Miočević (1980), p.108.

functions. In addition to bridging cultural and religious differences, the Silvanae may likewise have contributed to better social integration. These apparently local Pannonian/Celtic nature divinities may have been paired with Silvanus in order to appeal to female worshippers.²⁹⁷ This practice of pairing male and female deities is well-known in the ancient world. Thus, in their role as assistants to Silvanus, the Silvanae bridged the cultural, religious and social gap between the pre-Roman autochthonous female deities and the Italic god, while by belonging to the larger category of nature divinities, and especially female healing/motherly divinities, they maintained religious connections with other similar goddesses, such as the Nutrices, the Nymphs, and the Matres for example, resulting in the possible creation of extremely versatile religious identities, associations and syncretisations.

We have three known relief representations of the goddesses from the Pannonian provinces: one from Aquae Balissae, one from Carnuntum, and one from Aquincum.²⁹⁸ It is interesting to note that on these three reliefs the goddesses are always accompanied by Silvanus, which is likewise reflected in the joint dedications. These three monuments thus confirm that their primary role is as attendants to the god Silvanus. The Aquae Balissae relief depicts two goddesses standing behind and to the right side of the god, dressed in long robes and with their hair tied back. They do not seem to be carrying anything in their hands. The Carnuntum relief, only partially preserved, depicts three Silvanae dressed in long robes and standing to the right of Silvanus. Although their heads are missing, all three goddesses carry a bread loaf or a small pouch (?) in their right hands, and are lifting the folds of their robes with their left hands, as well as each holding a (pine?) tree branch. It must be noted that the details on the relief are hard to discern due to damage and erosion. Finally, the Aquincum relief depicts the three goddesses again in a standing position and dressed in long robes. They are placed to the left of Silvanus. They carry loaves of bread or pouches in their right hands, and appear again to be lifting the folds of their robes with their left hands while holding possibly pine tree branches, as in the previous relief. According to Dorcey, the tree branches are not only symbols of nature, but also of fertility.²⁹⁹ It is possible that the use of pine branches harkens back to pre-Roman Pannonian nature divinities, as the pine branch motif was a known

²⁹⁷ Dorcey (1992), p.48.

²⁹⁸ *CIL* III 4534 (Carnuntum); *CIL* III 10460 (Aquincum); Pinterović (1975), pp.123-157; Rendić-Miočević (1980), p.114; and Schejbal (2003a), p.110 (Aquae Balissae).

²⁹⁹ Dorcey (1992), p.44.

decoration motif on autochthonous Pannonian pottery.³⁰⁰ On all three reliefs the figures are facing the viewer frontally. It is curious to note that the two reliefs which originate from northern Pannonian cities display three goddesses, while the relief from Aquae Balissae portrays only two goddesses. Likewise, while the goddesses on the Aquae Balissae relief do not appear to hold anything in their hands, both reliefs from northern Pannonian cities depict the goddesses holding their robes and what would appear to be a round loaf of bread, or some other undetermined round object, in addition to pine branches. Thus, although it is hard to draw conclusions from iconography about the nature of these goddesses, other than the fact that they are portrayed as accompanying or assisting Silvanus; the difference in iconography between the north and the south of the province must be acknowledged. It is a shame, however, that our two dedications below do not bear any reliefs of the goddesses, as this would enable us to ascertain whether these iconographic differences are purely a north/south divide, or whether they may suggest a more nuanced discrepancy, perhaps being specific to healing deities connected with thermal waters, or even specific to the Iasian region.

Both of our dedications to the Silvanae date to the Antonine period. The first inscription reads³⁰¹:

SILVANIS / AVG(ustis) SAC(rum) / CORNEL / IA RES<TI>TV / TA PRO SE ET SV(is) / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

The second inscription reads³⁰²:

SILVANIS / AVG(ustis) SAC(rum) / POMPEIA / FLORENTINA / PRO SE ET SVIS / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

Immediately striking is the utter resemblance of the two dedications, which are, apart from the names of the dedicators, identical. The invocation “Silvanis” may imply that the Silvanae are invoked together with Silvanus,³⁰³ although this is hard to confirm without an accompanying iconographic representation. The invocation “Augustis” is well-attested in

³⁰⁰ For an examination of autochthonous pottery motifs see the introductory section of the Mursa chapter.

³⁰¹ *CIL* III 10890 = *AII* 467. Vikić-Belančić, B. and Gorenc, M. (1970), p.151, footnote #14.

³⁰² *AII* 468. Vikić-Belančić, B. and Gorenc, M. (1970), p.151, footnote #14.

³⁰³ Dorsey (1992), p.47.

relation to the cult of Silvanus, and as suggested before, may attest a display of loyalty on behalf of worshippers towards the emperor and the imperial family. Since neither of our worshippers holds a public post, the present author believes that this interpretation of the epithet is unlikely. The present author is more inclined to believe, given the nature of the Silvanae, their connection to the thermal spring, and Aquae Iasae's geographical proximity and administrative connections to Poetovio, that the epithet "Augustis" may instead display a closer connection to the Nutrices Augustae, who are in many respects similar to the Silvanae. Such a hypothesis may be likely as Silvanus has been attested in the company of the Nutrices.³⁰⁴ Thus, it is possible that due to the versatile nature of the female deities worshipped in this region, such as the Nutrices, the Nymphs and the Silvanae, they may sometimes be grouped, interchanged, or syncretised. Although no explicit syncretisation occurs in the invocatory *formulae* found here, it is possible that the goddesses may have displayed syncretistic elements through their iconography, incorporating autochthonous Pannonian elements (pine tree branch), Celtic elements (clusters of three), and Italic elements (popularity of the epithet "Augustus" which predominates in Silvanus-worship in Italy, or his depiction in the Italic (soldier) style).

Both of our dedications have been erected by women, whose names lead us to believe that they may not only be of Italic descent, but that they hail from prominent, well-known families.³⁰⁵ It is interesting, considering how few female dedicators are attested in the cities along the Drava, that these two women, Cornelia Restituta and Pompeia Florentina, have set up dedications to the Silvanae. A large proportion of dedicators to the Silvanae consisted of legionaries, with women comprising only about a quarter of all Silvanae dedicators.³⁰⁶ Although a quarter of dedications might seem small, when compared with overall votive epigraphic evidence produced by women throughout the Empire, this number is quite significant. Due to this, Dorcey has speculated that the Silvanae may have catered to some special need among female worshippers, most probably related with fertility and motherhood. Such a conclusion is entirely possible given not only the Silvanae's attestation at a thermal

³⁰⁴ Dorcey (1992), p.45, footnote #55.

³⁰⁵ Rendić-Miočević (1991-1992), p.71. The *cognomen* "Restituta" is predominantly found in Italy (OPEL IV, p.27), while "Florentina" is very popular in Pannonia and in Italy (OPEL II, p.148).

³⁰⁶ Legionary dedications: CIL III 3393; CIL III 4441; CIL III 13497; and AE 1957, 164, among others. Dorcey (1992), p.46.

healing resort such as Aquae Iasae, which was known for curing female fertility problems, but also their connection with other healing, fertility and mother deities, such as the Nutrices, the Matres, the Nymphs etc... Thus our two female dedicators, although they do not offer us reasons for their dedications, most likely visited Aquae Iasae and dedicated to the Silvanae exactly for these reasons.

Hercules

One dedication from Aquae Iasae pertains to Hercules.³⁰⁷ This is an altar discovered in 1878, measuring 67cm x 66cm. A statue may have been set up on top of the altar, although at present it is missing. The dedication dates most likely to the third century A.D.³⁰⁸ The inscription reads:

*HERCVLI / AVG(usto) SAC(rum) / M(arcus) AV[R]EL(ius) / CASSIVS / B(ene)F(iciarius)
CO(n)S(ularis) / [----*

Our dedicator, Marcus Aurelius Cassius, identifies himself as a *beneficiarius consularis*. Although the latter part of his dedication is damaged, we may presume, due to Aquae Iasae's proximity and connections to Poetovio that he was stationed there. Given the dating of this inscription our dedicator most likely was a recent beneficiary of Roman citizenship, having acquired it through the *constitutio Antoniniana*. Due to this fact, it is likely that he may have been of autochthonous Pannonian origin, as large numbers of Pannonians became citizens by Caracalla's decree, resulting in the extremely common occurrence of the name "Aurelius" in the province.³⁰⁹ Further proof of his autochthonous or possibly Celtic roots can be found in his *cognomen*, Cassius, which appears most frequently in the provinces of Dalmatia and Gallia Belgica, followed closely by Noricum, Pannonia and Moesia Superior.³¹⁰ That our

³⁰⁷ *CIL* III 10890 = *AII* 458. Vikić-Belančić, B. and Gorenc, M. (1970), p.151, footnote #14; and Sanader (1995), pp.107. For more information on the worship of the god in Pannonia see the Mursa chapter.

³⁰⁸ Fitz remarks that the first *beneficarii* monuments in Pannonia begin to appear in the A.D. 190s, with the great majority of monuments dating to the third century A.D. Fitz (1976), pp.265-267; and Galić and Radman-Livaja (2006), p.174, footnote #17.

³⁰⁹ Pannonia is the European province with the most occurrences of the *nomen* "Aurelius" recorded so far, namely over 700 cases. It is closely followed by Dalmatia (615 cases), far outnumbering all the other provinces. See *OPEL* I, p.238.

³¹⁰ *OPEL* II, p.40.

dedicator sets up an altar to Hercules is hardly surprising given his military background. The worship of Hercules is well-attested among soldiers, and he appears to have been the emblem of the *XV Primigenia* and the *XXII Primigenia* legions, the latter of which *may* be attested on a dedication to the Nymphs from Aquae Iasae.³¹¹ Thus, it is perfectly likely that Cassius' choice of deity was influenced by his professional affiliations. Cassius may also have invoked Hercules in his role as protector, especially if his visit to Aquae Iasae was health-related, as the god himself is known to have escaped from the clutches of death on several occasions. The attribution of the epithet "Augustus" to the god may be seen as an expression of loyalty to the emperor and the state, a practice extremely common among military and public officials, whose professional and personal advancement necessitated such a public display.

Pollux

One dedication from Aquae Iasae attests the deity Pollux. The god, along with his more famous brother Castor, was popularly worshipped as a deity of salvation, and as a protector of horsemen and sailors.³¹² The two gods were famously worshipped in Rome in temples in the Forum Romanum and in the Circus Flaminius, but appear to have had no temple of their own at Aquae Iasae, since no other dedications to the gods have been found here. Rendić-Miočević suggests that heroic deities, such as Pollux and Hercules, may have shared a cultic space with the Nymphs at Aquae Iasae.³¹³ The worship of Castor and Pollux was popular among public officials³¹⁴ and freedmen³¹⁵, and considering the nature of our dedicator and of the beneficiary of his vow, the choice of Pollux seems hardly surprising. The dedication is featured on a small altar measuring 60 x 20 x 19cm. The inscription reads³¹⁶:

POLLVCI / PRO SALVTE / L(uci) F(abi) CILONIS / C(larissimi) V(iri) ET FILI(i) / NEP(o)TES Q(u)E EIV[S] / MENANDE[R] / LIBER(tus)

³¹¹ *AJ* 1938, 462.

³¹² Adkins and Adkins (1996), pp.41-42.

³¹³ Rendić-Miočević (1991-1992), p.73.

³¹⁴ *CIL* XII 2561; *CIL* XI 3777; *CIL* IX 724; and *CIL* II 2122, among others.

³¹⁵ *CIL* VI 22202; *CIL* II 2100; and *AE* 1901, 188, among others.

³¹⁶ *CIL* III 4120. Premk, A. and Ochsenschlager, E. (1991), p.88; and Rendić-Miočević (1991-1992), p.73.

This dedication is dated between the years A.D. 191 and 210 due to the mention of Lucius Fabius Cilo. It was erected by a freedman named Menander, who judging by his name *may* be of Greek or Oriental origin, although divining ethnicity from slave and freedman names often proves difficult and unreliable.³¹⁷ The persons honoured in this dedication are Lucius Fabius Cilo and his descendents. Lucius Fabius Cilo was a well-known second century senator and two-time consul (A.D. 193 and 204). He appears to have been a close friend of the emperor Septimius Severus, although he met his end under Caracalla's reign.³¹⁸ Although Cilo's full names and honours are not indicated on this dedication, his senatorial rank is nevertheless recognised by the title *vir clarissimus*. This dedication shows not only the standard display of loyalty to his former master on the part of Menander, but seems to indicate genuine affection, especially since Menander entreats Pollux not only for Cilo's well-being, but also for the wellbeing of his sons and grandsons. It is possible that Menander is here also displaying gratitude for his recent grant of freedom. The choice of Pollux as a deity most likely reflects on the possible Greek/Oriental background of Menander and on his freedman status. Although Cilo and his family are the beneficiaries of the vow, and it remains possible that Pollux was a favourite deity of Cilo, since Cilo was a man of a military background (he was the legate of *legio XVI Flavia Firma* from A.D. 180 to 184, and military prefect from A.D. 187 to 189) and Pollux is known to be not only the patron of army forces, especially the cavalry forces, but also to enjoy widespread worship from public and imperial officials, so thus it would seem natural that Cilo would show an inclination to Pollux; the present author is more inclined to believe that the choice of Pollux was a reflection of the freedman Menander's religious identity rather than that of his patron Cilo. An examination of dedications to Pollux reveals that in several cases (although not always!) when the god is invoked by public or imperial officials he is given the epithet "Augustus"³¹⁹, reflecting a display of loyalty to the emperor and the imperial house; whereas private dedications usually

³¹⁷ Kajanto notes that: "Most slaves bore Greek names which were consequently a characteristic feature of the nomenclature of this class." Kajanto (1965), p.133. Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, 8.21 famously states that a man may name his slave after the slavetrader from whom the slave was acquired, after the city in which the slave was sold, or even after some defining characteristic which the slave bore. Thus, ascertaining the origin of a slave or a freedman from his slave name proves difficult.

³¹⁸ Cassius Dio, 78. 4-5; *Historia Augusta, Vita Commodi*, 20.1; and Mennen (2011), p.195. Cilo is recorded on several other inscriptions as a *vir clarissimus* (CIL XV 7448) and an urban prefect in Rome (CIL XV 7447). For more on Cilo see *PIR*² III, p.97, #27.

³¹⁹ CIL XIV 2637; and CIL II 2122, among others.

bear no such epithet.³²⁰ Thus, the present author believes that if the god was a reflection of Cilo's religious identity, given his high standing, the god would most certainly bear the epithet "Augustus"; whereas, since this appears to be a heartfelt personal dedication from a freedman for the well-being of a former master, no display of loyalty to the emperor is needed, since the dedicator (presumably) holds no public office.

³²⁰ *CIL* XII 2562; and *CIL* XIV 2629, among others.

CONCLUSIONS

Historical Overview

Aquae Iasae, although a smaller settlement located in the shadow of cosmopolitan Poetovio, displays evidence of a vibrant spiritual life, revolving primarily around the thermal spring and its healing properties. The general distribution of votive evidence found at Aquae Iasae points to the fact that, unlike its Drava counterparts Iovia-Botivo and Mursa, Aquae Iasae displays an abundance of dedications in its very early and middle periods (first and second centuries A.D.), and a scarcity in the third century. Among our Drava evidence Aquae Iasae is thus unique in this sense; for it appears that it is affected by the epigraphic boom in the transitioning period of the late second and early third centuries to a lesser extent than the neighbouring Poetovio or its eastern counterpart Mursa. The volume of votive dedications thus appears stable from the first to the third centuries, with a sudden drop starting as of the middle of the third century.

Several explanations may be offered for this epigraphic distribution. Firstly, the significant volume of dedications in the early and middle periods may be attributed to Aquae Iasae's close connections to Poetovio. Our epigraphic evidence would seem to suggest that Aquae Iasae may have entertained a special administrative connection to Poetovio, if not belonging to the Poetovian *ager* itself. The economic, social, religious and cultural pull of Aquae Iasae to this metropolis is demonstrated by several dedications attesting *collegia*,³²¹ administrative associations³²² and military personnel³²³ tied to Poetovio. Thus, a significant group of worshippers at Aquae Iasae in this early period appear to have come from Poetovio. This is hardly surprising considering their close geographic proximity. Our evidence further seems to suggest that the majority of the worshippers at Aquae Iasae, especially in the first century, appear to be of Italic descent. This is consistent with the nature of early settlers at Poetovio, who originated primarily from northern Italy.³²⁴ Economic and cultural connections were especially evident between Poetovio and Aquileia, as a significant amount of imports flowed

³²¹ *A/IJ* 460.

³²² *CIL* III 4117; and *AE* 1985, 714.

³²³ *CIL* III 4118; and *CIL* III 10.893.

³²⁴ Further reading on this topic is provided in the introductory section of "Religion and Cults at Poetovio".

from this and other northern Italian cities to Poetovio and its neighbouring settlements, including Aquae Iasae.³²⁵ Among the Italic worshippers at Aquae Iasae we notice that a significant proportion consisted of high-ranking military personnel³²⁶, some belonging to the Poetovio-based *legio XIII Gemina*, whose recruits themselves originated from northern Italian cities. Additional economic, social and administrative connections between Aquae Iasae, Poetovio and northern Italy can be seen in the organisation of the Illyrian customs service, as both Aquileia and Poetovio prove to be large customs administrative centres.³²⁷ Votive evidence from both cities attests the relationship between these two customs centres, as *conductores* in charge of the Illyrian customs service possessed slaves in both cities, and it is not unreasonable to think that their duties within the customs service may have necessitated travel between these cities. Poetovio evidence displays that men in the employ of the Illyrian customs service seem to have originated from primarily Greek and Oriental cultural elements³²⁸, thus it is possible that, in addition to professional connections, personal and cultural connections were entertained between the two cities and their Greek, Oriental, and possibly Italic communities. As newly-arrived settlers to Poetovio in the first century, and members of the Pannonian Italic diaspora, it is only natural to think that north Italic settlers would have looked back towards Italy and the personal and professional connections they had forged there. The same was likely true of the Greek and Oriental immigrants who may have looked back on already well-established immigrant communities of their own descent in Italian cities. At least one of our dedications from Aquae Iasae would seem to suggest this connection. Flavius Hermadion, a *circitor* in the Illyrian customs service, who dedicates to the Nymphs in the late second century³²⁹, appears to have been settled at Poetovio, as a dedication from this city seems to suggest.³³⁰ In his role as *circitor* he was most likely charged with the inspection of customs posts, so he must have travelled extensively throughout this region, and may even have visited Aquileia on several occasions and

³²⁵ Strabo, *Geography*, 5.1.8; and Herodian, *Roman History*, 8.2.3. See also the introductory section of this chapter.

³²⁶ Rendić-Miočević (1991-1992), p.74.

³²⁷ De Laet (1949), pp.179-180; and Humphries (1998), pp.210-211.

³²⁸ Further reading on this topic is provided in the introductory section of "Religion and Cults at Poetovio".

³²⁹ *AE* 1985, 714.

³³⁰ *ILJug* 02, 1145.

entertained professional contacts there. If we are correct in supposing that this dedicator is the same as the dedicator bearing an identical name from Rome³³¹, then his personal and professional connections may have even been further reaching than we originally anticipated. Thus, our evidence from Aquae Iasae dating to the first and second centuries A.D. would lead us to conclude that this settlement was closely connected to the neighbouring cosmopolitan Poetovio, and through Poetovio, to northern Italian settlements such as Aquileia. The early development of votive epigraphic habit at Aquae Iasae can thus be attributed to these connections, and the military, public and administrative elements that they featured, which were well-known for their fondness of erecting inscriptions in stone.

The sudden decline in votive dedications at Aquae Iasae in the third century may have been a product of several factors. Certainly the administrative separation of Aquae Iasae from Poetovio would have impacted on the volume of our votive evidence, as we have seen that the worshippers connected to Poetovio made a significant epigraphic impact on Aquae Iasae. Considering that our last “official” dedications attesting an administrative connection to Poetovio date from the second century³³², the present author is inclined to believe that Aquae Iasae may have been severed administratively from Poetovio much earlier than the fourth century, possibly sometime in the third century. Thus, without financial support from Poetovio for the upkeep of the *thermae* and the adjoining temples, it is possible that visitors to the site waned, resulting in the decrease of our votive evidence.

The political unrest of the late second and third centuries, combined with the barbarian assaults on Pannonia, may have been an additional factor for the decline of votive evidence in the third century. While other Pannonian settlements display a surge of religious dedications in the third century from worshippers who sought protection in uncertain times (like Mursa, for example), it is possible that the nature of Aquae Iasae as a thermal resort resulted in its votive decline. Namely, as we have previously seen, most of our worshippers from the first and second centuries prove to hold prominent offices, suggesting that they would have been of significant financial means. The nature of Aquae Iasae as a thermal and healing resort would have invited such frequentation from a class of leisure. As our evidence shows, all this changed in the late second and early third century, as the same calibre of public and military

³³¹ *CIL* VI 731.

³³² *CIL* III 4117 from A.D. 164; and *AE* 1938, 156 dating possibly to the late second century.

officials is no longer attested. It is thus likely that Aquae Iasae may have lost some of its luster and appeal to visitors as it became abandoned by the upper classes, who under the threat of barbarian invasions retreated. That political unrest played a role in the decline of religious evidence at Aquae Iasae may also be attested by the fact that, as of the late second and early third centuries, we see a sudden appearance of a select few male protector deities where previously female healing deities largely predominated. Thus, we find Mithras, Hercules, Pollux and Sol/Apollo invoked, deities whose martial nature and long-standing association with the Roman military forces may have now caused them to be invoked for protection against the barbarian forces. Such a practice is not unprecedented, as the appearance of Jupiter Depulsor is to be noted at Poetovio during the Marcomannic Wars. Therefore, it would be quite plausible to think that due to the inscreasing political unrest and outside threat from A.D. 160 onwards, Aquae Iasae slowly begins to lose its appeal as a luxury resort among the elite, and with the withdrawal of administrative and financial support from Poetovio, quietly falls into obscurity. Although the city may have continued to exist until the end of the fourth century, votive dedications cease to be erected from the late third century, as pagan deities become supplanted by Christianity.

The site of Aquae Iasae proves extremely problematic for interpreting the cultural composition of the settlement and the level of cultural integration. Due to the nature of the site as a therapeutic resort, two major problems arise: firstly, the votive dedications found at Aquae Iasae have predominantly been dedicated to healing deities and/or have been erected for healing purposes. This has skewed greatly our picture of the religious life of the settlement in favour of medicinal deities, as such a high proportion of these deities would not be found present in an average settlement. Aquae Iasae thus, is peculiar in this respect, as it does not reflect votive evidence from other southern Pannonian sites (with the possible exception of other thermal resorts, and Poetovio (see below)).³³³ Secondly, the votive

³³³ Although, as discussed above, certain cultural and religious connections to Poetovio and northern Italy may be seen with respect to worshippers, the nature of the cults at Aquae Iasae largely appears to be dominated by its geographical features (thermal waters), and less by the worshippers' personal preferences and own religious identities. The introduction of more religious variety towards the end of the second century (with the worship of other, non-strictly healing deities such as Hercules, Sol, Pollux and Mithras), *may* indicate a greater rise of personal choice among worshippers. It is likely that the appearance of these deities may have been affected not only by the "Orientalisation" of religion in Pannonia starting in the mid-second century with the ever-increasing arrival of new settlers from the East, but also by the unstable political times, as worshippers began to lose faith in the protection of their traditional gods and turned towards new deities.

dedications at Aquae Iasae have almost exclusively been set up by visitors to the site. Where the dedicator does not indicate their affiliated city or origin we cannot automatically assume that they were settled at Aquae Iasae. Thus, ascertaining the cultural composition and integration of the permanent population of Aquae Iasae, and their religious identities and preferences, proves extremely problematic.³³⁴

Despite the fact that little can be deduced about the permanent settlers of Aquae Iasae, the votive dedications that we do dispose of, which largely attest visitors to the site, nevertheless offer us certain clues about the cultural composition of this part of Pannonia, especially in the post-conquest period. The high proportion of military worshippers of Italic background in the very early post-conquest period is consistent with troop distribution in nearby Poetovio, and would tend to indicate that men of Italic, and specifically northern Italic, and perhaps even Celtic, backgrounds may have been some of the earliest (temporary or permanent) settlers in this region. That soldiers were “carriers” of cultural influences is an already well-established idea in scholarship³³⁵, however it is unlikely that their predominant epigraphic attestation at Aquae Iasae indicates complete assimilation of the autochthonous population, as these last ones greatly outnumbered the Italic forces and most likely, at this point in time, still kept, for the large part, to their traditional ways of worship. Although we have no explicitly autochthonous names recorded on our dedications at Aquae Iasae, greater cultural integration can be seen as of the second century, when dedicators with more varied cultural backgrounds can be discerned. Thus, Epuria Ursula³³⁶ and Flavius Valentinus³³⁷, judging by their names, may possibly be of autochthonous origin, as well as our unpublished dedicator Marcus Aurelianus. We thus see that although religious integration in the form of adoption of the Latin epigraphic habit appears slow and gradual, it nevertheless occurs among the autochthonous population.³³⁸ The second and third centuries bring a wave of immigration

³³⁴ Rendić-Miočević (1991-1992), p.68.

³³⁵ Archaeological evidence from Poetovio points to the presence of early northern Italic and Celtic settlers in a military context. Istenić (2002), p.169.

³³⁶ *AII* 459.

³³⁷ *CIL* III 10892.

³³⁸ We must not forget that other forms of religious and cultural integration may have occurred much sooner, such as, for example, the adoption and adaptation of Roman material culture (as the introductory section of this chapter indicates). We must not rule out the possibility also that certain “Roman” nature deities such as

from further afield. Thus, we have the Moesian Domitius Valerianus³³⁹ and the presumed Greeks/Orientals Menander³⁴⁰ and Hermadion attested³⁴¹; as well as a possible worshipper of African descent, Ianuarius.³⁴² Although again, due to the nature of Aquae Iasae as a thermal resort, we can only assume that these men resided here temporarily, nevertheless, their presence in this region indicates at least some level of cultural interaction and exchange. Evidence would seem to indicate that in the case of some worshippers, cultural impact as a result of permanent residence in the region may have been more substantial. Thus, our Greek/Oriental dedicator Hermadion, by virtue of his employment, appears to have been settled permanently in the region, and as a consequence, appears to have adopted local deities, exhibiting multiple religious identities.³⁴³

Official vs. Unofficial Cults

The evidence from Aquae Iasae reveals that the unofficial deities greatly outnumber the official deities. Among the unofficial deities, those connected to the healing nature of the thermal springs, such as the Nymphs, the Silvanae and Diana are predominant in the first and second centuries. It is possible that these deities reflect a continuation of autochthonous pre-Roman female worship connected with nature, fertility and healing in the locality of Aquae Iasae considering that the thermal waters found here were renowned for curing female-related

Diana, may have appealed to autochthonous populace early on due to their similarity to their own nature deities, and may have even been worshipped side-by-side with autochthonous gods in a traditional autochthonous manner, which may not have left us with tangible evidence. Thus, the autochthonous inhabitants may not have necessarily needed to adopt the epigraphic habit in order to integrate Roman and other “foreign” gods into their religious practices and identities. They thus may have exhibited flexible and multiple religious identities in the early period which have not been preserved in our evidence, giving us only a partial picture of religious life at this time. The fact that the erection of stone votive monuments as opposed to other types of votive worship (such as for example wooden monuments), may not have taken hold among the autochthonous population early on may likewise be due to their cost or even to the still-limited spread of the Latin language among the autochthonous population in this early period.

³³⁹ *AE* 1976, 540.

³⁴⁰ *CIL* III 4120.

³⁴¹ *AE* 1985, 714.

³⁴² *CIL* III 4119.

³⁴³ Hermadion is attested worshipping Oriental deities (*CIL* VI 731), as well as local Iasian Nymphs (*AE* 1985, 714).

illnesses. The invocation of these deities in plural form (Nymphs, Silvanae) may reflect the embodiment of the multiple nature of such divinities in the pre-Roman period, indicating that a sole female figurehead may not have been the norm. While their occurrence as a trinity may betray remnants of Celtic invasions in this part of Pannonia in the third century B.C., linking them to other Celtic female divinities which appear in triple form (Matres, and possibly Nutrices, for example), it is likewise possible that the multiplicity of these female deities may indicate their versatility and even their multiplication of powers, signifying their importance to this region. The late second and early third century sees the rise of more varied unofficial deities, such as Hercules, Mithras, and Pollux, who may not have been directly connected with the healing properties of the thermal waters. At the same time we begin to see more and more civilian dedicators, who now supplement the largely military dedicators of the early period.³⁴⁴ Thus, we see a better balance between public, private and military worshippers.

As concerns the official deities at Aquae Iasae, although it would appear that this settlement featured a Capitoline temple, surprisingly few dedications to the state deities have been recovered. We have one joint dedication to Juno and Fortuna from the first century, and one to Minerva from the second century, in addition to the cult statue of the goddess. Both of these dedications appear to be of “official” character, as the Juno and Fortuna dedication was erected by the people of Poetovio, reflecting administrative ties to this city; and the Minerva dedication, along with the cult statue, was erected by a decurion of Savaria and Salla, reflecting an official display of loyalty to the state and the emperor as well as the prominent nature of worshippers at Aquae Iasae in the early and middle periods.

The most striking feature concerning official deities at Aquae Iasae is the fact that although the city appears to feature a Capitoline temple, there is a complete lack of dedications to the supreme deity, Jupiter, who is so popular among the populace of Poetovio and Mursa. The absence of the worship of Jupiter is rather perplexing, especially since the majority of our worshippers at Aquae Iasae consist of military and public officials, men who, as evidence from Poetovio and Mursa records, constituted the primary class of Jupiter worshippers. This lack of attestation of Jupiter dedications has led certain scholars, such as Sinobad, to doubt the existence of a Capitolium at Aquae Iasae.³⁴⁵ If Sinobad is indeed correct in his

³⁴⁴ Rendić-Miočević (1991-1992), p.74.

³⁴⁵ Sinobad (2008), pp.251-252.

supposition, then the absence of Jupiter-worship may be explained by the lack of a temple for the supreme deity. Namely, considering the proximity of Poetovio and the large volume of Jupiter dedications found at this site, it is possible that, in absence of a temple to Jupiter at Aquae Iasae, worshippers travelled to Poetovio in order to dedicate to the supreme god. Dedications in the form of stone altars tended to be expensive, and a single person may erect such a dedication perhaps only a couple of times in their lifetime. Thus, it is not inconceivable to think that an inhabitant of Aquae Iasae may have ventured to Poetovio in order to dedicate. Additionally, considering that a significant proportion of our worshippers who belonged to the military and administrative classes inhabited Poetovio it is not inconceivable to think that they most likely would have erected their dedications to Jupiter and taken their *vota pro salute imperatoris* in this city.

As Aquae Iasae is an unusual case in the fact that its religious life was centred around the thermal springs and its healing properties, a comparison with a similar balneo-centric settlement might prove beneficial. The best candidate would probably be Aquae Balissae, which itself was in close proximity to Aquae Iasae, and had the advantage of sharing common pre-Roman history, namely in the fact that both settlements were situated on the territory of the Iasi. Like Aquae Iasae, Aquae Balissae featured a thermal spring and a Capitulum. However, Aquae Balissae presents a reversed religious picture concerning the Capitoline deities. Aquae Balissae features four dedications to Jupiter as well as a cult statue to the god, while no votives are offered to Juno and Minerva. It is interesting that out of the four dedications to Jupiter found at Aquae Balissae, three are dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus.³⁴⁶ One explanation to this conundrum could stem from Aquae Iasae's geographical proximity to Poetovio, and Aquae Balissae's geographical proximity to Mursa. It is likely that larger urban and administrative centres, such as the *coloniae* of Poetovio and Mursa, provided a more varied religious life, offering a greater variety of deities for worshippers to choose from. Since, however, it was impossible for these cities to cater to all religious tastes, smaller urban centres within reasonable travelling distance could have complimented the religious variety of the *coloniae*. Thus, for example, while Poetovio boasts

³⁴⁶ CCID 278; CIL III 3998 = AIJ 583 = CCID 276; and CIL III 3999 = AIJ 584 = CCID 277. Schejbal (2003a), p.108, and p.111. In addition to the four Jupiter dedications, Aquae Balissae also yields one dedication to Nemesis (AIJ 585); four dedications to Silvanus (see Pinterović (1975), pp.123-157) and one to the Silvanae (CBI 277 = AE 1978, 657); and one dedication to the divine Commodus (CIL III 4000). As can be seen, there are surprisingly few religious dedications for a city of municipal status.

a large collection of dedications to Jupiter, its worship of Juno is almost negligible, while Minerva completely lacks attestation. Likewise, while Aquae Iasae yields only one Mithraic dedication, the extent of Mithraic worship in Poetovio is vast, featuring up to five Mithraea. A similar conclusion may be drawn between Aquae Balissae and Mursa. While Aquae Balissae yields four dedications to Jupiter and none to Juno and Minerva, Mursa yields two dedications to Minerva and one to Juno; and while dedications to Oriental deities predominate in Mursa, only three are to be found at Aquae Balissae dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus. What we thus see here is a two-fold effect: while settlements in close geographic proximity complement each other in terms of deities worshipped, they at the same time influence each other's religious worship. Thus, Mursa, where Oriental deities predominate, influences Aquae Balissae in its choice of syncretised deity. Namely, the inhabitants of Aquae Balissae choose to dedicate to Jupiter Dolichenus, the Roman-Syrian deity, over any other manifestation of Jupiter (i.e. Jupiter Depulsor, Jupiter Fulgurator etc...). Likewise, while the Nutrices are extremely popular in Poetovio, in Aquae Iasae it is the Nymphs which can boast of the largest number of dedications. Both deities are invoked for healing purposes, and both are connected with water, the Nymphs with the thermal spring, and the Nutrices with the freshwater spring in proximity of their temple. Thus, the two cities complement each other in the worship of different deities for similar purposes, while at the same time influencing each other in the fact that both of their predominant deities are female healing deities who are worshipped in their multiple form.

It is interesting to see that although both Aquae Iasae and Aquae Balissae were settlements sharing a similar pre-conquest cultural composition, which in Roman times, became thermal resorts, their religious identities, according to votive epigraphic evidence at least, are very different. Although one explanation may be the pull of cultural and religious influences from larger urban centres like Poetovio and Mursa, as discussed above, we also cannot deny the fact that this same evidence appears to indicate that there may have been a break in religious continuity from the pre-Roman period to the post-conquest period. We have already seen in the introductory section of this chapter that autochthonous worship in the pre-conquest period at Aquae Balissae was centred most likely around a female deity. The fact that the Roman period at Aquae Balissae features primarily male martial deities, chief among which is Jupiter Dolichenus is not only a reflection of its geographic and cultural pull to the *limes* and its military and Oriental subcultures, but also most likely indicates a break in religious continuity

between the pre-Roman and the Roman periods. However, we must not discard the possibility that our votive epigraphic evidence presents us only with a partial picture of religious identities in this region, and that autochthonous pre-Roman forms of worship, not present in our record, may have continued after the Roman conquest in the form of other, less permanent media than stone.

The fundamental disparity in the nature of deities at Aquae Balissae and Aquae Iasae (predominantly male deities versus predominantly female deities, and predominantly martial deities such as Jupiter Dolichenus versus predominantly healing deities), may also be explained by the fact that although Aquae Balissae and Aquae Iasae may have been situated on the territory belonging to the same cultural group (the Iasi), it is possible that even within the larger territory of this group religious practices varied in the pre-Roman period, with perhaps female deities predominating in one region and male deities in the other, thus creating varying local religious identities. As has been argued in the theoretical chapter of this thesis, acculturation may not have been the same everywhere nor of the same intensity, and even in the pre-Roman period it is likely that the Iasi living in the region of Aquae Balissae were culturally and religiously influenced by the neighbouring tribal groups, the Andizetes and the Scordisci, the same way that the Iasi living in the region of Aquae Iasae may have been influenced by the Serapilli, the Serretes and the Taurisci. The post-Roman conquest period likely brought further cultural and religious influences reflecting settlements patterns of different immigrant groups. This, then, may be another reason for why we find such a great disparity between cults at these two apparently similar sites.

Oriental Cults

Oriental deities begin to appear at Aquae Iasae in the late second century and early third century. Although deities connected with the thermal springs still predominate in this period³⁴⁷, a very few Greek/Oriental deities can be discerned at this time, such as Mithras, Hercules, Pollux, and appearing only in the late third or early fourth century, Sol/Apollo. Each of these deities appears only once. Such a slight attestation of Oriental deities is very perplexing, especially at this period, when Oriental deities flourish throughout Pannonia, and especially in neighbouring Poetovio and Mursa. It is perhaps telling that both smaller settlements examined in this thesis (Aquae Iasae and Iovia-Botivo) feature scarce epigraphic

³⁴⁷ Nymphs: *AE* 1985, 714; *ILJug* 1170; and *ILJug* 1171a-c.

votive evidence of Oriental deities. The fact that such deities flourish in the *coloniae* of Poetovio and Mursa would lead us to conclude that perhaps Oriental settlers who emigrated to Pannonia as of the Antonine times tended to flock to larger urban areas. Votive evidence from Mursa (and from Poetovio) indicates that these large administrative centres attracted administrative personnel of, if we are to judge by their names, primarily Greek and Oriental origins. This is especially true in the case of Poetovio which was an administrative centre of the Illyrian customs service and the seat of the procurator of Pannonia Superior, whose personnel, according to votive evidence from this city³⁴⁸, was composed almost exclusively of men bearing Greek and Oriental names. Thus, it is possible, since neither Aquae Iasae nor Iovia-Botivo were administrative centres, that they failed to attract Greek and Oriental immigration.

Oriental cults, however, were not only worshipped by people of Greek and Oriental descent, as they spread throughout Italy and quickly became popular throughout the Empire as of the first century A.D. Thus, it would not be plausible to entirely attribute the scarcity of Greek and Oriental cults at Aquae Iasae and Iovia-Botivo to a lack of immigrants from this part of the world. Another explanation may lie in the possibility that the autochthonous inhabitants of this region may not have been attracted to the worship of Oriental deities, as they may have found them too “foreign”. As neither Aquae Iasae nor Iovia-Botivo were large urban centres, it is likely that their exposure to immigrant cultures may have been limited. That the autochthonous inhabitants of the region may not have been inclined towards Oriental deities is perhaps suggested by the fact that seemingly only one of our four worshippers appears to be of autochthonous descent. Thus, a freedman of presumably Greek descent, named Menander, dedicates to Pollux³⁴⁹; a worshipper of presumably Italic descent dedicates to Mithras³⁵⁰; and a *beneficiarius* of possibly autochthonous descent dedicates to Hercules.³⁵¹ Our dedicator to Sol/Apollo is unknown due to the damage sustained by the dedication.³⁵²

³⁴⁸ For votive evidence of customs officials from Poetovio please consult the catalogues of Mithraic dedications included in “Religion and Cults at Poetovio”.

³⁴⁹ *CIL* III 4120.

³⁵⁰ *ILJug* 1963, 355.

³⁵¹ *CIL* III 10890.

³⁵² *AE* 1994, 1386.

Apart from Aquae Balissae, where the worship of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus and Nemesis are attested, it appears that no Greek or Oriental deities are to be found in other parts of the Iasian territory. Thus, this perplexing scarcity of dedications to Oriental deities at the height of their popularity in the late second and early third centuries at Aquae Iasae and within the larger Iasian territory would lead us to conclude that the small (and in the case of Iovia-Botivo, perhaps provincial) nature of these settlements resulted in their relatively limited religious identities.

In addition to the scarcity of Oriental deities at Aquae Iasae in the late second and third centuries, another striking feature for this period is the almost complete lack of overt syncretism among deities at Aquae Iasae. While the deities at Aquae Iasae do exhibit a variety of epithets, indicating their versatility³⁵³, only three of our dedications feature overt syncretistic tendencies. One is the pairing of Juno Regina and Fortuna, erected by the Poetovian people in the first century³⁵⁴; another is the pairing of the Nymphs with Diana erected by, most likely, the Poetovian *collegium iuventutis*;³⁵⁵ and the third is the possible joint dedication to Sol and Apollo from the late third or early fourth century, making it our most recent dedication.³⁵⁶ The association of Juno and Fortuna is not unusual, especially in the context of Juno's invocation as Regina and the possible interpretation of the find location as a Capitoline temple. These goddesses were invoked as such, accompanied most often by Jupiter Optimus Maximus, in the neighbouring Sirmium³⁵⁷, and provinces of Dalmatia³⁵⁸,

³⁵³ The Nymphs, our most frequently worshipped deities, exhibit the widest variety of epithets: Salutares (*CIL* III 10.893; and *CIL* III 10891); Iasae (*AE* 1985, 714; and *ILJug* 1170); and Augustae (*CIL* III 4119; *CIL* III 4117; and *CIL* III 10892). Diana is worshipped as Augusta (*AII* 460) and Domina (*AII* 459); Mithras is invoked as Invictus (*ILJug* 1963, 355); Juno is worshipped as Regina (*ILJug* 1168); Fortuna is worshipped as Augusta (*AE* 1976, 540); Minerva is also invoked as Augusta (*ILJug* 1169); the Silvanae likewise bear this epithet (*AII* 467; and *AII* 468); as well as Hercules (*CIL* III 10890). Therefore, our evidence points to the fact that Augustus/Augusta is the epithet most frequently employed, indicating an expression of loyalty to the imperial house on the part of those who held public or military offices, and possibly serving also to reconcile Roman and "foreign" deities, creating a cultural and religious bridge between divinities, uniting worshippers.

³⁵⁴ *ILJug* 1168.

³⁵⁵ *AE* 1938, 156.

³⁵⁶ *AE* 1994, 1386 = *AE* 1998, 1044.

³⁵⁷ *AE* 1994, 1446 (*Iovi Optimo Maximo Iunoni Reginae Minervae Fortunae Marti Campestri*), for example.

³⁵⁸ *ILJug* 734 (*Iovi Optimo Maximo Iunoni Reginae Fortunae Reduci*), for example.

Dacia³⁵⁹, and Germania Superior³⁶⁰, for example. The pairing of Nymphs and Diana, however, although unusual in our region, is a very popular association on the territory of the Delmatae, reflecting perhaps pre-Roman Pannonian-Illyrian religious practices and identities. It is possible that several youngsters from the *collegium* may have been of autochthonous descent, thus reflecting their choice of deities and this particular pairing. Our most interesting syncretism is that of Sol and possibly Apollo. Although this dedication is severely damaged, the pairing of the two deities is not unusual, due to their similar spheres of power. The late date of this dedication offers the possibility of further syncretisation with the Christian god. Such a syncretisation is perhaps implied by the incision of “sun rays” around the letter “O” in the word “SOLI”, as has been suggested by Migotti.³⁶¹ Although this interpretation seems entirely plausible, given the emperor Constantine’s favouring of the Christian and sun gods, we must also remember that this apparent syncretism is not overt, and furthermore, due to the damage sustained by the dedication, we have no way of being certain whether this apparent syncretism was originally intended by the dedicator, or whether our own perceptions have coloured our interpretation of the stone.

The scarce nature of our evidence for overt syncretisations at Aquae Iasae is troubling, especially given the extent of syncretistic associations in larger cities such as Poetovio or Mursa. The scarcity of syncretisations between Roman and Oriental deities is especially puzzling in the second and third centuries, when such syncretisations thrive with respect to deities such as Jupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus. Due to its small size and its close proximity to a large urban and administrative centre (Poetovio), it is likely that the religious identity of Aquae Iasae remained relatively specialised and did not expand to include various Syrian, Egyptian, Thracian, and other “foreign deities”, since the worship of such deities was observed at nearby Poetovio. This religious “specialisation”, when it came to nature and healing deities, need not have necessarily implied cultural homogeneity, as we see worshippers of apparently Italic, autochthonous, Greek/Oriental and possibly African descent

³⁵⁹ *CIL* III 7950 (*Iunoni Fortunae*), for example.

³⁶⁰ *AE* 1985, 694 (*Iovi Optimo Maximo Iunoni Reginae Fortunae Reduci*), for example.

³⁶¹ Migotti (1999), pp.54-58; and Migotti (2002), p.52.

attested³⁶², although given Aquae Iasae's nature as a resort it is extremely likely that a great proportion of dedicators were visitors to the site and were not actually settled there.³⁶³

The nature of more subtle syncretisations in our religious evidence, such as the subsuming of several deities under a single appellation (Nymphs, Silvanae...), or the representation of deities and divine symbols on reliefs and in iconography, is harder to discern and untangle due to several reasons. Firstly, our (published) iconographic evidence from Aquae Iasae is not very extensive. Apart from a few partial relief fragments depicting Nymph body parts, a Mithraic tauroctony scene and a Minerva cult statue, we do not have much iconographic material on the basis of which we may discern the nature of individual religious identities and religious integration within Aquae Iasae. Certain elements, such as the execution of the Minerva cult statue do point to religiously integrative elements between the Roman and the autochthonous artistic and religious influences. It is problematic, however, to draw conclusions from such supposed syncretistic elements not only due to the small sample of iconographic evidence that we have from Aquae Iasae, but also because we can rarely be certain that the iconographic representations reflect the voice and the religious identity of the worshipper, and not that of the sculptor, the artistic trend of the time, or even our own imposed bias. Secondly, the nature of iconographic evidence is such that it may convey different messages to different viewers, both ancient and modern. Likewise, it is possible that at times the dedicators intentionally attempt to represent their religious identity in an ambiguous or contradictory manner.³⁶⁴ Thirdly, it is likely that under different cultural

³⁶² Epuria Ursula (*AII* 459) appears to be of Italic or autochthonous descent; Flavius Valentinus (*CIL* III 10892), Caesius (*ILJug* 1171b), Aurelius (*ILJug* 1171c) and Marcus Aurelius Cassius (*CIL* III 10890) may possibly have all been of autochthonous descent; Marcus Rutilius Lupus (*AE* 1938, 462), Marcus Fabius Fabullus (*CIL* III 4118), Iulius Maximus (*CIL* III 10891), Valerius Marcellianus (*ILJug* 1963, 355), Cornelia Restituta (*AII* 467) and Pompeia Florentina (*AII* 468) all appear to be of Italic descent; Flavius Hermadion (*AE* 1985, 714) and Menander (*CIL* III 4120) both appear to be of Greek or Oriental descent; Titus Iulius Ianuarius (*CIL* III 4119) may possibly have been of African descent; Titus Flavius Domitius Valerianus (*AE* 1976, 540) identifies himself as originating from Moesia; and Lucius Claudius Moderatus (*ILJug* 1169) may have been Norican or Pannonian in origin.

³⁶³ Such is certainly the case of Lupus, Fabullus, Iulius Maximus, Hermadion, Valerianus, Moderatus, Cassius, and possibly Menander.

³⁶⁴ Aldhouse-Green (2005), p.53. We must not forget also that each worshipper had their own way of viewing and interpreting the deity and the relationship that they entertained with them. Thus, different worshippers may interpret the same deity differently, attributing to them a variety of different epithets, or associating them with other deities which they perceived similar and/or related. Thus, depending on the depth of the understanding of the deity on the part of the worshippers, we may encounter conventional, alternative, or even bizarre deity pairings or associations.

influences deities evolve and acquire new meanings and powers over time.³⁶⁵ In addition to personal preference and local cultural influences, this may present us with an additional explanation for the versatility of representations and epithets that deities such as the Nymphs are awarded at Aquae Iasae.

Autochthonous Cults

Unlike the neighbouring Poetovio, Aquae Iasae does not preserve autochthonous names of any local deities. As has been argued above, it is extremely likely, given the popularity of nature and healing deities such as the Nymphs, the Silvanae and Diana at Aquae Iasae, that these deities reflect the character of pre-Roman divinities of this region. Given the distinct nature of religious life at Aquae Iasae in Roman times, tied so closely to its prominent geographical features, the thermal springs, it is likely that the pre-Roman divinities at Aquae Iasae were likewise perceived as versatile female spirits, tied to the healing waters and the local natural and geographic features. These spirits may have been embodied under the name of the Nymphs by our early Italic visitors, who may have found them akin to water and healing deities previously encountered in Italy. By worshipping these local healing spirits and deities under the appellation “Nymphs”, both versatile and multiple, the visitors to the site were sure not to offend any local deities by forgetting them, since the name “Nymphs” could assume deities tied to water and healing, as well as those tied to woodland and other local natural aspects. Additionally, by calling them “Nymphs”, the worshippers may have found them easier to relate to and connect with their own gods. Thus, multi-cultural immigrants from all corners of the Empire arriving into Pannonia may have been comforted to find deities similar to those in their own homelands; and the autochthonous inhabitants of this region may have been more willing to accept foreign visitors and settlers if they perceived them to have similar spiritual concerns to those of their own and to pay homage to their gods. Therefore, that the Nymphs are among the first deities attested epigraphically at Aquae Iasae may not only have been a reflection of their ties to the healing properties of the thermal springs, but may also have been a testament to their religiously and culturally integrative nature.

The versatility and the integrative nature of these female divinities may have also been exemplified by the various epithets that they are awarded. Among their first dedications we

³⁶⁵ Aldhouse-Green (2005), p.53.

see them worshipped as “*salutares*”, indicating perhaps that healing may have been their original and primary function.³⁶⁶ In the second century they become worshipped as “*Augustae*”, around the same time as we see the appearance of the *Silvanae Augustae* on dedications at *Aquae Iasae*. While the appearance of the *Silvanae* may possibly signify the highlighting of another separate yet similar function of these versatile autochthonous female deities, or even the evolvement of these female deities into distinct yet akin divinities; the award of the epithet “*Augustae*” may have served to integrate them into the wider Roman Pantheon, connecting them to other, both official and unofficial deities bearing the same epithet throughout the Empire, thus giving rise to imperial religious identities. The epithet “*Augustae*” may have likewise served to highlight the goddesses’ importance within *Aquae Iasae* by connecting them to the imperial cult, as it was due to the thermal springs that the settlement attracted visitors and became famous. They thus may have been awarded some semi-official status, especially as they tend to be invoked in this manner by Poetovian officials.³⁶⁷

The late second and early third century sees the attribution of the epithet “*Iasae*” to the Nymphs. That such an epithet, tying them to the local geography and its pre-Roman autochthonous composition appears in the third century is slightly unusual. One would have expected this epithet to be employed in the early post-conquest period by the visitors and settlers to the site, as a descriptive attribute of the region and its predominant deities. That the epithet instead appears in the third century may reflect an awakening of autochthonous identities, and a harkening to ancestral times.³⁶⁸ Since the official Poetovian dedications are no longer attested at this period, the present author is inclined to believe that *Aquae Iasae* may have been severed administratively from Poetovio by this time, perhaps even in recent years. The reaffirmation and harkening back to previous identities would be logical under these circumstances, as left on their own, the inhabitants of *Aquae Iasae* now needed to carve out their own independent identities. They thus may have looked back to their ancestral period in order to redefine their identities. It is equally possible, since we see the arrival of various multicultural settlers at this time into Pannonia (primarily from Greek and Oriental

³⁶⁶ *A/I* 1938, 462; and *CIL* III 10891.

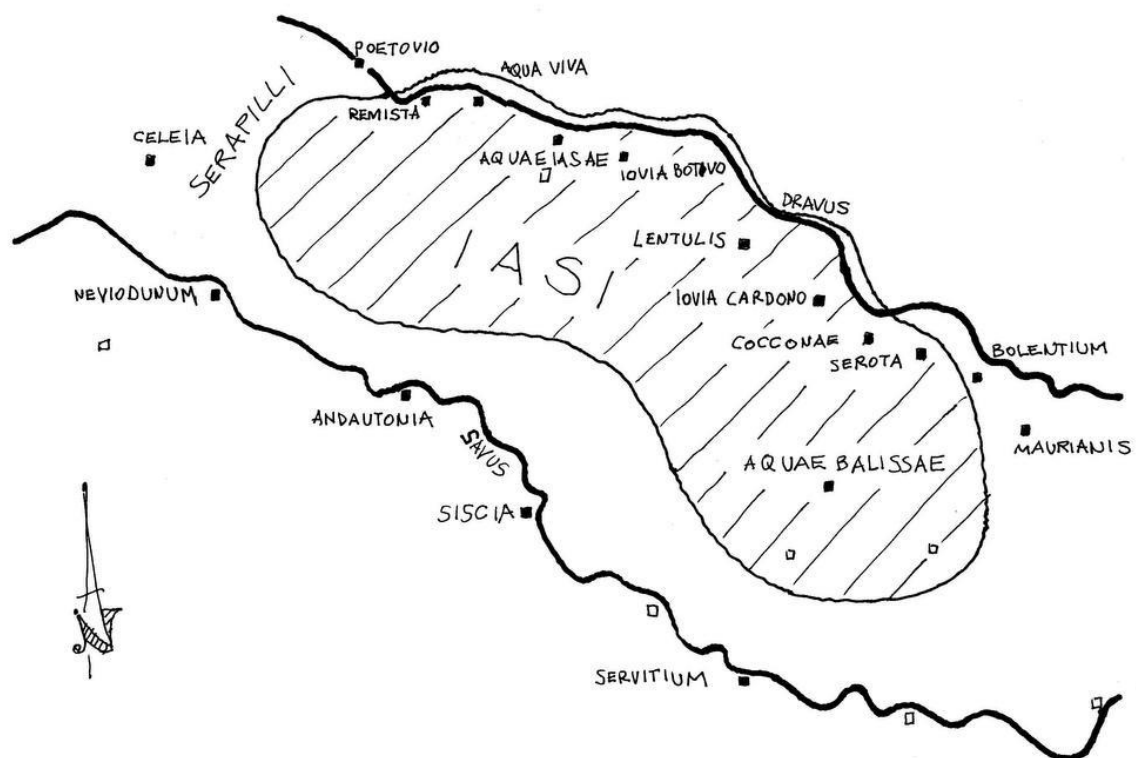
³⁶⁷ *CIL* III 10891; and *CIL* III 4117.

³⁶⁸ Aldhouse-Green (2005), p.53.

backgrounds, but also some from *Barbaricum*), and the import of their own “foreign” deities, that the inhabitants of the region, perhaps fearing to be engulfed by foreigners, attempted to find a way to differentiate themselves and their deities from the newcomers by reclaiming a version of their ancestral identities. Such sentiments are well-documented in times of social and political crises, and the inhabitants of the region may have thought that the best way to define themselves would be in opposition to others; thus the epithet “Iasae” may have come into use in order to assert traditional ties and prior claim to the region and the settlement.

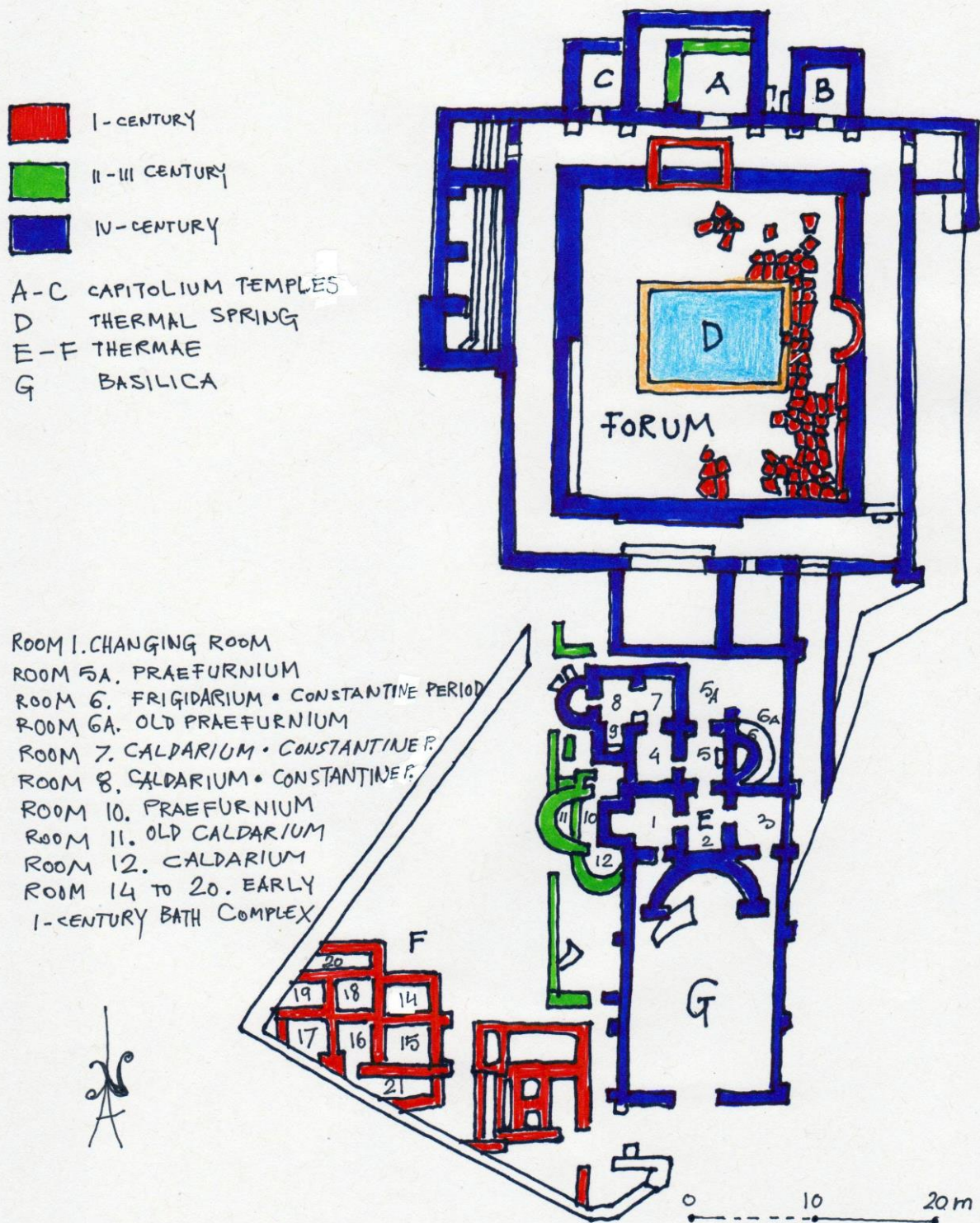
That the appearance of the epithet “Iasae” may not have necessarily been meant as an act of cultural resistance to foreign influences, but an act of redefinition of the collective identity of the inhabitants of the region in the face of these social and political changes may be supported by the fact that, as far as our evidence tells us, the employ of this epithet was not restricted to individuals of autochthonous descent. Although we have only two instances of this epithet from Aquae Iasae, one of our dedications was set up by the *circitor* Hermadion, an individual of seemingly Greek or Oriental descent, who was most certainly tied to the Illyrian customs service at Poetovio.³⁶⁹ Although it is likely that Hermadion himself was not an inhabitant of Aquae Iasae, his use of the epithet implies not only that he may have been well-acquainted with the region and its cultural and religious nuances, a skill perhaps owed to the nature of his profession, but that he also may have felt fairly integrated among the local population. Thus, as seemingly someone of non-autochthonous descent he would have had no need to employ the epithet “Iasae” as a sign of cultural resistance; but as an inhabitant of the region and someone who most likely maintained close personal and professional contacts with the inhabitants of the region and who may have felt a sense of “belonging” to this community, he would have been inclined to perhaps participate in and support this collective renegotiation of identity. Thus, Hermadion, among our worshippers, appears to be the epitome of cultural integration and versatility of religious identity.

³⁶⁹ *AE* 1985, 714.



Map of the Iasi tribe (after Schejbal 2003a)

• AQUAE IASAE THERMAE AND FORUM •



Plan of Aquae Iasae *thermae* and forum (after Kušan Špalj and Nemeth-Ehrlich 2012)

CHAPTER III: IOVIA-BOTIVO (LUDBREG, CROATIA)

The *civitas* of Iovia-Botivo was nestled between the hills of Kalnička and Toplička gora, on the banks of the river Bednja (Roman Bathinus), a stone's throw from the fluvial highway that is the river Drava.³⁷⁰ Although Iovia-Botivo is not directly situated on the Drava, like the other settlements examined in this work, but instead on its tributary the river Bednja; it belongs nevertheless to the Drava valley settlements, as it is situated directly on the Poetovio-Mursa land route, which runs alongside the Drava river. This region has been, since prehistoric times, a crossroads of trade routes³⁷¹, and it is because of this reason, in addition to the fertile lands of the region and the protection afforded by the Drava, that a settlement was established at this strategic place early on.³⁷² The region of Iovia-Botivo was initially settled by the Pannonian Iasi, who occupied the larger territory extending roughly from Aquae Iasae to Aquae Belissae, between the Sava and the Drava rivers.³⁷³ Evidence

³⁷⁰ The exact location of Iovia-Botivo has not been confirmed by epigraphic evidence (two inscriptions *possibly* mentioning the name Iovia have been discovered: one mentions a centurion of the *XIII Gemina*, Valerianus, now lost and thus unverifiable; and the other is the Silvanus dedication (see below) now too damaged for the city name to be confirmed with certainty). Most scholars, however, agree that Iovia-Botivo would have been located on and around the present-day town of Ludbreg, due to significant material evidence recovered at this spot from the Roman period, which points to the existence of a Roman settlement. It is to be noted that Roman cartographic evidence (*Itinerarium Antonini*, *Tabula Peutingeriana*, *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum*/*Burdigalense*, *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia*) presents us with three possible locations for Iovia: two along the Poetovio-Mursa road (Iovia-Botivo and Iovia-Cardono); and one along the Sopiana-Brigetio road. Only one of the sites, however, is marked as a *civitas* in *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum* (561) and *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia* (4.19). This is the Iovia located at present-day Ludbreg, (referred to as Iovia in *Itinerarium Antonini* (130) and in *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum* (561); and Botivo in *Tabula Peutingeriana* (4.4) and *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia* (4.19)) which is located some 38 Roman miles to the southeast of Poetovio. See: Kukuljević (1873), pp.107-110; Vulić (1916), p.752; Mayer (1935a), pp.75-77; Mócsy (1962), pp.516-776; Tomičić (1966), p.119; Fulir (1969), pp.424-425; Soproni (1980a), pp.207-217; Vikić-Belančić (1983-1984), p.120 and p.162; Šašel Kos (1997), pp.39-40; Tomičić (1997), p.37; and Gregl, Z. and Migotti, B. (2004), p.131.

³⁷¹ In addition to the Drava trade route, three other land routes led into Iovia-Botivo: Varaždinske Toplice-Ludbreg (along the river Bednja); Varaždin-Križovljan-Poljanec-Ludbreg; and Klemenc-Jalžabet-Ludbreg (along the river Plitvica). See: Seper (1962); Tomičić (1966), p.119; Vikić-Belančić (1968), p.82; Vikić-Belančić (1978), p.170; and Gregl, Z. and Migotti, B. (2004), pp.131-132.

³⁷² Archaeological excavations on the north side of Ludbreg, where the Roman *suburbium* was located, revealed a prehistoric residential complex, indicating that the pre-Roman "native" settlement would have been most likely located here. Vikić, B. and Gorenc, M. (1979), p.95.

³⁷³ *AII* 469; *AII* 586; and *AII* 587. Vulić (1914), p.2005; Vikić-Belančić (1983-1984), p.159; and Gregl, Z. and Migotti, B. (2004), p.132.

discovered on the territory of Ludbreg shows that, much like the rest of southern Pannonia, the autochthonous Pannonian tribes mixed and integrated with the incoming Celts, from the fourth century B.C. onwards, and later with the Roman and other foreign settlers, from the time of the Roman conquest. Autochthonous influences, alongside Celtic and Roman influences, appear to have survived well into the Roman period, as a large amount of native-styled pottery displays.³⁷⁴ Although certain scholars believe that Iovia-Botivo was established on an earlier indigenous settlement³⁷⁵, doubts of its origins remain as archaeological evidence of city walls uncovered would seem to indicate that the town was planned in an organised manner, for the settlement of civilian and/or military incomers. A similar controversy surrounds the name of the settlement. Scholars are not only divided on which name (Iovia or Botivo) was the original name of the settlement, but also on the origin of the names. While some believe that the name Botivo is the original autochthonous name of the settlement,

³⁷⁴ While the autochthonous pottery style prevails, made locally of coarse clay, and featuring a flat bottom, a rounded body and everted rims, Celtic influences can be found in decorations, such as the comb ornament which most vessels feature. Most of the pottery found is designed for household use, mainly cooking. The type of pottery found at Iovia-Botivo is thus consistent with finds not only at sites belonging to the *ager* of Iovia-Botivo, such as Petrijanec and Jalžabet; but is also consistent with finds from other Drava sites such as Poetovio and Aquae Iasae, as well as from certain Sava valley sites such as Andautonia and Siscia. This leads us to conclude that Iovia-Botivo enjoyed good trade relations with the rest of Southern Pannonia, and with provinces further afield, such as Italy, Gaul and even Egypt, as certain pottery, glass and metal imports would seem to suggest. There is, however, compared with other sites in Southern Pannonia, a scarcity of luxuries and imports at Iovia-Botivo, such as *terra sigillata*; except for thin-walled ware, such as cups and small plates with plant decorations, imported most likely from northern Italy during the Augustan period. This lack of "Roman" material culture permeates into other areas as well, with particularly scarce metal finds such as coins, and religious dedications, as we shall see below. Thus, while we do see a presence of autochthonous, Celtic and Roman material, it is surprising not to see a more intense presence of imports, especially as Iovia-Botivo lay on one of the most important Pannonian trade routes. It is to be noted, however, that large parts of Iovia-Botivo remain unexcavated, so these results may not accurately reflect the historical situation of the city. See: Bonis (1942), p.35; Vikić-Belančić (1968), pp.75-101; Plesničar-Gec (1972), plate #1; Vikić-Belančić (1972-1973), pp.75-132; Sarić (1975), pp.177-193; Plesničar-Gec (1977), p.61; Vikić-Belančić (1983-1984), p.157, and p.160; and Gregl, Z. and Migotti, B. (2004), pp.140-141.

³⁷⁵ One argument put forward in favour of Iovia-Botivo developing from an autochthonous settlement is the fact that the name Botivo is not of Roman origin, thus inciting scholars to believe that this may have been an original name of the indigenous settlement. However, the cartographic evidence makes it difficult for us to divine which name (Botivo or Iovia) took precedence (see footnote #1). See: Kukuljević (1873), p.110; Mayer (1935a), p.79; Mócsy (1962), p.652; Tomičić (1997), p.29; and Gregl, Z. and Migotti, B. (2004), p.133. Another piece of evidence in support of a prior indigenous settlement is the discovery of autochthonous houses in the north-eastern and north-western parts of Iovia-Botivo. Archaeological excavations have uncovered that the Roman *suburbium* was built directly on top of these native dwellings. For further details see: Vikić, B. and Gorenc, M. (1978), p.72; Vikić-Belančić (1979-1980), pp.238-239; Vikić, B. and Gorenc, M. (1981), p.86; and p.88; and Vikić-Belančić (1983-1984), pp.146-148.

others are convinced that the city's name was changed in the late Roman period, from Iovia to Botivo, in order to renounce pagan ties to the newly-appointed Christian see.³⁷⁶ The city's other appellation, Iovia, might originate either as an homage to the deity Jupiter, and by association, the Emperor and the imperial cult; or depending on how one interprets the cartographic evidence which records the city, it may have been adopted later during the Tetrarchy, in honour of Diocletian's nickname Iovius.³⁷⁷ An additional theory interprets the name Iovia as "young" or "new". Mayer proposes that in the context of its geographic proximity to *mutatio* Sonista/Sinista/Sunista, these two settlements should be regarded as the "old" and the "new"; implying that Sonista/Sinista/Sunista predates Iovia.³⁷⁸ All of these theories, at the moment, however, are still mere conjectures.

Due to its strategic position, Iovia-Botivo became a fortified settlement early on; becoming part of the Pannonian *limes* during the conquest of Pannonia, and renewing that role during the barbarian invasions in the later Empire.³⁷⁹ Following the conquest of Pannonia and its division, Iovia-Botivo fell under the jurisdiction of Pannonia Superior, being assigned to Pannonia Prima, and Pannonia Savia in the later Empire.³⁸⁰ Due to the lack of epigraphic and literary evidence recording Iovia-Botivo, our knowledge of its history is extremely limited. Some conclusions, however, can be inferred from the archeological evidence.³⁸¹ It would

³⁷⁶ Funaioli (1914), p.306; and Gregl, Z. and Migotti, B. (2004), p.141.

³⁷⁷ If the city was indeed named after the deity Jupiter, it is curious that no dedications to this god have been discovered so far on the territory of Iovia-Botivo. However, the benefit of a doubt must be given as the ancient city has been scarcely excavated. See: Mayer (1935a), p.79; Mócsy (1962), p.652; Tomičić (1997), p.34; and Gregl, Z. and Migotti, B. (2004), p.141.

³⁷⁸ Mayer (1935a), p.78.

³⁷⁹ Mócsy (1962), p.542, p.548, and p.662; Tomičić (1966), p.119; Fulir (1969), pp.424-425; Vikić, B. and Gorenc, M. (1969), pp.4-5; and p.10; Vikić-Belančić (1978), p.170; Soproni (1980b), pp.219-238; Gorenc, M. and Vikić, B. (1984), pp.59-60; Vikić-Belančić (1983-1984), p.159; Tomičić (1997), pp.29-30; and Gregl, Z. and Migotti, B. (2004), p.132.

³⁸⁰ Mócsy (1962), pp.586-588.

³⁸¹ It is to be noted that drawing precise data from the archaeological evidence of Iovia-Botivo proves likewise problematic. Due to the scarcity of archaeological excavations so far conducted and the materials recovered, our understanding of the evidence, and subsequently the settlement, is poor; for we cannot generalise on the nature of the settlement and its inhabitants from a fraction of the data. Although archaeologists believe that Iovia-Botivo is archaeologically rich, with a potential to reveal to us much more about its Roman period, barriers to further excavations have been encountered through lack of funding, the fact that most of the land to be surveyed and excavated remains in private hands, the civil conflict of the 1990s and the subsequent slow

appear that Iovia-Botivo came under Roman influence in the first century A.D. According to archaeologists, the city walls, and presumably the city itself, were erected in the late first, or at the beginning of the early second century A.D.; around the same time when cities in Southern Pannonia were experiencing a second boom of urban development, and when Poetovio was promoted to the status of a colony.³⁸² Although the city walls formed a double barrier, with inner and outer walls envelopping the city, it is unknown whether the two layers were raised simultaneously, or whether an extra layer was added in times of insecurity. We do know, however, that the walls remained in use throughout the Roman period, as they show signs of rebuilding.³⁸³ Whether Iovia-Botivo developed from a military *vicus*, or whether the favourable position of the city on the Drava *limes* attracted a military presence is likewise still unknown. Although as of yet, no military structures have been found, it is only natural to assume that Iovia-Botivo's geographical position would have been of strategic military importance.³⁸⁴ Certain scholars, however, doubt a Roman military presence in Iovia-Botivo, citing a lack of military epigraphic evidence, as well as a lack of military brickstamps. Additional arguments remark that due to the geographical proximity to Poetovio and Siscia, both of which at times had legionary garrisons, Iovia-Botivo itself thus most likely would not have been garrisoned.³⁸⁵ Archaeological surveys, however, point to the fact that the walled city was of rectangular shape, measuring 200m x 170m, with rounded corners³⁸⁶, which would indicate, according to some archaeologists³⁸⁷, that perhaps Iovia-Botivo did develop

economic recovery of the area. Additionally, archaeologists believe that the river Bednja on which Iovia-Botivo resided, was prone to flooding; so it is possible that a significant section of Roman and pre-Roman evidence was lost already in ancient times. Vikić, B. and Gorenc, M. (1981), p.86; and p.88; and Vikić-Belančić (1983-1984), p.120; and p.154. It is primarily due to these reasons that our knowledge of ancient Iovia-Botivo is so limited. However, having said this, since 2008 excavations have resumed and a small bath complex as well as a yet-undefined public building were uncovered. No additional votive inscriptions have been found to date. For a report on the latest excavations see: Pleše (2012).

³⁸² Vikić-Belančić (1983-1984), p.119; p.156; and p.159; and Gorenc, M. and Vikić, B. (1984), pp.63-65.

³⁸³ Vikić-Belančić (1983-1984), p.126; and p.154.

³⁸⁴ Tomičić (1966), p.119; Vikić-Belančić (1969), p.178; Vikić-Belančić (1978), p.170, p.174; Gorenc, M. and Vikić, B. (1984), pp.59-64; and Gregl, Z. and Migotti, B. (2004), p.133.

³⁸⁵ Vikić-Belančić (1983-1984), p.150, and p.160; Šimek (1987), pp.45-46; Tomičić (1997), p.30; and Vikić-Belančić (1998), p.489.

³⁸⁶ Tomičić (1966), p.117; and Vikić-Belančić (1983-1984), pp.119-120.

³⁸⁷ Petrović (1961), p.143; Mócsy (1962), pp.635-636; Tomičić (1966), p.119; and Webster (1998), pp.167-230.

from a military settlement, as this is an element of military architecture. The central and northern parts of the walled city were occupied by a public area, with residential areas occupying the southern, eastern and western parts of the city. Thus, if we were to examine the modern-day outline of Ludbreg, the ancient city walls would have been flanked to the south and the east by the river Bednja, to the north by Preradović street and the Victims of Facism square, and to the west by Kalnička street. This walled nucleus represents the oldest part of Roman Iovia-Botivo, as late antiquity saw the city expand northwards, with the building of a *suburbium* (see the city map, p.133 in this work).³⁸⁸

Very few significant, identifiable urban structures within the confines of the walled city have been discovered so far. These include the *thermae* which were located in the northern part of the city, built probably around the second century A.D., and showing signs of renovations and restructuring in the late fourth century A.D.³⁸⁹ In addition to the *thermae*, a possible *horreum* was discovered in proximity of the baths, believed to date to the late Empire.³⁹⁰ Moreover, a part of a bronze equestrian statue from the Severan dynasty was found along the river Bednja, close to the eastern city wall, indicating perhaps that some important public structure, maybe even the forum, was located here. If indeed the forum was located here on the edge of the city, rather than in the centre, this could reflect a remnant of autochthonous urban organisation.³⁹¹ For the moment, however, this cannot be confirmed, as further archaeological excavations are needed; but it is likewise perfectly possible that the statue

³⁸⁸ Tomičić (1966), p.117; Vikić, B. and Gorenc, M. (1979), p.98; and Vikić-Belančić (1983-1984), pp.150-151.

³⁸⁹ The *thermae* were transformed into a double-apsed hall with a narrow chamber on the north side which archaeologists believe to have been done in order to accommodate Christian rites, thus turning the *thermae* into a church. It is interesting to note that the *thermae* at Aquae lasae were transformed into a church at around the same time. Although further study is needed, this coincidence could be tied to the (possible) transfer of Aquae lasae to the administration of Iovia-Botivo; or if this change is more wide-reaching in southern Pannonia, it could signify that the changes in religious trends and attitudes of the imperial purple attempted to be hastily copied by the populace at large, either to curry favour or due to the uncertain political and socio-economic times (threat of barbarian invasions etc...). Vikić-Belančić (1978), p.173; Vikić-Belančić (1978a), pp.591-593; Vikić, B. and Gorenc, M. (1981), p.86; Vikić-Belančić (1983-1984), pp.132-134; and p.150; and Migotti (2002), p.56.

³⁹⁰ Vikić, B. and Gorenc, M. (1968), p.130; Gorenc, M. and Vikić, B. (1984), p.65; Vikić, B. and Gorenc, M. (1981), p.86; and Vikić-Belančić (1983-1984), pp.122-126; p.150 and p.161.

³⁹¹ Although unusual, the placement of a forum at the edges of a city is not unique, as it can be found elsewhere in the Empire. See: Suić (1976), p.81; Pócsy (1980), p. 253; and Gregl, Z. and Migotti, B. (2004), p.137.

piece was somehow transported here and was not originally *in situ*.³⁹² In addition to these structures, *insulae* and other residential structures were noted in the southern part of the city, displaying signs of occupation from the first to the fourth centuries A.D.³⁹³ Iovia-Botivo thus shows signs of a thriving city with a continuous, dense occupation, which sustained damage and rebuilding during the tumultuous times of the Marcomannic Wars and the barbarian threats of the late antiquity.³⁹⁴

As a general rule, the urban planning of Iovia-Botivo from the early Empire differed significantly from that of the late Empire. It would appear that in the early period buildings were erected on the north-south axis, whereas the later period shows signs of construction on the east-west axis.³⁹⁵ Structures were usually erected from stone, consistent with the majority of other Pannonian cities³⁹⁶, and quality of construction declined in the later Roman period. Thus, there were two significant building phases in Iovia-Botivo: one in the first century A.D. when the original Roman settlement was set up, and one in the fourth century, when refortification of the city walls took place due to the barbarian threat.³⁹⁷ Currently, the best chronological survey of Roman material can be ascertained from the public area of Iovia-Botivo; however, the early Roman period, most pertinent to us, is also the worse preserved.³⁹⁸

Despite signs of occupation from the first century A.D., it would appear that Iovia-Botivo received its civic status only sometime in the fourth century A.D., as it is noted as having a

³⁹² Gorenc, M. and Vikić, B. (1984), p.66; and Vikić-Belančić (1983-1984), p.161.

³⁹³ Vikić, B. and Gorenc, M. (1978), p.70; Vikić-Belančić (1979-1980), p.238; Gorenc, M. and Vikić, B. (1984), pp.65-66; and Vikić-Belančić (1983-1984), pp.150-151.

³⁹⁴ Vikić-Belančić (1983-1984), p.128 and p.160.

³⁹⁵ Vikić-Belančić (1983-1984), p.150 and p.161; and Vikić-Belančić (1998), p.488.

³⁹⁶ It is to be noted that while most of Pannonian urban structures were erected in stone, even though the latter was scarce in the province; the exception is to be found in the cities of south-eastern Pannonia, such as Mursa and Cibalae, where the predominant material of construction is brick, and where stone structures are rare. Although further research on this matter is needed in order to understand the motives, the fact that buildings in Iovia-Botivo and the surrounding area were built almost exclusively in stone is unusual, as a stone quarry, as well as several brick factories were to be found in the proximity. Thus, a scarcity of brick-built structures is to be explained. See: Pinterović (1978), p.158; Vikić-Belančić (1983-1984), p.151; Iskra-Janošić (1984), pp.144-145; Šimek (1987), pp.45-46; and Buzov (1993), pp.59-60.

³⁹⁷ These two building phases were confirmed by pottery finds. See: Vikić-Belančić (1983-1984), p.122.

³⁹⁸ Vikić-Belančić (1983-1984), p.149.

civic status in *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum* but not in *Itinerarium Antonini*.³⁹⁹ The fourth century saw Iovia-Botivo become densely inhabited, as a *suburbium* of apartment-buildings emerged on the north side of the city⁴⁰⁰, and city walls became refortified due to the barbarian threat.⁴⁰¹ At this time, the territory of Iovia-Botivo would have most likely included an *ager*, although, again, epigraphic finds are lacking in order to make this confirmation. If indeed, Iovia-Botivo did feature an *ager*, then it would have most likely bordered to the west with the territory of Poetovio, to the north with the territory of Halicanum, to the south with the territory of Andautonia and to the east with the territory of Aquae Balissae.⁴⁰² It is likely that within this *ager* would have been included the sites of Aquae Iasae (Varaždinske Toplice)⁴⁰³, *mansio* Aqua Viva (Petrijanec)⁴⁰⁴, Jalžabet⁴⁰⁵ and Poljanec.⁴⁰⁶ Archaeological finds have

³⁹⁹ *Itin. Hierosol.* 561; Soproni (1980), p. 213; and Gregl, Z. and Migotti, B. (2004), p.133. It is, however, possible that Iovia-Botivo's status as *civitas* was omitted through an error on the Antonine Itinerary, especially since more than one Iovia is recorded here.

⁴⁰⁰ Gorenc and Vikić hypothesised that, if indeed Iovia-Botivo did play host to a Roman military garrison, the garrison would have originally been encamped where, in later times, the *suburbium* rose up. See: Vikić, B. and Gorenc, M. (1981), p.86-88; Vikić-Belančić (1983-1984), p.161; and Gorenc, M. and Vikić, B. (1984), pp.63-66.

⁴⁰¹ Klemenc (1961), p.25; Mócsy (1962), p.661; Vikić-Belančić (1978), pp.170-174; Soproni (1980a), pp.207-208; Soproni (1980b), pp.219-223; Póczy (1980), p.245; and Gregl, Z. and Migotti, B. (2004), p.133.

⁴⁰² Póczy (1980), p.239; and p.251; and Gregl, Z. and Migotti, B. (2004), p.135.

⁴⁰³ It has been suggested that Aquae Iasae may have belonged to the *ager* of Poetovio up until the fourth century when Poetovio was assigned to Noricum. With the shift of Poetovio into Noricum, Aquae Iasae may have fallen under the administrative jurisdiction of Iovia-Botivo. Migotti (2002), p.54.

⁴⁰⁴ It is currently debated whether the site of Aqua Viva (Petrijanec), like Aquae Iasae, belonged to the territory of Poetovio or to the territory of Iovia-Botivo. Petrijanec is located on the road connecting Aquae Iasae with Poetovio, approximately 12 kilometres south-west of Aquae Iasae. The site has not yielded any epigraphic evidence which would indicate whether it fell under the jurisdiction of Poetovio or Iovia-Botivo, although, if one were to take into account geographic location, Aqua Viva is placed almost exactly halfway between Poetovio and Iovia-Botivo, being closer to Poetovio by only two kilometres. Aquae Iasae, on the other hand, is geographically much closer to Iovia-Botivo; however, the presence of epigraphic evidence attesting Poetovian officials in Aquae Iasae may suggest that it belonged to the territory of Poetovio. This should be viewed with caution, however, as there is also evidence attesting city officials from Savaria and Salla, and Aquae Iasae is to be viewed as a special case as it was a spa resort. It is, however, possible, purely based on geographic distance, that Aqua Viva belonged to Poetovio and Aquae Iasae to Iovia-Botivo. There is however, no certainty of this, and we are still waiting for archaeological proof. The site of Aqua Viva has not yielded a lot of finds. We do have some small finds and sarcophagi recorded, as well as some architectural and sculptural material. Pottery evidence shows similarities with other southern Pannonian sites, as well as lively trading relations, as a large amount of first and second century pottery found at Aqua Viva appears imported. At present, the evidence leads us to conclude that the site was very small, probably consisting of a villa and a *mansio*, and that it was in

confirmed the existence of cemeteries along the roads leading into Iovia-Botivo, on the northern, eastern and western sides of the city. Although these have yet to be properly excavated, archaeologists have noted that they were in use from the first to the fifth centuries A.D., displaying not only various methods of burial such as urns, sarcophagi, brick graves and earth graves; but also quite a rich array of grave goods, indicating that the *civitas* Iovia-Botivo grew late into the Roman period.⁴⁰⁷ Thus, unlike most other Pannonian settlements, Iovia-Botivo prospered in late antiquity, displaying signs of occupation until the sixth century A.D., although it would appear that by this period attention had shifted from the central, public area of Iovia-Botivo, to the peripheries of the city, as the town expanded

continuous use from the first to the fourth centuries A.D.; however, further archaeological research is still needed. See: Sarić (1975), pp.177-178, p.185, p.189, and p.191; and Gregl, Z. and Migotti, B. (2004), p.135.

⁴⁰⁵ Similar to Petrijanec, Jalžabet has yielded only a few finds, including some small finds, a monument to the deity Silvanus, and the remains of a Roman villa. In addition to the sole Silvanus dedication, the site at Jalžabet has yielded pottery consistent with other sites found along the Drava. Thus, dating to the first and early second centuries, we find large quantities of local crude pottery bearing the popular Celtic comb-style decorations similar to those found at Poetovio; *terra nigra* displaying Celtic influences in the shape and decoration of pottery similar to those found at Aquae lasae; and *terra nigra* displaying decorations borrowed from *terra sigillata* and the Hellenic tradition. These also show the still-vivid presence of Celtic and Halstatt traditions. The mid and late second century displays many fragments of imported *terra sigillata* (from Gallic factories such as at Lezoux, and also from Rheinzabern and Westendorf, which exported widely to Pannonia) and *sigillata* imitation pottery. The Celtic pottery tradition, although less present, has not been forgotten as we do also find still examples of local pottery with the comb-style decoration. All these examples of second-century pottery reflect finds in other Drava sites, such as Poetovio, Aquae lasae and Mursa. More widely, such examples are also found at Aquincum and Intercisa, revealing extensive trading contacts with other parts of the Empire, and integration of local, Roman and other Empire-wide traditions. Pottery of the third century, however, displays a return to popularity of local-made examples, with imports from Rheinzabern and Westendorf, for example, becoming rarer. The local-made pottery is cruder and lacks decoration for the most part, with some exceptions of comb-style decoration. This trend reflects the evidence at Poetovio, Mursa, Cibalae and further afield in Pannonia and Noricum. Other finds at Jalžabet consist of bricks bearing the stamp L.OC (Lucius Octavius Secundus), a brickmaker native to Poetovio, whose stamps are found also at Aquae lasae; *fibulae* displaying Germanic and Celtic influences, similar to examples found at Carnuntum and Brigetio; various animal bones; as well as foundations of what archaeologists believe to be a well-fortified Roman villa. If indeed the structure at Jalžabet was a Roman villa, then it was destroyed in a fire during the Marcomannic Wars and subsequently rebuilt, as archaeological evidence displays signs of destruction but also a continuity of the settlement until the fourth century A.D. Vikić-Belančić (1968), pp.75-101; and Gregl, Z. and Migotti, B. (2004), p.135.

⁴⁰⁶ Poljanec has only yielded a funeral wagon bearing elaborate decoration. Gregl, Z. and Migotti, B. (2004), p.135. See also: Fulir (1969), pp.363-431; Gorenc, M. and Vikić, B. (1984), pp.60-62; and Šimek (1997), pp.56-65.

⁴⁰⁷ Vikić, B. and Gorenc, M. (1969), pp.15-16; Vikić-Belančić (1983-1984), p.151; and p.159; Gorenc, M. and Vikić, B. (1984), p.62; Simoni (1984), p.73; Tomičić (1997), p.34; and Gregl, Z. and Migotti, B. (2004), p.135.

northwards.⁴⁰⁸ Late antiquity saw Iovia-Botivo become a prominent Christian location, as the *thermae* were transformed into a Christian place of worship in the late fourth century⁴⁰⁹, and the city itself became the see of the diocese of Iovia⁴¹⁰, and the seat of the bishop Amantius⁴¹¹, who is mentioned as sitting on the council of Aquileia in A.D. 381.⁴¹²

Although material finds from Ludbreg have been coming to light since the nineteenth century, it was not until the 1960s that proper archaeological surveying and excavations began. From 1968 to 1979 a series of archaeological surveys were conducted by Drs. Branka Vikić-Belančić and Marcel Gorenc, of the Archaeological Museum of Zagreb.⁴¹³ Due to the fact that large parts of land on which ancient Iovia-Botivo was situated were in private hands, Vikić-Belančić and colleagues were only allowed to conduct surveys, with an exception in one case, where a rescue excavation was conducted.⁴¹⁴ Although enough of the structural remains of Iovia-Botivo were uncovered through surveys to confirm it as a Roman settlement, a thorough survey and excavation of the settlement was additionally impeded by the modern outline of the town of Ludbreg, which is placed directly on top of the ancient

⁴⁰⁸ Mócsy (1962), p.697; Vikić (1973), p.50; Suić (1976), p.235; Vikić, B. and Gorenc, M. (1978), p.70; Vikić-Belančić (1978), p.174; Fitz (1980), pp.155-156; Póczy (1980), p.250; and Vikić-Belančić (1983-1984), p.142; and p.149-150.

⁴⁰⁹ Vikić-Belančić (1978a), pp.591-592; Vikić-Belančić (1983-1984), p.161; and Migotti (2002), p.55.

⁴¹⁰ Although the actual location of the see is still disputed between the three Iovias recorded, logic dictates that the location of the see would be found in a larger settlement with official status, such as a *civitas*. The Iovia at modern-day Ludbreg is the only one of the three Iovias with such credentials (see footnote #1), thus it seems natural to presume that Iovia-Botivo would be the location of the see. Problems arise, however, due to a (current) lack of Christian finds on the site, although possibilities exist that further archaeological excavations would produce Christian evidence. See: Migotti (1997), p.98; Migotti (2002), p.51; and p.55; and Gregl, Z. and Migotti, B. (2004), pp.133-134.

⁴¹¹ *CIL* V 1623.

⁴¹² Mócsy (1962), p.755.

⁴¹³ For a detailed account of past surveys, excavations and finds please see the articles of Gorenc, M. and Vikić, B. in *Arheološki Pregled*, numbers 10 (1968), 11 (1969), 13 (1971), 15 (1973), 18 (1976), 20 (1978), and 21 (1980); Tomičić (1966), p.116; Fulir (1969), pp.363-431; Vikić-Belančić (1978), pp.159-176; Vikić-Belančić (1978a), pp.588-606; Vikić-Belančić (1979-1980), pp.238-239; Gorenc, M. and Vikić, B. (1984), pp.59-72; Simoni (1984), pp.73-80; Vikić-Belančić (1983-1984), pp.119-166; Tomičić (1997), pp.20-41; and Vikić-Belančić (1998), pp.477-494.

⁴¹⁴ Vikić-Belančić (1983-1984), pp.119-166.

city.⁴¹⁵ Subsequent attempts faced similar problems, with the addition of financial and political barriers discussed above, so that still at present large parts of Ludbreg remain unsurveyed and unexcavated, and thus finds from Iovia-Botivo are few and far in between. This is especially true when it comes to religious dedications.

Only one votive dedication from Iovia-Botivo has been discovered so far. It consists of a sandstone altar which was found at the bottom of the Bednja river, in the south-eastern section of Iovia-Botivo, in the year 1942. The altar is dedicated to the god Silvanus, and it is thought to date from the third century A.D. (see figs. 1-3). It is quite unremarkable in its execution.⁴¹⁶ The inscription reads:

*DEO SIL / VANO VAE[? ----] / [----] / [----] / [----] / [----] / S(olvit) V(otum) L(ibens)
M(erito)*

As can be seen, although the inscription consists of seven lines, it is significantly damaged. Neither the name of the dedicator, nor his personal background or professional affiliation, have survived. It could be supposed that the last three letters in the second line, *VAE*, formed part of the dedicator's name. Whether these should be taken together, as a perhaps autochthonous single name beginning with *VAE*; or whether they should be taken as a Roman *nomen V(...)* and *cognomen AE(...)* cannot be determined with certainty. If indeed these formed a *nomen* and a *cognomen*, it could be supposed that *AE* refers to Aelianus, an extremely common name in Pannonia and Moesia Inferior.⁴¹⁷ Alternatively, it could refer to Aemilianus.⁴¹⁸ As for the *nomen V(...)*, perhaps we should suppose Vettius or Valerius likewise well-attested in Dalmatia and Pannonia.⁴¹⁹ Thus, it is possible that our dedicator was named Vettius, or even Valerius Aelianus, as such a name occurs on a dedication in Emona

⁴¹⁵ Gregl, Z. and Migotti, B. (2004), p.134.

⁴¹⁶ The altar is not recorded in *CIL*. For previous literature on the altar see: Fulir (1969), p.414, fig.38; Vikić-Belančić (1983-1984), p.142, #12; and Gregl, Z. and Migotti, B. (2004), p.131; p.137, fig.1; and p.141.

⁴¹⁷ *OPEL* I, pp.31-32.

⁴¹⁸ See for example Flavius Aemilianus from Carnuntum (*HILD* 100). See also: *OPEL* I, p.39.

⁴¹⁹ Vettius: *OPEL* IV, p.163. For Vettius see: *AE* 1991, 1319; *CIL* III 10387; *CIL* III 4502; and *CIL* III 4563, among others. Valerius: *OPEL* IV, p.143.

from a soldier of *XIII Gemina*, in proximity of Iovia-Botivo.⁴²⁰ Likewise possible is the reading of the letters *VAE* as *VA[L]ERIVS*. Due to the damage on the stone, we cannot be certain of any of these hypotheses.

Despite this damage to the dedication, three interesting facts can be gleaned from this inscription. Firstly, the deity *Silvanus* is addressed as *DEO SILVANO*. Although this is the first time that this particular invocatory formula appears in our Drava evidence, *Silvanus* is invoked as *DEO SILVANO* on several dedications from Pannonia, occurring most frequently along the Danubian *limes*.⁴²¹ It is thus possible that our own dedicator may have lived or have been garrisoned on the *limes*. Secondly, it is quite unusual that the name of the deity has been divided over two lines. In our survey of the Drava evidence this is the first occurrence of this type. It appears that this phenomenon may likewise be a feature of the Danubian provinces, as several dedications where the name of the god is split over two lines have been found along the *limes*.⁴²² Thirdly and finally, we must remark on the peculiar variation of the *V.S.L.M.* formula. Again, it is the first time in our evidence, not only of *Silvanus* dedications, but in the entire *corpus* of our Drava evidence, that we encounter this reversed use of the formula. To the present author's knowledge, the formula *S(olvit) V(otum) L(ibens) M(erito)* appears a mere twelve times throughout the Empire.⁴²³ As we can see, in addition to

⁴²⁰ *AII* 157.

⁴²¹ See: *AE* 1903, 385 from Carnuntum; *AE* 1972, 367 from Aquincum; *AE* 1994, 1406 from Sirmium; *CIL* III 6439 from Sirmium; *CIL* III 10453 from Aquincum; *AE* 1944, 119 from Brigetio; and *AE* 1972, 366 from Aquincum, among others.

⁴²² See: *AE* 1998, 1080 and *AE* 1977, 659 from Dacia; *CIL* III 4428; *CIL* III 4432; *AE* 1992, 1421 and *AE* 2002, 1160 from Carnuntum; and *CIL* III 3671 from Pannonia, among others.

⁴²³ The formula occurs on dedications from Hispania Citerior (*HEp*-02,91 = *HEp*-10,97 from Clunia; and *AE* 1987,562 and *Aquae Flaviae* 116 from *Aquae Flaviae*); Gallia Narbonensis (*AE* 2001, 1319 from *Aquae Sextiae*; *CIL* XII 1285 (p.824) from Vasio; and *CIL* XII 5380 from Tolosa); Pannonia Inferior (*TitAq*-01,449 and *CIL* III 3669 from Aquincum); Dalmatia (*AE* 1934,283 = *ILJug* 2263 from Salonae; and *ILJug* 3,1795 from Delminium); Britannia (*CIL* VII 333 = *RIB* 01,2056 from Maia); and Baetica (*CILA*-03-02,588 from Villarrodrigo). Although most of these dedications are damaged, two are dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, one to the local British Celtic deity Belatucadros, one to Juno Regina, one to Nemesis, one to Minerva, and one it appears to Diana. One dedicator identifies himself as a veteran and another as an active soldier (*miles*). Due to the damage on the dedications, most dedicators cannot be identified, although from the names that we do have, such as Peisius, Apes, and Vaeci Fil(ius), we are inclined to conclude that these may be men of Celtic origin, who most likely, as two of our dedicators attest, were connected to the Roman military. The fact that most of these men may have been soldiers could further be speculated from the fact that, for the large part, these

Pannonia and Dalmatia, this formula occurs in provinces with a strong Celtic element. Whether this is indicative of the origins of our dedicator cannot be claimed on the basis of such a damaged dedication, although it remains a possibility. Likewise possible is that our dedicator may have been a soldier, as this formula appears in military contexts, as the previous footnote indicates. Iovia-Botivo was in close geographic proximity to Poetovio, where the *XIII Gemina* was stationed. Our other dedication, examined below, belongs to a soldier of the *XIII Gemina*, so it is not inconceivable that this dedication may as well be of a military nature. The fact that we find the invocation *DEO SILVANO* utilised here on several dedications from the Danubian *limes*, likewise points to a conclusion that our dedicator may have been a soldier.

In addition to the sole dedication from Iovia-Botivo, one other dedication has been discovered in the proximity of Iovia-Botivo, on the territory supposedly belonging to its *ager*. This is the Silvanus dedication from Jalžabet. The site of Jalžabet lies on the river Plitvica, situated approximately halfway between Iovia-Botivo and Aquae Iasae. Given its location, it is possible that Jalžabet belonged to the *ager* of Poetovio, although at present, scholars are still divided upon this question as no epigraphic or literary evidence has been found to clarify the status of Jalžabet. The dedication in question was discovered in the river Plitvica in 1947. It is a dedication by the soldier of the *XIII Gemina* to the god Silvanus. The dedication reads⁴²⁴:

[SIL]VANO / SACR(um) / FLAV[IV]S / VICTO[R]INVS / MIL(es) LEG(ionis) XIII G(eminae) / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) L(aetus) M(erito)

Our dedicator, Flavius Victorinus, identifies himself as a soldier of the *XIII Gemina*. This legion was stationed at Poetovio during the first century A.D. (between A.D. 43 and 45, and again during the reign of Vespasian), and also participated in the construction of the third Mithraeum during the reign of Gallienus. Given the fact that Victorinus does not provide us with his *praenomen*, we can presume that this dedication dates at the earliest to the mid-second century A.D., when the use of the *praenomen* on dedications dramatically declines.⁴²⁵

dedications were offered to official state deities, which were predominantly worshipped by soldiers and public officials.

⁴²⁴ AE 1973, 440 = *ILJug* 02, 1130.

⁴²⁵ Salway (1994), pp.130-131; and Perinić-Muratović, Lj. and Vulić, H. (2009), p.176.

Thus, we must eliminate the first century dating of this dedication. It is then likely that this dedication dates from the reign of Gallienus, and that Flavius Victorinus may have been passing through Jalžabet on a special mission, or perhaps on his way to Poetovio. His name Flavius, very common in Pannonia, signifies that his family gained citizenship some time earlier, under the Flavian dynasty.⁴²⁶ The name Flavius Victorinus occurs most commonly in Danubian provinces such as Pannonia⁴²⁷, Moesia⁴²⁸, and Noricum⁴²⁹, leading us to believe that Victorinus may have been of autochthonous Pannonian origin.⁴³⁰ Perhaps unsurprisingly for the Danubian provinces, the name occurs most often in the context of military inscriptions.⁴³¹ This is likewise true of other provinces where this particular name appears, signifying perhaps that these men were of Pannonian/Danubian origin as well but stationed abroad.⁴³² Although this is a possibility, it should not be taken for granted.

Although Silvanus appears to have been the most popular unofficial deity in Pannonia, and was worshipped primarily by the autochthonous and Italic population on private dedications, a significant number of dedications to the god were likewise set up by military personnel, who judging by their names, were predominantly of autochthonous origin.⁴³³ As we have seen in previous chapters, nature deities such as Silvanus were extremely popular in Pannonia, and may reflect pre-Roman tendencies of nature worship. That our dedicator thus chooses to worship Silvanus is perhaps indicative not only of his cultural background, but also of his

⁴²⁶ Schulze (1933), p.167; Solin and Salomies (1988), p.80; and Perinić-Muratović and Vulić (2009), p.176.

⁴²⁷ *RIU*-02, 461 from Brigetio; *CIL* III 3591 from Aquincum; and *AE* 2001, 1656 from Vindobona, to name a few.

⁴²⁸ *AE* 1969/1970, 575 from Odessus.

⁴²⁹ *CIL* III 5632 from Ovilava.

⁴³⁰ The *cognomen* "Victorinus" is very frequently found in Dalmatia and Pannonia (*OPEL* IV, pp.168-169). The name also occurs in other provinces, such as Italy (*AE* 1988, 430; *ICUR*-02, 4603.1; *ICUR*-01, 3065; and *CIL* XI 3891); Mauretania Caesariensis (*AE* 1905,7); Germania Inferior (*CIL* XIII 8219 and 8233); and Numidia (*CIL* VIII 10685).

⁴³¹ *AE* 2001, 1656 dedicates to the *genius* of the century; *CIL* III 5632 is a veteran of *ala Tampiana*; *AE* 1969/1970, 575 is a veteran; and *RIU*-02, 461 is a *custos armorum*, to name a few.

⁴³² See for example: *CIL* VIII 10685 from Numidia is a veteran; *CIL* XI 3891 from Italy is a *decurio singularium Augustorum*; and *CIL* XIII 8233 and 8219 from Germania Inferior is a centurion of *legio XXX Ulpia Victrix*, to name a few.

⁴³³ See for example: Aurelius Doncius (*AE* 1901, 213); Ulpus Taurus (*AE* 1901, 209); and Atio (*AE* 1992, 1415), to name a few.

profession. Silvanus was not only a deity of nature and pastoralism, but also acted as a protector and guardian of borders.⁴³⁴ This may be one of the reasons why he was so popular along the Danubian *limes* and especially among soldiers stationed there, who themselves were protectors of the border. Thus, although our dedicators do not specify the reason(s) behind their dedications, their personal preference for the deity Silvanus may have been influenced by their professional associations, their cultural background, and most of all, by their individual and personal need for some service from the god, thus indicating that several different aspects of one's identity may have played a role in their choice of deity.

Additionally significant is the location of the dedication. As we have seen above, Jalžabet was most likely the site of a Roman villa, and no public or municipal structures have so far been found here. It is thus significant that Silvanus, a deity of nature and pastoralism, would be worshipped at a country estate. The fact that dedications to other gods have not been found at Jalžabet or Iovia-Botivo, and especially dedications to Roman and Oriental deities so popular in the third century at the time of this dedication, may signify that although the Drava was a major commercial and communication route, certain pockets along the Drava, where a military or urban presence did not take permanent hold, largely remained untouched by "foreign" religious influences, instead holding on to autochthonous trends of nature deity worship, and thus displaying a more homogenous religious picture. Thus, the scarcity of epigraphic dedications at the sites of Iovia-Botivo and Jalžabet may be indicative of their slightly rustic nature; as large urban centres, such as Poetovio and Mursa, attracted a wide variety of immigrants from around the Empire, who brought their own gods with them, thus resulting in a wide variety of religious identities. The remote possibility of this inscription indicating that the site at Jalžabet belonged administratively to Poetovio must not be discounted either, as the presence of a soldier of a Poetovian legion here might indicate an official connection. At present we have no other epigraphic evidence to disprove or support these theories.⁴³⁵

⁴³⁴ For further reading on this concept and on the general character of the deity Silvanus please consult the section dedicated to the god in "Religion and Cults at Poetovio".

⁴³⁵ Vikić-Belančić (1968), pp.75-101; and Gregl, Z. and Migotti, B. (2004), p.135.

CONCLUSIONS

Judging from the two Silvanus dedications discovered in and around Iovia-Botivo, and from the fact that each of the Drava cities examined in this thesis likewise features dedications to this deity, it can be concluded that Silvanus was the most popular unofficial deity in Pannonia, surpassed only by the official supreme god Jupiter Optimus Maximus. Due to the fact that no temples to Silvanus have been found at Jalžabet nor at Iovia-Botivo, it appears that Silvanus may have been worshipped, at least in this region, not in man-made Graeco-Roman style temples, but in natural environments. His two dedications are not clustered around the same spot, suggesting a specific place of worship, but instead are scattered in nature, suggesting his strong ties to the natural world. This may thus reflect a certain continuation of worship of pre-Roman local natural divinities, even though Silvanus is invoked in a standard Roman manner on our two votive altars. If indeed both altars were set up by members of the army, then it is natural that these dedicators chose to worship in a “Roman” epigraphic manner, as the tradition of inscribed monuments was deeply entrenched in the military subculture. Thus, even if our dedicators are of autochthonous origin, the fact that they worship a seemingly autochthonous manifestation of a local nature deity through epigraphic habit indicates their integration of diverse cultural elements.

In his role as a nature deity, Silvanus would have appealed to men and women whose lives were intricately connected with aspects of nature - people who exercised occupations which required them to spend a large amount of time outdoors: agriculturists, travelling merchants, and soldiers for example. That our two Silvanus worshippers may have been of low social standing is suggested by the low quality of votive offerings set up. Here we do not see any elaborate reliefs in the Mithraic tradition of Poetovio, for example, nor carefully-executed marble votive inscriptions in the tradition of Jupiter Optimus Maximus from Mursa; but instead we are presented with simple votive offerings, most often of limestone, and often featuring poorly incised letters.⁴³⁶ The name of our Jalžabet dedicator may also indicate an autochthonous origin.

Due to the scarcity of the evidence presented to us from Iovia-Botivo, interpreting the extent of cultural and religious integration in this region proves extremely problematic. On the basis of current evidence, we are inclined to conclude that this section of the Drava valley,

⁴³⁶ Mócsy (1962), pp.741-744; Fitz (1980a), p.163; Fitz (1998), p.62; and Šašel-Kos and Scherrer (2004), p.141.

although situated in close proximity to several major communication and commerce routes, appears to have been fairly homogeneous in its religious, but not necessarily, in its cultural sphere. The preference for the natural and pastoral deity Silvanus was likely affected not only by the personal and professional occupations of the worshippers, but also it seems, by the location of the altars found, which reveals a quiet, rural lifestyle. It would appear that, because Iovia-Botivo and Jalžabet were not large urban centres, they may not have attracted the significant level of immigration and religious diversity that *coloniae* such as Poetovio and Mursa displayed. Although archaeological evidence examined in the introduction of this chapter indicates a fair amount of imports such as north Italian pottery and glass, alongside autochthonous material, these objects may not necessarily indicate cultural heterogeneity of the inhabitants as they may have been used strictly for practical or decorative purposes by the local population, absent of imbued cultural value.

On the other hand, it is also possible to argue that the (current) absence of other deities at these sites may mislead us into believing that Iovia-Botivo and Jalžabet may have been culturally and religiously homogeneous. While it is extremely puzzling that we find no other religious dedications apart from the two dedicated to Silvanus in this region, considering Iovia-Botivo's municipal status and its proximity to the Drava fluvial route, as well as its proximity to several major commercial routes, a lack of epigraphic dedications may not signify absence of worship, cultural/religious resistance on the part of the native population, or cultural and religious homogeneity. Radman-Livaja and Ivezić have pointed out that central southern Pannonia, to which Iovia-Botivo and Jalžabet belong, was overall poor in epigraphic dedications.⁴³⁷ Thus, at least, Iovia-Botivo and Jalžabet fit within this pattern, however puzzling. Perhaps this scarcity of epigraphic dedications is due to the close proximity of such large urban and religious centres as Poetovio and Mursa. It is quite likely that inhabitants of the region may have made the trip to either of these *coloniae* to erect dedications. An individual most likely erected only a couple to a few votive altars in their entire lifetime, most likely only on special occasions or when the help of a specific deity was crucial. The erection of votive dedications was expensive and only those of means could afford to erect several. Thus, trips to large urban centres for the purpose of worship are not inconceivable, especially on rare and special occasions. Such a trip may have been needed anyway, as it was in large urban centres that we most often find stonecutters attested, such as

⁴³⁷ Radman-Livaja and Ivezić (2012), p.141.

Asclepiades from Mursa. Thus, a dedicator may have needed to make the trip into Mursa or Poetovio regardless in order to commission an altar. The absence of attestation of other deities at Iovia-Botivo and Jalžabet thus may not signify that these sites were culturally and religiously homogeneous, but that their inhabitants, most likely due to the small and rural nature of Jalžabet and Iovia-Botivo, may have needed to travel to larger urban centres in order to commission votive altars and visit the temples of specific deities.

It is even more likely that inhabitants of Iovia-Botivo may have ventured to larger urban centres to dedicate if Iovia-Botivo did not feature a temple complex. That both of our dedications found on the territory of Iovia-Botivo belong to Silvanus is significant in this light. As we have seen previously, Silvanus, as a nature and pastoral deity, may not have always had a place of worship in a traditional Graeco-Roman manner, as his dedications are often found scattered in nature. Thus, the fact that Silvanus is attested at Iovia-Botivo and Jalžabet may signify that for this particular nature and pastoral deity worshippers did not need to make a special out-of-town trip in order to worship, as they could honour the deity in the pastoral setting appropriate to him. The fact that this may have been standard practice in Iovia-Botivo and Jalžabet may additionally be suggested by two further elements. Since we only find two dedications in total for both Iovia-Botivo and Jalžabet, it may indicate that the inhabitants of these settlements worshipped Silvanus in the traditional autochthonous manner, by sacrificing to the god in rural and pastoral environments, and not by erecting epigraphic dedications in a Graeco-Roman style temple. This would explain both our scarcity of epigraphic dedications, and the fact that no temple to the deity has, as of yet, been discovered. The fact that the Jalžabet dedication, and perhaps even the Iovia-Botivo dedication, was erected by a soldier may likewise support this idea. It is perfectly possible that the soldier may not have been permanently settled at Jalžabet, but may have simply been passing through, and thus, unaware of local traditions of worship, made a dedication to the local god (who he perhaps saw embodied by Silvanus) in the manner of worship he as a soldier was most familiar with: by erecting a votive altar. If this were so, it may not have necessarily implied that these sites were culturally homogeneous, as it is hard to believe that a settlement of municipal status, such as Iovia-Botivo, would not exhibit at least some level of cultural heterogeneity and integration, especially considering its location on the Drava, as well as its attestation of imports from northern Italy, Gaul, and even Egypt.

The scarcity of epigraphic dedications in Iovia-Botivo and the surrounding region may also perhaps be explained by the fact that worshippers flocked to those places which they considered cultic centres of a specific god in order to worship. This may be why certain settlements feature a disproportionate number of dedications to a single deity or to a same group of deities. Thus, perhaps, considering the fact that in Aquae Iasae healing deities predominate, it is not far-fetched to think that worshippers from Iovia-Botivo may have made the trip to this site if they were in need of healing assistance. As we have seen among dedications from Aquae Iasae, a significant proportion of worshippers attested here identify themselves as originating from neighbouring settlements, such as Poetovio, Salla, and Savaria, or from military units stationed all over Pannonia. Likewise, Aquae Balissae was considered the cultic centre of Silvanus on the territory of the Iasi. Thus the fact that we have only two dedications to this god from Iovia-Botivo does not automatically signify that the god was unpopular in this region, nor is the fact that only Silvanus is attested at Iovia-Botivo necessarily indicative of religious and cultural homogeneity, but may instead signify that he may have been also worshipped at another site which his followers believed had special significance. Thus again, inhabitants of Iovia-Botivo and its surrounding region may have travelled to worship at sites sacred to specific deities, and scarcity of epigraphic dedications may not necessarily signify religious or cultural homogeneity of the region.

Although until further archaeological excavations are conducted on the site of Iovia-Botivo and its surrounding region we cannot be certain if any of our proposed theories are valid, the present author is inclined to believe that the scarcity of epigraphic material in this region did not signify cultural or religious homogeneity, especially since Iovia-Botivo held municipal status and was located in close proximity to such a large communication and commercial artery as the Drava river and also to several other land routes connecting southern Pannonia to Italy, Dalmatia, Moesia, and further afield to the rest of the Empire.



Fig. 1: Silvanus altar.

Obtained with permission from
 Gradski Muzej Varaždin, Arheološki odjel,
 Zbirka antičke građe (inventory number AO 5341).



Fig. 2: Silvanus altar.



Fig. 3: Silvanus altar.



Iovia-Botivo city map (after Vikić-Belančić 1975 and 1983-1984)

CHAPTER IV: MURSA (OSIJEK, CROATIA)

Colonia Aelia Mursa resides on the banks of the river Drava⁴³⁸, at a strategically favourable location, made impenetrable to the west by swamplands.⁴³⁹ According to Mayer the name “Mursa” signifies “swampland”.⁴⁴⁰ Roman Mursa was most likely constructed on an already-existing La Tène settlement, probably belonging to the autochthonous Andizetes, who, after the Celtic invasions, mixed with the Celts to form the Celtic-Pannonian Scordisci and Cornacati tribes. The Scordisci and the Cornacati thus occupied the region around Mursa before the Roman arrival.⁴⁴¹ Brunšmid believes that the pre-Roman Pannonian settlement was already named Mursa, as Mursa is not a Roman name. He speculates that the settlement may have been named after an autochthonous tribe which lived in the region; as not only Mursa, but the neighbouring Mursella both bear the same name root.⁴⁴² Ancient Mursa⁴⁴³ was situated at the crossroads of four major communication routes: one route leading towards Singidunum (Singidunum-Sirmium-Cibalae-Mursa-Poetovio), another departing north-west from Savaria and leading to Sirmium (Savaria-Mursa-Sirmium), a third connecting Mursa

⁴³⁸ Ancient Mursa was most likely first established at modern-day Donje Mjesto, also called Donji Grad. *CIL* III 3560; *CIL* III 10305; *CIL* III 14507; Zonaras, 13. 8; Zosimus, 2. 49; Brunšmid (1900), p.21; Pinterović (1956), p.55; and Klemenc (1961), pp.17-18.

⁴³⁹ Cassius Dio, 55. 32; and Zosimus, 2. 18. The name Mursa appears in epigraphic and literary sources under several variants: *civitas Mursa* (*It. Ant.* 131); *Mursa polis* (Zosimus, 2. 43, 45, 49 and 50); *Mursa urbs* (Orosius, *Historiarum Adversum Paganos Libri VII*, 7. 29); *Mursa* (*It. Ant.* 232; 243; and 265; Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae a Fine Corneli Taciti*, 15. 5. 33; Eutropius, *Breviarium Historiae Romanae*, 10. 12; and *CIL* VI 2385); *Mursia* (Aurelius Victor, *Epitome de Caesaribus*, 42); *Mursia colonia* (Ptolemy, *Geographia*, 2. 15. 8); *colonia Aelia Mursa* (*CIL* III 3560); *Mursenses* (*CIL* III 3282); *coloniae Mursensium* (*CIL* III 3288); and *civitate Mursense* (*CIL* V 8770), to name a few. Scholars generally agree, however, that the town was named Mursa and the colony *colonia Aelia Mursensium*. Brunšmid (1900), p.22.

⁴⁴⁰ For a detailed analysis of the name see Mayer (1935).

⁴⁴¹ Strabo, *Geographica*, 7.314 (on Andizetes); Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, 3.147-148; and Ptolemy, *Geographia*, 2.15.2 (on Andizetes and Scordisci). See also: Spajić (1954), pp.7-18 and Spajić (1956), pp.47-53; Dizdar, M., Šoštarić, R. and Jelinčić, K. (2003), p.75; and Filipović (2004), p.157.

⁴⁴² Brunšmid (1900), pp.21-22. This explanation becomes more problematic when we take into consideration that another settlement in northern Pannonia was also named Mursella.

⁴⁴³ Mursa is not be confused with two similarly-named Roman *municipia* known as Mursella; one on the Savaria-Arrabona road near Kisarpas, Hungary; and the other on the Poetovio-Mursa road, located just north-west of Mursa, near Petrijevci, Croatia. Mayer (1935), p.6.

with Aquincum (Aquincum-Intercisa-Mursa), as well as the Drava fluvial route.⁴⁴⁴ In addition to these, Mursa was situated in the proximity of the Salona-Certissia road, leading south into Dalmatia. Although traders had previously employed these routes, permanent roads came into existence as a result of the Pannonian-Illyrian revolt, when the Romans needed to secure their military holdings in the region. With better roads came more frequent traffic, not only of people and goods⁴⁴⁵, but also of ideas; mixing and integrating indigenous and settler cultures even further.⁴⁴⁶

Mursa and its surrounding region had formed a continuous settlement since the Neolithic period, with more intense occupation being displayed from the late La Tène period onwards.⁴⁴⁷ People of Pannonian-Illyrian and Celtic descent inhabited the region of Mursa and were culturally connected with tribes in Moesia and across the Danube.⁴⁴⁸ Even long before the arrival of the Romans, autochthonous tribes of the region displayed signs of integration dating back to the tenth century B.C. In addition to Pannonian and Illyrian cultural features, pre-Roman southern Pannonia displayed Thracian, south-eastern Alpine, Scythian, Greek, and finally Celtic influences, acquired either through peaceful relations such as trade, or through invasion and colonisation.⁴⁴⁹

It is against this multicultural backdrop that Celtic influence took hold. According to certain scholars, the arrival of the Celts caused a power shift in the region, with the Celts quickly becoming the ruling class.⁴⁵⁰ Celtic presence is attested from the 3rd century B.C. by

⁴⁴⁴ The road Aquincum-Mursa is attested by *CIL* III 10632. See also: Klemenc (1961), p.18; Pinterović (1961), p.37; and Perinić-Muratović (2003), p.97.

⁴⁴⁵ In addition to imports via Aquileia discussed in the previous chapter, imports from Dalmatia were likewise popular, including bronze sculpture, ceramics, glass, and stone imports such as sarcophagi. See: Damevski (1976), p.66; Dimitrijević (1979), p.162; Thomas (1980), p.182; Makjanić (1995), p.72; and Migotti (1999-2000), p.200.

⁴⁴⁶ Mócsy (1959), pp.94-95; Bojanovski (1974), p.16, p.29; Borhy (1994), p.71; and Migotti (1999-2000), p.196.

⁴⁴⁷ Brunšmid (1900), p.21; Klemenc (1961), p.16; Perinić-Muratović (2003), p.97; Filipović (2004), p.157; and Majnarić-Pandžić (2009), p.105.

⁴⁴⁸ Bulat (1968), p.127; and Vinski-Gasparini (1978), p.129, and p.132.

⁴⁴⁹ Todorović (1968), pp.106-108; Garašanin (1973), pp.537-539; Jovanović (1975), pp.167-176; and Brukner, O. (1987), p.27.

⁴⁵⁰ It is generally believed that when they came to power, the Scordisci formed a federation with other Illyrian and Pannonian tribes inhabiting the region. Under their rule, the population remained heterogeneous,

zoomorphic *fibulae*, weaponry, jewellery and pottery. These objects formed part of grave goods unearthed all over northern Croatia, originating mainly from male graves.⁴⁵¹ Although the presence of Celtic material culture does not necessarily signify Celtic ethnicity in the region, as the above objects may have been imported and used by the Pannonian-Illyrian autochthonous groups, the high frequency of male graves in which such objects were discovered, and the fact that said grave goods can be found across most of southern Pannonia, and especially in the region where the Drava converges into the Danube, and further down the Danube, has led scholars to believe that Celtic warriors from the northern Danube first ventured into the territory of what would be later known as southern Pannonia as early as the late fourth/early third century B.C., and were most likely subsequently followed by a wider Celtic migration and settlement. The question of whether the Celts settled southern Pannonia, however, still remains open among archaeologists, as a large quantity of “Celtic” finds discovered were found in damaged, incomplete and unrecorded burials and quite frequently were also devoid of historical context. The fact that a significant amount of this material is decorative (*fibulae*, jewellery etc...) and thus portable and easily traded, complicates the matter even further.⁴⁵² One exception, however, is an intact burial discovered on the territory of pre-Roman Mursa. The grave consists of a male warrior, accompanied by an elaborately decorated sword featuring dragon motifs, as well as a shield, lances and *fibulae*.⁴⁵³ According to Majnarić-Pandžić, this is the only certain testament to the presence of Celtic warriors on the territory of Mursa. She is of the opinion that, as the grave was found as part of a larger

preserving certain of their old Pannonian-Illyrian customs, while at the same time adopting and adapting to new Celtic way of life. Popović (1992), p.20. This lack of cultural uniformity under the rule of the Scordisci, combined with neighbouring cultural influences of the Thracians and the Dacians, resulted in the distinct art and material culture of this region. See: Brunšmid (1900), p.21; Gavela (1952), pp.51-54; Pinterović (1956), p.40 and p.88; Klemenc (1961), p.17; Garašanin (1966), pp.17-26; Papazoglu (1969), pp.265-272; Jovanović (1975), pp.167-176; Dizdar (2012), pp.117-118; and Džino and Domić-Kunić (2012), p.97.

⁴⁵¹ The zoomorphic *fibulae* in particular can also be attested in Sisak and Donja Dolina; indicating a common cultural influence over the region of the lower Danube, and in particular the merging places of the Drava into the Danube, and the Sava into the Danube. Majnarić-Pandžić (1978), pp.150-151; and Dizdar (2012), p.117.

⁴⁵² Truhelka (1901), p.20; Čović (1961), p.29; Vinski, Z. & K. (1962), p.263; Majnarić-Pandžić (1978), pp.150-154; and Majnarić-Pandžić (2009), p.106. For scepticism of a mass Celtic migration see: Džino and Domić-Kunić (2012), p.97.

⁴⁵³ The burial is known as “burial number 29 from Osijek”. See: Spajić (1962), pp.40-41; Szabó (1974), pp.28-29; and Majnarić-Pandžić (1978), pp.151-152.

burial site, it is possible to assume that it is not a unique occurrence, but could indeed attest to Celtic invasion, and perhaps, colonisation of southern Pannonia.⁴⁵⁴

Evidence shows that early inhabitants of Pannonia enjoyed a prosperous life: several metal and pottery workshops were found in the region, indicating a booming industry. Likewise, the discovery of Celtic coin hoards would seem to indicate that economic activity of the region was considerable and that at least certain levels of society accumulated significant personal wealth.⁴⁵⁵ This wealth may have been acquired from horsetrading or livestock breeding.⁴⁵⁶ Benac has suggested that animal-shaped, and in particular bull-shaped rhyta finds on the territory of Croatia could have been used for cultic purposes, signifying that the religious life of the Pannonian-Illyrian peoples may have been tied to fertility and pastoralism.⁴⁵⁷ This extensive cultural contact was reflected in material culture, which shows integration of not only Celtic and Pannonian-Illyrian influences, but influences from Thrace, Dacia, Greece, and Italy. Evidence of integration between Celtic settlers and Pannonian-Illyrian population can be seen from various burial places, most notably from the necropolis at Zmajevac near Sotin, where the Celtic grave goods found display Pannonian-Illyrian influences.⁴⁵⁸ Another example of the merging of Celtic and Pannonian-Illyrian influences can be found with respect to the Scordiscian two-handled drinking vessels which feature Pannonian-Illyrian geometrical motifs. These vessels are a particular product of the mutual cultural influence between the Scordisci and the Pannonian-Illyrian tribes inhabiting the region of Mursa, such as the Andizetes. Thus, for example, they are not found on the territory of the Celtic Eravisci, who inhabited the area north of the Scordisci.⁴⁵⁹ Other sites and finds throughout the Scordisci

⁴⁵⁴ Majnarić-Pandžić (1978), p.152.

⁴⁵⁵ Pinterović (1956), p.88; Klemenc (1961), p.17; and Filipović (2004), p.157.

⁴⁵⁶ Strabo, *Geographica*, 4.6.10; 5.1.8; and 7.5.2; Velleius Paterculus, *Historiae Romanae*, 2.109.5; Jelinčić (2006), pp.61-62; Majnarić-Pandžić (2009), p.104; Perinić-Muratović, Lj. and Vulić, H. (2009), pp.165-166; and Bertol, A. (2011), p.228.

⁴⁵⁷ Benac (1989), pp.25-26. If Benac's theory is true it could explain the immense popularity in Pannonia of pastoral deities such as Silvanus and of fertility/healing deities such as the Nutrices and the Nymphs.

⁴⁵⁸ Ercegović (1961), p.125; Majnarić-Pandžić (1970), pp.42-44; Majnarić-Pandžić (1972-1973), p.55; and Majnarić-Pandžić (1978), pp.153-154. It is worth noting that burials uncovered in and around Osijek display a variety of burial types and positions, indicating that a level of integration and cultural exchange was present in the region. For details see: Spajić (1954), pp.7-8; and p.17; and Spajić (1956), p.53.

⁴⁵⁹ Jovanović (1975), p.169.

territory bear different integrative combinations depending on the nature of the inhabitants and their cultural contacts. Thus, for example, a Celtic sword from Kupinovo in Srem displays a highly stylised zoomorphic motif influenced by Greek art of the Archaic period;⁴⁶⁰ while a zoomorphic silver bracelet found as part of a burial in Vršac in Vojvodina displays Celtic design with Pannonian-Illyrian decoration executed in the Dacian craftsmanship style.⁴⁶¹ Likewise Greek and Macedonian-style imitation coins produced by the Scordisci show regional variances across the larger Scordiscan territory.⁴⁶² These finds show that the pre-Roman inhabitants of Pannonia were not an indistinct homogeneous cultural group, but displayed various local and regional identities which were in constant flux under the influence of neighbouring peoples.⁴⁶³ It would appear that although integration between these cultures is apparent, the persistence of Celtic warrior burials, from the third century B.C. to the Roman conquest of Pannonia, signifies that the Celts held a substantial influence in this region and that they succeeded in not only keeping alive their traditions, but adapting them and incorporating them with the local Pannonian-Illyrian traditions.⁴⁶⁴ The most intense level of integration occurred in the latter half of the first century B.C., shortly before the Roman conquest.⁴⁶⁵ The fact that the region was undergoing cultural changes as the Romans arrived may have helped the autochthonous population adopt Roman customs and material culture more easily. This particular historical context, conducive to cultural change, combined with various autochthonous and settler cultural influences, helped create local, regional and provincial cultural variations particular to Pannonia.

Continuity of Pannonian-Illyrian as well as Celtic influences, and their integration with Roman influences, can likewise be seen in material culture well into Roman occupation of

⁴⁶⁰ Majnarić-Pandžić (1970), p.29; and Jovanović (1975), p.168.

⁴⁶¹ Jovanović (1974), pp.38-41; and Jovanović (1975), pp.168-171. In addition to the bracelet, various other Dacian-influenced and Dacian-imported objects were found on the territory of the Scordisci, such as pottery, *fibulae* of the “Jarak” type, and weaponry such as the typically Dacian *sica*.

⁴⁶² Popović (1987), p.64 and Dizdar (2012), p.118.

⁴⁶³ Dizdar (2012), pp.117-119; and Džino and Domić-Kunić (2012), p.97.

⁴⁶⁴ Spajić (1956), p. 53; Klemenc (1961), p.17; and Majnarić-Pandžić (1978), p.154.

⁴⁶⁵ Majnarić-Pandžić (1978), p.155; and Džino and Domić-Kunić (2012), p.101.

Pannonia, most often attested by pottery used in household or burial contexts.⁴⁶⁶ One such example of integration is a grave from the early Roman period (dated to Claudius' reign judging by the coin finds), discovered at Ilok, a settlement on the Danube in proximity of Mursa. Grave finds yielded pottery goods characteristic of the Scordisci (an S-profiled bowl and rounded hand-made vessels), as well as "Roman" goods from northern Italy (lamp, various glass and metal finds, and a thin-walled bowl). Other examples include finds of north Italic imports, such as bronze drinking vessels and Pescate-type ladles, found in aristocratic Scordiscan graves. Imported decorative items such as jewellery permeated across social classes, indicating that it was not just the elite who had access, or indeed who wanted, to wear imported items.⁴⁶⁷ Moreover, instances of the so-called decorative Norico-Pannonian volutes are to be found on funerary monuments of the Roman period, as well as certain autochthonous names.⁴⁶⁸ This continuity of autochthonous material culture alongside the presence of early Italic imports along the Sava and the Drava trade routes⁴⁶⁹, presents us with an integrationist outlook for the territory of southern Pannonia.

In terms of ethnic composition of this particular geographic region, these archaeological findings signified most likely that, until the Flavian period, when autochthonous material finds become rarer, the indigenous population continued, in one form or another, to maintain its identities and customs, although these continued changing under foreign cultural influences. The native Pannonian/Illyrian/Celtic mix was not completely absorbed by the

⁴⁶⁶ This is particularly exemplified in the rounded and S-profiled shapes and decorations of hand-made pottery, characteristic of Scordisci culture. Such evidence is found not only in Osijek, but in Vinkovci and Sremska Mitrovica, covering the entire territory of the Scordisci. The fact that such pottery continues to be produced until the Flavian period, would seem to indicate its demand on the part of the indigenous population and perhaps, to a lesser extent, on the part of the settler population; suggesting that autochthonous influences were not automatically swept away with the arrival of settlers from all corners of the Empire, but were integrated and co-existed alongside Italic, Oriental and other influences. For an in-depth survey of evidence see : Saranović-Svetek (1980), pp.17-33; Brukner (1987), p.36; Dizdar (2001); Dizdar, M., Šoštarić, R. and Jelinčić, K. (2003), pp.57-77 (especially pages 62-63); and Dizdar (2012), p.132.

⁴⁶⁷ Dizdar (2012), pp.122-124.

⁴⁶⁸ Klemenc (1961), p.17; and Filipović (2004), pp.162-163.

⁴⁶⁹ Early Italic imports include, among others, glass vessels and thin-walled and barbotine-decorated ceramics, whose target consumers were, most likely, the Roman troops and indigenous aristocracies. For an in-depth survey of evidence see : Brukner (1971), pp.31-55; Brukner (1981); Brukner (1982-1983), pp.5-43; Milošević (1985), pp.177-185; Brukner (1987), pp.25-44; Milošević (2001); and Dizdar, M., Šoštarić, R. and Jelinčić, K. (2003), pp.57-77 (especially pages 63-64).

foreign settlers, but continued to form “an important ethnic component of the southern part of Roman Pannonia”.⁴⁷⁰ Thus, multiple cultural components, both native and settler, continued to exist side by side. Dizdar, Šoštarić and Jelinčić, in their analysis of material culture, subscribe to the view that foreign, settler influences were strongest in urban centres and/or along popular trading routes, noting that finds from more “rural” areas display less evidence of cultural integration.⁴⁷¹ Thus different regions displayed different intensities of cultural integration depending on the level of contact with outside influences.⁴⁷² The cultural composition of the city of Mursa in the Roman period attests settlers of Italian, Gallic, Oriental, Greek, Egyptian and most likely North African origin, in addition to the native Pannonian/Illyrian/Celtic population.⁴⁷³

Although numerous Greek, Roman republican and early imperial coins attest commercial relations between Rome and the peoples inhabiting the Mursa region before official conquest took place⁴⁷⁴, Roman presence in Mursa became prominent only after the Pannonian-Illyrian revolt. The Romans had most likely realised Mursa’s strategic position, as a trading route and a favourable platform for further expansion into Pannonia, early on. It is possible that before the Pannonian-Illyrian revolt a temporary military camp at Mursa was established, with a view to protecting the territory gained, and securing further territory.⁴⁷⁵ These plans, however, were temporarily interrupted when the revolt broke out in A.D. 6. During the revolt the region that would become Roman Mursa gained prominence as a key battle field of the

⁴⁷⁰ Dizdar, M., Šoštarić, R. and Jelinčić, K. (2003), p.74. See also: Dizdar (2012), p.177.

⁴⁷¹ Dizdar, M., Šoštarić, R. and Jelinčić, K. (2003), p.74.

⁴⁷² Dizdar (2012), p.119.

⁴⁷³ The Italian and Gallic settlers largely came to Mursa either as soldiers or merchants (see : *CIL* III 3286 = 10262; *CIL* III 15146; *ILJug* 3104; *CIL* III 3288 and *CIL* III 15141). Oriental immigrants, resettled by Marcus Aurelius to Pannonia after the Marcomannic Wars, included Judeans, Syrians, Egyptians, as well as Thracians. This cultural mix is well represented in the epigraphic record, and especially in the votive dedications (see below). Brunšmid (1900), pp.21-42; Klemenc (1963); Pinterović (1967a), pp.23-65; and Filipović (2004), pp.158-159.

⁴⁷⁴ Brunšmid (1900), p.21; Celestin (1904), pp.15-16; Goričke-Lukić, H. (1997a); Goričke-Lukić, H. (1997b); and Filipović (2004), p.163.

⁴⁷⁵ Klemenc (1961), p.17; Perinić-Muratović (2003), p.97; and Filipović (2004), p.157.

Moesian governor Caecina Severus.⁴⁷⁶ After the revolt was quelled, a permanent military camp was probably built on the other side of the Drava (across the river from the later civilian settlement), in order to protect the river crossing as well as to keep an eye on the roads.⁴⁷⁷ Several Roman troop units are believed to have been stationed in Mursa at various periods,⁴⁷⁸ among them the *legio I*⁴⁷⁹ and *legio II Adiutrix*⁴⁸⁰, *legio VI Herculia*⁴⁸¹, *legio V Macedonica*⁴⁸², *legio VII Claudia pia fidelis*⁴⁸³, *legio X Gemina* during Trajan's Dacian Wars⁴⁸⁴; *legio XIII Gemina*⁴⁸⁵, *legio XIV Gemina*⁴⁸⁶, *ala II Hispanorum Aravacorum* in the A.D. 80s;⁴⁸⁷ possibly the *coh I Alpinorum* between A.D. 198 and 211,⁴⁸⁸ and *coh II*

⁴⁷⁶ Cassius Dio, 55.29; and 55.32; Velleius Paterculus, *Historiae Romanae*, 2.112.4-6; and Brunšmid (1900), p.21.

⁴⁷⁷ Scholars are still debating the exact location of the military camp, as a detailed survey of the region has not been carried out due to the fact that most of present-day city of Osijek was built directly on top of the ancient remains. Klemenc (1928), p.272; Perinić-Muratović (2003), p.97; and Filipović (2004), p.157.

⁴⁷⁸ *It. Anton.* 131; and *Tab. Peut.* 6.2.

⁴⁷⁹ According to Perinić-Muratović *legio I Adiutrix* arrived in Pannonia in A.D. 92 and stayed throughout Nerva's reign. Whether the whole legion or only a part of it was stationed in Mursa is unknown. Perinić-Muratović (2003), p.99.

⁴⁸⁰ *CIL* III 3280 attests building works by *II Adiutrix* that can be dated to A.D. 133-134. We know at least that this unit was in Mursa during Hadrian's reign. A veteran of this legion, Titus Aurelius Avitus, is recorded as being buried in Mursa (*CIL* III 3283). Additionally, brickstamps featuring "*LEG II AD*" were discovered in 1960s and 1977 near Batine, on the Danubian *limes*, in proximity of Mursa. While it cannot be claimed with certainty that they refer to this particular legion, it is certainly a possibility. Pinterović (1956), p.84; and p.88; Pinterović (1961), p.37; Pinterović (1968), p.71; and Bulat (1984), p.117.

⁴⁸¹ *CIL* III 10665^e.

⁴⁸² Pinterović (1961), p.37.

⁴⁸³ Pinterović (1961), p.37.

⁴⁸⁴ *AE* 1928, 157. Once Dacia was won the need for a permanent military force in Mursa became obsolete. According to Klemenc, it is at this time that the military occupation of Mursa ceased, until it was renewed again under Diocletian's reign. See : Klemenc (1928), p.271; Pinterović (1956), p.87; Klemenc (1961), p.19; and Perinić-Muratović (2003), p.99.

⁴⁸⁵ Pinterović (1961), p.37.

⁴⁸⁶ Pinterović (1961), p.37.

⁴⁸⁷ *CIL* III 3286 = *CIL* III 10262. Perinić-Muratović presumes that this unit first entered Mursa during Claudius' reign. It was then moved to Teutoburgium (Dalj) on the Danube and in the proximity of Mursa, where it is attested in the A.D. 80s. Due to geographic proximity it is possible that a detachment was left at Mursa, which

Alpinorum perhaps in the late first or early second century A.D.⁴⁸⁹ Additionally, a prefect of the Danubian river fleet is also attested as having a seat at Mursa in the Late Empire.⁴⁹⁰ As is the case of other former military settlements, it is likely that Mursa counted army veterans and traders among its earliest settlers. The presence of Roman traders early in Mursa's history is testified by Velleius Paterculus, who notes that at the beginning of the Pannonian-Illyrian revolt Roman merchants were particularly targeted.⁴⁹¹ Additionally, Mursa's desirability in the eyes of traders is evident from its favourable geographic location and the early presence of Roman troops in the region, which offered merchants with a supply opportunity. Aside from literary evidence such as Velleius Paterculus, not much is known about the origins of early Roman Mursa. In part, this is due to a scarcity of archaeological excavations conducted in the region because of the civil war of the 1990s; and in part due to the carelessness of early modern engineers and builders, who reused or destroyed large amounts of ancient evidence in the eighteenth and nineteenth century refurbishments of Osijek, so much so, that at present, virtually no structural remains of the Roman town are left.⁴⁹² Thus, while we have a scarcity of material evidence from the first century A.D., on the basis of what has so far been recovered, we are nevertheless able to determine that a large proportion of settlers in the area consisted of auxiliary troops, who up until the Flavian period were distributed in the Mursa region and along the Danube in temporary camps. With the beginning of the Flavian dynasty, we begin to see the erection of permanent military installations, which is testified by a larger number of material archaeological finds than previously. The erection of permanent military installations introduced a more sedentary lifestyle, as Roman soldiers formed families and ties to the region; and native Pannonians began to be recruited for service in the auxiliary units. This increased contact, between the

would explain our gravestone find. Hoffiller (1912), p.3; Klemenc (1928), pp.273-274; Pinterović (1956), p.85; Klemenc (1961), pp.18-19; and Perinić-Muratović (2003), p.98.

⁴⁸⁸ *CIL* III 10269.

⁴⁸⁹ *AE* 1913, 135; Hoffiller (1912), pp.2-3; Pinterović (1956), p.87; Klemenc (1961), p.18; and Perinić-Muratović (2003), p.98.

⁴⁹⁰ "*praefectus classis Istricae Mursae*", *Notitia Dignitatum*, Böcking, E. (ed). Bonn, 1839-1853, p.92; and Brunšmid (1900), p.26.

⁴⁹¹ Velleius Paterculus, *Historiae Romanae*, 2.110; and Dizdar, M., Šoštarić, R. and Jelinčić, K. (2003), p.75.

⁴⁹² Pinterović (1961), pp.37-38; and Dizdar, M., Šoštarić, R. and Jelinčić, K. (2003), p.75.

autochthonous population and the foreign settlers, in its turn, led to increased cultural exchange and integration.⁴⁹³ Thus, among the first “foreign” settlers of Mursa, in addition to traders, we find soldiers and veterans of Celtic and Italic descent.⁴⁹⁴ These were likely auxiliary troops who obtained citizenship upon discharge, as a large number of inhabitants of Mursa bear the name Aelius, and a few of those even Hadrian’s *praenomen* Publius.⁴⁹⁵ Most inhabitants of Mursa, however, seem to have gained Roman citizenship during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, or by Caracalla’s decree of A.D. 212, as the most popular name found in Mursa is Aurelius.⁴⁹⁶ Mursa quickly became a prominent commercial and manufacturing centre (mainly for ceramics and brickstamps) in Pannonia⁴⁹⁷, most probably due to its geographical location on major commercial routes. After the division of Pannonia, Mursa fell under the administration of Pannonia Inferior, and subsequently gained colonial status under Hadrian in A.D. 133.⁴⁹⁸ Following the elevation of Mursa to a colony, its citizens were enrolled into Hadrian’s own tribe, Sergia; and major building works were undertaken, as is attested by numerous brick stamps⁴⁹⁹, most certainly to display the new-found glory of the city.⁵⁰⁰ City walls were erected⁵⁰¹ and the new colony quickly expanded westwards of the

⁴⁹³ Dizdar, M., Šoštarić, R. and Jelinčić, K. (2003), p.75.

⁴⁹⁴ *CIL* III 15146; *CIL* III 3288; *CIL* III 15141; *CIL* III 3286 = *CIL* III 10262; and *ILJug* 3104.

⁴⁹⁵ *CIL* III 3287; *CIL* III 3291; *CIL* III 10265; *CIL* VI 2397; *CIL* VII 341; and Brunšmid (1900), p.24.

⁴⁹⁶ A similar popularity of the name is to be found at Intercisa, which has led certain scholars to believe that the name should be attributed to the *Constitutio Antoniniana* and not to an earlier period. Pinterović (1960), pp.31-32.

⁴⁹⁷ The emperor Hadrian owned most of brick-manufacturing workshops in Mursa. Klemenc (1961), p.19, footnote #238.

⁴⁹⁸ *CIL* III 3280; *CIL* III 3279 and *CIL* III 3560. Celestin remarks that there is no evidence that Mursa progressed from a *municipium* to a *colonia*, like Aquincum for example. Brunšmid believes that it is precisely because Mursa prospered as a commercial centre that it was granted colonial status. Brunšmid (1900), p.23; Celestin (1902), p.101; and Filipović (2004), p.157.

⁴⁹⁹ *CIL* III 37741-5 and *CIL* III 106941-5; and Brunšmid (1900), p.24.

⁵⁰⁰ Mursa was subsequently rebuilt and renovated during the reign of the Severans and Diocletian. Filipović (2004), p.157.

⁵⁰¹ Surveys and maps by Katančić and Koller indicate that the city walls formed a rectangular shape, with the northern wall (along the Drava) omitted. Thus, the river acted as a barrier. The whole city would have measured roughly 400.000 square meters. For an in-depth discussion of the topography of the city see : Pinterović (1961), p.39; and Filipović (2004), pp.160-162.

military camp.⁵⁰² Numerous votive and decorative fragments discovered all over Osijek lead us to suspect that Mursa enjoyed a vibrant religious life and featured several temples, including perhaps a Capitoline temple.⁵⁰³ Mursa also became an important administrative centre as the seat of the imperial procurator, who was in charge of tax collection. Only one procurator is known, a certain Quintus Corvinus Aemilianus, who performed his role most probably under the reigns of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (A.D. 161-169).⁵⁰⁴ Several members of the procurator's *officium* are likewise attested.⁵⁰⁵ Numerous city officials are recorded as well.⁵⁰⁶ According to epigraphic evidence found all over the Empire, we know that men originating from Mursa favoured a martial career.⁵⁰⁷ A large number of Mursans found themselves among the praetorians in the third century.⁵⁰⁸ Following the Marcomannic Wars Pannonia received a substantial influx of settlers of Eastern origin, including Judaeans, Syrians, Egyptians, as well as Thracians, who are well attested in the votive dedications.⁵⁰⁹ According to Selem and Pinterović, it was the Eastern settlers who played the largest role in the urban development of Mursa, and it cannot be doubted that Mursa featured a significant number of Eastern inhabitants.⁵¹⁰

Mursa gained particular fame towards the end of the Empire, as it was here that the emperor Gallienus won a major battle in A.D. 259-260 against the usurper Ingenuus⁵¹¹. Following Diocletian's reforms, Mursa became part of Pannonia Secunda.⁵¹² In later years the city gained further fame as the place where Vetrano was declared emperor on March 1st, A.D.

⁵⁰² Pinterović (1956), p.75; and Klemenc (1961), p.19.

⁵⁰³ Sinobad (2008), p.253.

⁵⁰⁴ *CIL* III 3281.

⁵⁰⁵ *CIL* III 3275; *ILJug* 1963, 288; and Brunšmid (1900), p.26.

⁵⁰⁶ *CIL* III 3288; *CIL* III 15141; *ILJug* 3, 3095; *CIL* III 3287; *CIL* III 10305; and Celestin (1902), p.101.

⁵⁰⁷ *CIL* VI 341; *CIL* VI 3214; *CIL* VI 3235, to name a few.

⁵⁰⁸ *CIL* VI 2385; *CIL* VI 2386; and *CIL* VI 2883, to name a few.

⁵⁰⁹ Filipović (2004), pp.158-159.

⁵¹⁰ Bulat (1960), p.8; Pinterović (1967), p.33; Selem (1980), p.20.

⁵¹¹ Eutropius, *Breviarium Historiae Romanae*, 9.8; and Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus*, 33.

⁵¹² Filipović (2004), p.157.

350; and where Constantius II defeated Magnentius in A.D. 351.⁵¹³ As Christianity took hold Mursa was made a bishopric, so that certain scholars believe that by A.D. 303 a significant number of the population was already Christianised.⁵¹⁴ That Mursa was made a bishopric could perhaps be due to its significant percentage of population of Eastern descent, who most likely brought Christianity to Mursa from the East. By the end of the fourth century, after the Visigoth invasions, life in Mursa slowly declined, as immigrants from other parts of the Empire became rarer, and the population reduced.⁵¹⁵

The religious life of Mursa during the Roman period was extremely varied judging from the votive dedications discovered. As far as concerns the religious picture of pre-Roman Mursa, the scarcity of evidence makes determining the nature of autochthonous worship extremely hard. Since the Celtic Scordisci and the Pannonian-Illyrian tribes inhabiting the territory of Mursa did not have a tradition of erecting inscribed religious dedications, and with some exceptions, did not even have a tradition of personifying their deities through other media such as sculpture or iconography, we are often left only with the option of deducing the nature of pre-Roman deities from the popularity of specific gods during the Roman period, or of attempting to ascertain “autochthonous” iconographic influences in the representations of various deities worshipped in the Roman period.⁵¹⁶ Thus, for example, from the popularity of the gods Silvanus, Liber and various incarnations of the mother goddess (Terra Mater, Mater Magna, and Cybele), we can ascertain that the autochthonous population of the region most likely worshipped in the pre-Roman period deities connected with fertility, agriculture and pastoralism. This assumption may be supported by the discovery of pre-Roman clay female figurines (see below), and seems even more likely if the pre-Roman inhabitants of the region made their living from breeding and trading livestock as has been pointed out above, since one’s daily occupations are bound to influence one’s spiritual path.

Concerning the Roman period, although very few structural remains of cultic places have been discovered so far in Mursa (most notable is the recently discovered temple of Silvanus),

⁵¹³ Zosimus, *Historia Nova*, 2. 45-63; Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus*, 42; Eutropius, *Breviarium Historiae Romanae*, 10.12; and Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae a Fine Corneli Taciti*, 15.5; and Brunšmid (1900), p.25.

⁵¹⁴ Thomas (1974), p.143; and Jarak (1988), p.72; and p.75.

⁵¹⁵ Filipović (2004), p.157; and p.159.

⁵¹⁶ Thomas (1980), p.177; and Brukner (1987), p.38.

we have a fair amount of religious dedications, both inscribed and uninscribed, which attest to the variety of deities worshipped. The largest number of religious dedications are made to the deity Jupiter.⁵¹⁷ After Jupiter, Hercules proves to be the most popular god.⁵¹⁸ Other deities found at Mursa include Graeco-Roman deities such as Magna Mater/Cybele, Mercury, Mars, Liber, Fortuna, Victoria, Hermes and Dionysus, among others. Eastern deities include Mithras and Jupiter Dolichenus, as well as Egyptian deities such as Isis, Osiris, Re and Harpocrates. Our evidence shows that Eastern cults spread into Pannonia after the Marcomannic Wars, as troops of Eastern origin were transferred to the province, and were subsequently followed by civilians such as traders, who must have been eager to seize the opportunity and expand their business as Pannonia was recovering and rebuilding from the wars. Eastern cults were at their most popular, however, during the reign of the Severans, as these emperors themselves had links with the East and promoted eastern deities. Thus it is no wonder that martial eastern deities, such as Mithras and Jupiter Dolichenus prosper at this time. We also have an attestation of Judaism, as well as worship of the Thracian rider cult. Local deities, such as the river gods Dravus and Danubius, are also attested.

Dedications in Latin

Magna Mater / Cybele

The earth and fertility goddess, usually perceived as the mother of all things, was worshipped under the names of Magna Mater, Cybele and Terra Mater. Her cult originated in the East, and she was worshipped in Phrygia under the name of Agdistis.⁵¹⁹ Scholars believe that her cult eventually spread into Greece, and it was finally brought to Rome sometime in the second century B.C., to provide divine support during the unstable times of the Punic Wars. Although she was made a state goddess under the reign of the emperor Claudius, and her cult became tied to the imperial cult as it spread throughout the Empire, it also retained certain of its Eastern aspects and remained a mystery religion. Thus, in addition to being worshipped as a nature and fertility deity, mystical aspects of her cult, promising salvation and immortality of the soul, gained numerous worshippers for the goddess of all walks of life, especially

⁵¹⁷ Pinterović (1967b), p.47; and Filipović (2004), pp.164-165.

⁵¹⁸ Pinterović (1961), p.37.

⁵¹⁹ *ThesCRA V*, pp.97-100.

during the rise of Christianity. Traditionally the goddess is depicted as a matronly figure, nicely dressed and seated on a throne, flanked by two lions, remnants of Phrygian cultic elements. This depiction changes, however, under different influences and personal preferences, so that the goddess may also be depicted with one lion, seated on different styles of throne/chair, wearing different styles of clothes and carrying different objects. As concerns the goddess' cult in Pannonia, apart from Mursa, she is attested by epigraphic dedications in Emona, Carnuntum and Aquincum, and by iconographic depictions in Poetovio and Brigetio. She likewise appears in neighbouring Moesia and Dalmatia. Pinterović speculates that due to Hadrian's love of Greek art, and his role as founder of the colony of Mursa, the goddess' cult may have been particularly popular here during Hadrian's reign, and it is possible that several of our attested dedications date from this period.⁵²⁰

The cult of Cybele and Magna Mater is attested at Mursa by two statues and one funerary relief. No inscribed dedications have been found to date. The first piece is a monumental statue of Cybele/Magna Mater, measuring 82 x 42 x 34cm. It is made out of marble which has acquired a yellowish hue, and it was discovered in the year 1966 in Osijek. The statue is significantly damaged, the head, both arms and the upper part of the torso are missing. According to Pinterović, the goddess could have worn a *kalathos* and held a *tympanum* and a *patera* in her hands. The statue depicts the goddess seated on a simple, backless chair, on top of a rectangular base. She props her feet on the back of a sleeping lion whose head is missing. The goddess is clothed in a *chiton* and a *himation* whose numerous folds are very prominent. The execution of the statue displays great skill. Due to this, and to the fact that this type of marble does not originate from Pannonia, several scholars have postulated that the statue must have been imported. Pinterović believes that the statue was carved by a master Greek sculptor and that it dates from the reign of Hadrian or Antoninus Pius.⁵²¹ The commission of such a large statue would suggest that a temple to Magna Mater existed in Mursa, although as of yet, no structural foundations have been found. Selem supposes that if the temple did exist, the goddess would have probably been worshipped conjointly with the imperial cult.⁵²²

⁵²⁰ Pinterović (1978), pp.137-138. For more on the cult of Magna Mater and Cybele see: Ferguson (1970), pp.26-31; Vermaseren (1977); Gasparro (1985); Turcan (1989), pp.35-75; and Adkins, L. and Adkins, R. (1996), pp.138-139.

⁵²¹ Pinterović (1967b), pp.72-76; and Pinterović (1978), p.137.

⁵²² Pinterović (1978), pp.137-138; and Selem (1980), pp.207-208.

The second statue of Cybele attested, a figurine, is much smaller and made out of red clay. It measures 21 x 11 x 0.4cm and it was discovered in 1880 in the lower town. It dates most likely to either the second or the third century A.D. The statue depicts the goddess seated on a throne with an oval backrest. She wears a long tunic, belted below her breasts, with numerous folds. Her head is covered with a veil and on her knees rests a *himation*. It appears that she is wearing a diadem underneath her veil. The figurine's hasty and clumsy execution betrays local workmanship. Its small dimensions combined with its local production would tend to indicate that this was a domestic votive figurine. If indeed these were generically produced in Mursa and used in this manner, then this would seem to indicate not only that the cult was quite popular in this region, betraying perhaps the existence and popularity of similar fertility and mother-goddesses in the pre-Roman period, but also that Oriental cults, such as the cults of Cybele, integrated themselves into the lives of worshippers not only of Oriental origin, but also of many other varying backgrounds. This can be claimed particularly after the goddess' cult gains an "official" standing by being associated with the imperial cult. This, in combination with the imperial support that Greek and Oriental cults enjoyed during the Antonine and Severan periods, would tend to indicate a wide-spread diffusion of the cult among people of varying cultural and socio-economic backgrounds.⁵²³

The final attestation of the goddess from Mursa is in the form of a funerary relief. The stele which features the relief is made of limestone and measures 56 x 63 x 24cm. It was found in the lower town in the year 1961. According to Selem, the execution of the monument is very sloppy, which he attributes to local workmanship. The statue is dated to the third century. At present only part of the monument is preserved. The monument would have featured two lions surrounding a female head. The lions, attendants of the goddess, were a symbol of wilderness and nature. Currently, the lion to the right is missing. Likewise missing is the *kalathos* which Pinterović and Selem believe would have adorned the female head. The entire monument is propped up on a base. Selem draws parallels between this monument and the monuments of Serapis, featuring the head of the bearded god with a *kalathos* and representations of lions. Although the monuments of Serapis feature a column in the centre, sporting the head as if it was a mask, in the case of this monument, the column is omitted, and the head appears realistically. Selem believes that religious imagery of this type was not unusual in Pannonia, as he remarks that Oriental religious symbolism, in particular, was a

⁵²³ Bulat (1960), p.8 note 19; Pinterović (1967b), p.72; and Selem (1980), pp.209-210.

popular choice for funerary monuments in the region.⁵²⁴ Due to previous attestations of the Cybele cult in Mursa, Selem chooses to identify this female figure with the eastern goddess, even though her defining veil is absent. An account offered by Pinterović, however, explains the monument as a product of syncretisation between Cybele and a local version of Terra Mater.⁵²⁵ That a female deity possibly imbued with fertility powers may have been worshipped on the territory of the Scordisci long before the arrival of the Romans is suggested by clay female figurines featuring pronounced breasts and mask-like faces. The figurines are depicted naked, often featuring large eyes. According to Benac they could be interpreted as primitive representations of Magna Mater or Terra Mater.⁵²⁶ Additional interpretations offered by M. Garašanin suggest that these clay female figurines may be versatile votive offerings, representing not only Magna Mater, but any female deity associated with fertility, childbirth, nursing etc...⁵²⁷ It must be acknowledged, however, that these figurines, although offering the possibility that a proto Magna Mater worship may have been performed on the territory of pre-Roman Mursa, do not have anything in common iconographically with the present representations of the female deity examined above. Nor do we see any pre-Roman influences of the female deity on the present Roman deity: while the pre-Roman representation is naked and standing, the Roman representation is fully dressed and seated; and while the pre-Roman representation features a mask, the Roman representation does not. Thus, while it is not possible to establish a direct link of syncretisation, as Pinterovic suggests, between the pre-Roman female equivalent of Magna Mater/Terra Mater and our present representations, one must not discount the possibility that the worship of autochthonous mother-goddess(es) would have continued under the guise of, or

⁵²⁴ A number of funerary monuments on the territory of Mursa feature pairs of lions with a woven basket placed between them. These represent syncretistic elements of various Graeco-Oriental cults, such as cults of Cybele, Serapis, and even Mithras. The question remains whether these syncretistic elements permeated into popular culture and lost their cultic meanings, being used on these funerary monuments as mere decorative elements; or whether we are to take these monuments as evidence of worshippers of these cults. Although we know that Mursa possessed a significant Oriental sub-culture, we are at present unable to provide an answer to this question. Gavela (1954-1955), pp.43-51; Pinterović (1958), pp.38-40; Pinterović (1967b), pp.73-76; Pinterović (1978), pp.136-137; and Selem (1980), pp.208-209.

⁵²⁵ Pinterović (1967b), p.73-76 fig.2.

⁵²⁶ Benac (1989), pp.26-33; and Karmanski (1989), pp.1-3.

⁵²⁷ Garašanin (1979), p.195.

in association with, deities with similar spheres of power such as Magna Mater, Cybele and Terra Mater.

Terra Mater

Only one marble altar with a dedication to the Italian mother-goddess Terra Mater has been discovered at Mursa, on the western outskirts of the town, in 1964. The altar measures 78 x 45 x 22cm and dates either to the second or the third century A.D.⁵²⁸ The inscription reads:

TERRAE / MATRI / M(arcus) MARIVS / SECVNDINVS / PRO SE ET SVIS / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

The dedicator is a certain Marcus Marius Secundinus, whom Selem believes to be a foreign settler, perhaps of Italic origin.⁵²⁹ This exact name appears several times on inscriptions from Pompeii⁵³⁰, although we must rule out the possibility that this is the same person. Secundinus dedicates to the goddess Terra Mater for his own and his family's well-being. He does not offer us clues about his profession, however, the fact that he dedicates to an earth goddess may indicate that he was involved in an agricultural profession. Terra Mater was often associated with deities such as Tellus Mater and Ceres, deities which were celebrated in honour of fertility of the earth.⁵³¹ She was popular in Pannonia and Dacia with high-ranking public officials⁵³²; as well as with private dedicators like Secundinus.⁵³³ She was invoked in these provinces most often by herself, or in association with state deities such as Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno and Minerva.⁵³⁴ In Dalmatia Terra Mater was popular with low-ranking and mid-ranking officials, exercising the roles of *vilicus* of the mines (*vilici*

⁵²⁸ AE 1974, 530 = *ILJug* 2, 1063; Bulat, M. and Pinterović, D. (1967), pp.87-88, p.92, No.1; and Selem (1980), p.209, footnote #42.

⁵²⁹ Both the *nomen* "Marius" and the *cognomen* "Secundinus" are found most frequently in Italy, followed by the Celtic provinces such as Gallia Narbonensis and Noricum. Marius: *OPEL* III, p.59; and Secundinus: *OPEL* IV, p.58.

⁵³⁰ *CIL* X 8048.25 a-d.

⁵³¹ Ferguson (1970), p.25; and Adkins, L. and Adkins, R. (1996), p.218; and p.222.

⁵³² *CIL* III 12594; *CIL* III 1284; and AE 1995, 1273; to name a few.

⁵³³ AE 1990, 844; AE 2003, 1509; and *CIL* III 1599; to name a few.

⁵³⁴ *CIL* III 12594; *CIL* III 10431; and AE 1914, 9; to name a few.

officinarum ferrariarum) and *dispensator*;⁵³⁵ as well as with soldiers.⁵³⁶ It is easy to see why men whose professions involved mining and handling iron weapons would worship the earth goddess. She was often invoked by these officials for the health and preservation of the emperor or the imperial family, thereby displaying loyalty to the imperial house.⁵³⁷ It is likely that our dedicator was not in the public or imperial service, since he does not provide a professional affiliation. His lack of affiliation and his choice of deity would lead us to conclude that he may have been a private citizen, most likely involved in the agricultural trade. We must not discount the possibility that in addition to the Roman Terra Mater, a local, autochthonous earth/mother deity is here also assumed. The sheer popularity of the goddess in the provinces of Pannonia, Dalmatia, Moesia and Dacia would seem to suggest that earth/mother deities were already favoured in these regions in the pre-Roman period, and that the arrival of similar Roman and Oriental deities offered a more varied choice of worship; assuming the local mother goddesses under these well-established deities and popularising their worship even further.

Sabazios

The divinity *Sabazios*, a nature god of Thracian-Phrygian origin, is often associated in votive dedications with the Roman supreme deity Jupiter.⁵³⁸ Due to the mysterious nature of his cult, little is known about this god. Scholars suspect that his cult may have originated in Phrygia, spreading to Thrace and further afield across the Empire. In addition to Jupiter, his cult may have possibly been associated with Dionysus, due to its corybantic rituals and its predominance among female worshippers.⁵³⁹ Sabazios is attested in southern Pannonia only in the north-east of Croatia, with two artifacts from Mursa and one from Sotin. None of these, however, is epigraphic. Thus, while we know that his worship was practised in this very specific region, we know nothing of his worshippers, of whether he was worshipped

⁵³⁵ *CIL* II 3527; and Carlsen (2001), pp.52-53.

⁵³⁶ *CIL* III 10469.

⁵³⁷ *AE* 1973, 412 (in honour of Caracalla); *AE* 1973, 413 and *AE* 1973, 414 (in honour of Severus Alexander and his mother).

⁵³⁸ He is most often invoked as “Iovi Sabazio”, such as on *AE* 1961, 83; *CIL* XI 1323; and *CIL* VI 37187, to name a few.

⁵³⁹ Lane (1989), pp.2-3; and Turcan (2001), p.315.

conjointly with other deities or not, or of why in particular his cult objects are found solely at these sites.⁵⁴⁰ The two objects from Mursa attributed to the cult of *Sabazios* are a bronze hand and a vase fragment. The bronze left hand and part of the forearm measure 11 x 0.35cm and was discovered in 1954 in the town centre near Vladimir Nazor square.⁵⁴¹ The hand displays signs of damage. The ring finger and the little finger are in a folded position, while the index and (presumably, the middle finger, which is broken off) are pointing outwards in a gesture of blessing. A serpent is wrapped around the wrist, slithering to the thumb, and wrapping itself again at the tip of the thumb. The wrist and the surviving part of the forearm are decorated, featuring a lizard, a frog and a turtle. Likewise, small holes can be seen on the forearm, presumably drilled so that the hand can be affixed.⁵⁴² Votive objects such as this one were very common throughout the imperial period, and especially in the third century A.D., when the worship of Oriental deities flourished in Mursa and throughout Pannonia. This type of representation of the god served to ward off evil, and the snake, lizard, turtle and frog featured on the hand were supposed to prevent curses. As Sabazios was a syncretised deity, representations of the god and the hand varied. Although the hand was always cast in bronze and the position of the fingers the same, variation in details, such as accompanying animals, as well as associations with other deities through the incorporation of their symbols on the hand were not uncommon.⁵⁴³ It is significant that we find the worship of Sabazios attested at Mursa as Oriental deities in general tended to predominate in legionary bases and settlements along the Danube, especially in the Severan period when Oriental and syncretistic deities enjoy great popularity in Pannonia.⁵⁴⁴ Thus, as Mursa is the only city in our survey which displays evidence of Sabazios' cult, we are led to assume that its occurrence in Mursa is perhaps due to the influence of the Danubian legions and its Oriental settlers. It is therefore

⁵⁴⁰ Oesterley (1935), p.115; Macrea (1959), pp.325-339; Picard (1961), 129-176; and Selem (1980), p.250.

⁵⁴¹ Pinterović (1978), pp.140-141.

⁵⁴² An almost identical object, yet better preserved, originates from Sotin. Mursa hand : Bulat (1960b), p.8; and Selem (1980), pp.250-251. Sotin hand: Ljubić (1879), p.108; Brunšmid (1913-1914), p.244; and Selem (1980), p.251. These types of hands were often affixed in temples or on top of sceptres in processions.

⁵⁴³ One example of this type of syncretism is the hand of Sebazios from Aventicum in Switzerland. The hand, in addition to traditional elements, also features in representations of Mercury, Bacchus and Cybele. Pinterović (1978), p.141.

⁵⁴⁴ Pinterović (1978), pp.140-141.

possible that this particular hand belonged to soldier or a merchant who found himself in Mursa.

The other object from Mursa is a vase fragment made of red clay, and measuring 15 x 12cm. Pinterović speculates that this may have been a cultic bowl/vase.⁵⁴⁵ Preserved are the handle and a section at the mouth of the vase. Depicted on the handle is a two-headed serpent which slithers up towards the mouth of the vase. Its tail curls up at the bottom of the handle. Next to the handle, on the mouth of the vase, two human heads are depicted in high relief. Selem supposes that a series of heads would have formed a ring around the whole mouth of the vase. Below the heads, on the surviving body of the vase, a grape vine and a figure of a lion are depicted.⁵⁴⁶ While this vase fragment is not as strong a piece of evidence of Sabazios' cult as the well-known hand symbol, certain details might be interpreted in favour of Sabazios. The serpent is one of the chief animals associated with Sabazios. As Sabazios is sometimes associated with the deity Dionysus, it is possible that the grape vine depicted here reflects that syncretism. Lastly, the lion figure may be interpreted as a symbol of Cybele/Magna Mater, with whom Sabazios is often paired as a divine consort.⁵⁴⁷ Thus, while it is possible to interpret this vase fragment as a syncretised version of the cult of Sabazios, without epigraphic proof such an interpretation is uncertain. The problem of arguing for a permanent worship of the deity Sabazios in Mursa lies in the portable nature of these two objects which alone attest the god's presence. Since no structural remains of a temple or epigraphic dedications are attested in Mursa, we must be cautious in claiming that Sabazios' cult was observed in Mursa on a regular basis. It is possible that the hand which attests Sabazios here travelled with its owner to Mursa, who may or may not have settled there permanently.

Mithras

As we have seen in previous chapters, Mithras is by far the most popular Oriental deity attested in Pannonia. His cult takes hold in the province in the first century A.D. and continues to grow in the second and third centuries.⁵⁴⁸ It would appear that two Mithraea

⁵⁴⁵ Pinterović (1978), p.141.

⁵⁴⁶ Bulat (1960b), p.8; and Selem (1980), p.251.

⁵⁴⁷ Ferguson (1970), p.102; and Adkins, L. and Adkins, R. (1996), p.195.

⁵⁴⁸ Mócsy (1962), pp.736-738; and Pinterović (1978), p.138.

existed on the territory of Mursa: one on Gupčeva street, located to the east of the ancient town walls; and another next to the Drava river. These Mithraea would have been in use most likely during the second and third centuries A.D.⁵⁴⁹ Only three inscriptions survive: one of definite Mithraic character, and two others, possibly Mithraic, possibly Jewish, or possibly dedicated to the god *Sol Invictus*. In addition to these, three reliefs without inscriptions are attested as well.⁵⁵⁰ The first, definite, inscription originates from an altar made of sandstone and measuring 40 x 27 x 17cm. The altar was found in Mursa in the year 1937, on Gupčeva street, along with relief number 1. The top half of the altar is very damaged. The inscription reads:

*D(eo) I(nvicto) M(ithrae) / ANTO(nius) / BARBILVS / NEG(otiator) / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito).*⁵⁵¹

The dedicator, Antonius Barbilus, identifies himself as a merchant, although his land of origin is disputed. Pinterović believes that both his name and his profession reveal Eastern origins. She notes that although the name Antonius can be found in Italy, it is frequent in Pannonia among men of Eastern origin following the reign of Marcus Aurelius. As for his *cognomen*, Barbilus, Pinterović states that it is frequently found in the Eastern provinces, but much less so in Italy. She thus supposes that Barbilus is a latinised form of an Eastern name.⁵⁵² Rendić-Miočević, however, believes that Barbilus was a latinised form of a native Illyrian name.⁵⁵³ Thus, it is also possible that Barbilus may have been a wealthy merchant of Pannonian/Illyrian origin, although men of Eastern origin are frequently found exercising the merchant profession.⁵⁵⁴ The use of the formula *D.I.M.* points to the fact that the altar dates to the second century⁵⁵⁵, if not the early third century, when the spread of Eastern deities

⁵⁴⁹ Bulat (1960b), p.9; Pinterović (1967a), p.53; Selem (1980), p.148; and Perinić-Muratović (2003), p.102.

⁵⁵⁰ Please consult the Catalogue of Mithraic Reliefs from Mursa, pp.233-234 in this work.

⁵⁵¹ *IJug* 1963, 289. Pinterović (1956), p.88; Bulat (1960b), p.7; Vermaseren (1960), 1844; and Pinterović (1978), p.139.

⁵⁵² Pinterović (1956), p.88 note 37; Balla (1963), pp.56-58; Pinterović (1967b), p.36; and Zotović (1973), p.40.

⁵⁵³ Rendić-Miočević (1948), p.21.

⁵⁵⁴ Selem (1980), pp.148-149.

⁵⁵⁵ Bulat (1960b), p.7.

reaches its peak. Given the dating of the dedication, the dedicator's profession, and the fact that a large number of men in Mursa of Pannonian/Illyrian origin only gain citizenship either under Hadrian or Caracalla, the present author is inclined to believe that this dedicator may be of Oriental origin. His choice to erect a dedication to Mithras likewise supports this claim, as soldiers and merchants have traditionally been the carriers of this cult.⁵⁵⁶

The second inscription, which, due to its ambiguous nature could be ascribed either to *Mithras*, *Sol Invictus* or *Jahve*, was discovered in the year 1922 in the vicinity of the old Osijek castle. It reads as follows:

*DEO AETERNO*⁵⁵⁷

The third inscription much resembles the second in its ambiguous nature. It is featured on an altar made of limestone and measuring 62 x 53 x 22cm. The altar was found in the year 1922, however the exact location of the findspot is unknown. It is dated most likely to the second century A.D. The inscription reads:

DEO / AETERNO / P(ublius?) A[E]L(ius?) EVT[Y] / [C]HES OR EVT[Y] / [C]H(ianus?) / [-
*---*⁵⁵⁸

Eutychianus is most likely of Greek or Oriental descent. Considering the dating of this inscription, it is possible that he was a slave who was freed under Hadrian's and/or Antoninus Pius' reigns. *ILJug* thus believes that his name would have been followed by [*LIB(ertus)*]. It is to be noted that one other Eutychianus is attested at Mursa on a dedication to Jupiter.⁵⁵⁹

The likelihood of these last two inscriptions belonging to the cult of Mithras is relatively low. Firstly, the inscriptions were not discovered in the vicinity of the two Mursa Mitheae. Secondly, the formula used does not correspond to any of the Mithraic *formulae* so far attested in southern Pannonia. It is to be conceded that the epithet *Aeternus* does exist in

⁵⁵⁶ Pinterović (1978), p.139.

⁵⁵⁷ *ILJug* 1963, 285; Pinterović (1956), p.89; and Vermaseren (1960), 1845; and Zotović (1973), p.39.

⁵⁵⁸ *AE* 1980, 719 = *AE* 2005, 12 = *ILJug* 3, 3092; Pinterović (1977), pp.94-95; and Demo (1994), p.75, No.13.

⁵⁵⁹ *ILJug* 1963, 287.

Dalmatia⁵⁶⁰, and *may* be connected with the cult of Mithras, depending on how the abbreviation of the invocatory formula is expanded. There is, however, no consensus among the scholars. The epithet *Aeternus*, appears on confirmed dedications to the god *Sol*.⁵⁶¹ Thus, it seems more plausible to ascribe this dedication to the Syrian god *Sol*. Another possibility rests in identifying this dedication as belonging to Judaism.⁵⁶²

Judaism

Judaism, in southern Pannonia, is so far only attested in Mursa. Although other regions of Pannonia feature Jewish settlers, the overall trend seems to indicate that Judaism is most often found along the Danubian *limes*.⁵⁶³ Due to its proximity to the Danube, it is thus no wonder that we encounter Jewish worshippers in Mursa. At present, three inscriptions may attest Judaism in Mursa: one mentioning a *proseucha*; and two consisting of our ambiguous *Deo Aeterno* dedications. The first inscription is preserved on a marble plaque measuring 85 x 62 x 11cm. It was discovered on the banks of the river Drava in downtown Osijek, probably in the 1930s.⁵⁶⁴ The inscription is very damaged and is broken off in four pieces, with a large part of the left-hand side missing. According to what can be reconstructed, the inscription reads:

[PRO SALVTE IM]P(eratorum) P(iissimorum) / [L(ucii) SEPTIMII SEVERI PE]RTINACIS /
[ET M(arci) AVRELII ANTONINI] AVGG(ustorum) / [ET P(ublui) SEPTIMII GETAE
CAESARIS] / [ET IVLIAE AVG(ustae) MATRI CAST]RORVM / [SEXTVS(?) VALERIVS(?)]

⁵⁶⁰ Two inscriptions were uncovered reading: *D.S.I.O.M. Aeterno sacrum*. One dedication originates from Narona (Vermaseren (1960), 1881); and the other from an unknown Dalmatian locality (CIL III 3185 = Cumont (1896-1899), 319). CIL and Cumont interpret the reading as *Deo Soli Iovi Optimo Maximo*; whereas Zotović reads it as *Deo Soli Invicto Omnipotenti Mithrae*. Zotović (1973), pp.18-19 and p.22.

⁵⁶¹ CIL III 604 from Dyrrachium (*Soli Aeterno M. Laelius Aquila sacerdos*) and CIL II 259 from Olisipo (*Soli Aeterno / Lunae / pro aeternitate im / peri*).

⁵⁶² Pinterović (1965b), p.61; Pinterović (1967b), p.45; and Selem (1980), pp.149-150.

⁵⁶³ Marić (1933), p.33; and Selem (1980), pp.149-150.

⁵⁶⁴ Pinterović (1960), p.28.

*SECV]NDVS / [PRAEPOSITVS(?) PRO]SEVCHAM / [IVDEORVM(?) VETV]STATE / [COLLAPSAM A SO]LO / [IMPENSIS SVIS EXSTRVXIT]*⁵⁶⁵

If we are to believe Pinterović's reconstruction, then this inscription commemorates the restoration of a synagogue between the years of A.D. 198 and 209. Pinterović suggests that the building was restored in A.D. 202, when Septimius Severus toured the Danubian provinces.⁵⁶⁶ The restoration is dedicated to the wellbeing of the Severans, most notably, Septimius and his sons Caracalla and Geta. The key word in this inscription is "*PROSEVCHAM*". Although Pinterović and Selem point out that the Greek word signifies a vow or a sacred space⁵⁶⁷, Selem believes that among the Jews of Egypt, the word comes to be used to designate a synagogue.⁵⁶⁸ If this interpretation is correct, then this inscription would not only attest to an existence of a synagogue in Mursa in the second century A.D., and to its subsequent restoration in A.D. 202, but also to the presence of a Jewish community.⁵⁶⁹ The restoration was made possible by a man whose name ends in "NDVS", most likely reconstructed as the name Secundus, who in one breath asserts his religious affiliations and his loyalty to the imperial family. The name Secundus may indicate a worshipper of autochthonous origin, as the name is frequently found in Pannonia and is believed to stem from autochthonous nomenclature.⁵⁷⁰ According to Selem, this display of loyalty on the part

⁵⁶⁵ AE 2005, 12 = *ILJug* 2, 1066. Pinterović (1960), pp.28-29; Pinterović (1965a), pp.61-72; and Selem (1980), pp.258-261.

⁵⁶⁶ This hypothesis is perfectly plausible as a number of other building works and restorations are attested at around the same time at Drobeta, Viminacium, Intercisa, Gorsium, Ad Statuas etc... Fitz (1959), pp.238-241; and 244; Pinterović (1960), p.28; and Pinterović (1961), p.36. This inscription then was erected in honour or expectation of Severus' visit to Mursa.

⁵⁶⁷ Pinterović (1965a), p.62; and Selem (1980), pp.259.

⁵⁶⁸ Philo, *De Vita Mosis*, 3.27; and Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, 2.2.10.

⁵⁶⁹ Filipović believes that the Jewish community may have been settled just outside the western walls of the city. Filipović (2004), p.165.

⁵⁷⁰ Radman-Livaja and Ivezić (2012), p.144. This name, however, is also very common in Italy, Gallia Narbonensis and Dalmatia. See: *OPEL* IV, pp.59-61.

of the Jewish community of Pannonia was not unusual, as the Jews prospered due to widespread religious tolerance at the time.⁵⁷¹

The other inscriptions which *could* attest the presence of Judaism in Mursa are the dedications inscribed *Deo Aeterno*, attributed by scholars either to *Mithras*, *Sol Invictus* or *Jahve*, and introduced in the Mithraic section of this chapter. The present author has already outlined her reasons above why she believes that an attribution of these dedications to Mithras is unlikely. This paragraph, then, examines the inscriptions in light of Judaism. The first and strongest indication that these inscriptions are likely to be Jewish dedications is to be found by comparing the present inscription with a similar dedication from Intercisa.⁵⁷² This dedication explicitly mentions a synagogue and invokes the Jewish god with the exact *Deo Aeterno* formula. More broadly, this formula, in the Jewish context, has been found all over the Empire, from Judaea to Ostia. According to Ben Zeev, this formula was often paired with an invocation for the Emperor's well-being, most usually in the form of *pro salute Augusti*. Such an invocation displayed loyalty towards the Imperial house. This was not a new concept in Judaism as Ben Zeev points out that requests for the wellbeing of various rulers have been found on Jewish inscriptions dating back to the third century B.C.⁵⁷³ In addition to placing the *Deo Aeterno* formula within a Jewish context, the broader historical and geographical context of the dedication itself corroborates the Jewish hypothesis. Namely, it has already been demonstrated that a synagogue existed in Mursa during the Severan period⁵⁷⁴, around the same time when this particular inscription was erected. A connection to another Jewish centre, Intercisa, by a road leading along the Danube was likewise no coincidence.

Hercules

The deity Hercules, the mythical hero, was worshipped throughout the Roman Empire as a symbol of male strength and courage, and was viewed as a protector, both in the domestic

⁵⁷¹ For example, another inscription from Intercisa, dedicated by a Jewish customs agent, displays loyalty to Alexander Severus and Julia Mamaea. See: Scheiber (1960), #1; Kadar (1962), p.25; Fulep (1966), pp.93-98; and Selem (1980), p.260.

⁵⁷² *CIJ* 677 dates to A.D. 222-235. Scheiber (1960), No.3; Fulep (1966), pp.93-98; Patai (1996), p.23; Pucci Ben Zeev (1998), pp.477-478; and Rajak (2002), p.426, no.27.

⁵⁷³ Philo, *In Flaccum*, 48-49; Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium*, 133; and Pucci Ben Zeev (1998), pp.477-479.

⁵⁷⁴ Pinterović (1965a), p.61; Pinterović (1967b), p.45; and Selem (1980), pp.149-150.

and the military spheres.⁵⁷⁵ Hercules was also a patron of commerce and luck, as his image was often struck on coins, and thus he fulfilled similar duties to the deity Mercury.⁵⁷⁶ According to Fitz, the cult of Hercules was very popular in Pannonia in all levels of society, especially during the reign of the Severans.⁵⁷⁷ Sanader suggests that the cult was brought to the region by traders.⁵⁷⁸ This hypothesis certainly seems plausible when we consider Mursa's geographical position along the Drava and on the Amber Road. Predominant among Hercules' worshippers in Pannonia are members of administrative and military personnel.⁵⁷⁹ This is hardly surprising, as Hercules became associated with the imperial cult in the first century A.D., his worship became an expression of loyalty to the emperor and the state, exemplified by the frequent attribution of the epithet "Augustus" to the god. During the unstable times of the third century A.D., he may have become a protector emblem of the Roman troops who fought off the barbarian invaders, just as Hercules himself fought off mythological monsters.⁵⁸⁰ Thus, Mursa's geographical proximity to the Danubian *limes* may have played a role in the popularity of Hercules in this city.

The popularity of Hercules in Mursa is displayed by the five statues of the god which have been found, prompting scholars to speculate as to the existence and location of the god's temple within the city.⁵⁸¹ Since most dedications from Mursa appear to date to the Severan times, it is possible that a temple of Hercules was renovated, or even built for the first time, on the occasion of Septimius Severus' visit to the city. Although Severus did most likely visit

⁵⁷⁵ Fitz (1957), p.20; Nilsson (1967); Farnell (1971); and Sanader (1995), p.88;

⁵⁷⁶ Latte (1960), pp.213-221; and Sanader (1995), p.88.

⁵⁷⁷ Fitz (1957), pp.17-19; and p.27; and Sanader (1995), pp.90-91.

⁵⁷⁸ Sanader (1995), p.93.

⁵⁷⁹ Fitz notes that in areas with a large military presence such as Carnuntum, Aquincum and Intercisa the worshippers consist primarily of military personnel, with the majority of the shrines attached to the military camp. However, administrative centres, like Mursa for example, feature a more public aspect of the cult. Fitz (1957), pp.17-20; Rendić-Miočević (1989), pp.227-411; and Sanader (1997), p.207.

⁵⁸⁰ Fitz (1957), p.18.

⁵⁸¹ Although no structural remains have been found as of yet, Brunšmid speculates that Hercules and Liber may have had a joint temple in Mursa. Considering the popularity of both deities, this hypothesis is not absurd, as a joint worship of the two deities was discovered at nearby Zemun. It is possible that the dedications made to Hercules all originate from a single temple. Brunšmid (1900), pp.31-33; p.37, footnote #1.

in A.D. 202 we do not at present have enough structural evidence to support the theory that a temple of Hercules existed, or was renovated, upon this occasion.⁵⁸²

The first of the five statues of Hercules from Mursa is a colossal bust of the god, measuring 73cm and made of white marble. The bust is significantly damaged: the nose, the lips and both arms are missing, and the back of the head has been chiselled off. The bust depicts Hercules with a lion skin covering his back and shoulders; the two lion paws tied on his torso. The hero's body is otherwise naked and muscled, and he sports a full head of hair and a beard. According to Brunšmid, this large statue may have been originally employed as a cult statue in a temple. He remarks that for provincial craftsmanship the statue is of a high standard.⁵⁸³

The second statue is a marble miniature of Hercules measuring 37cm. It was discovered in the centre of the town. Hercules is depicted naked, a lion's skin draping his left shoulder and arm.⁵⁸⁴ His stance is calm⁵⁸⁵, symbolising his strength and his role as a protector⁵⁸⁶, and he sports a full head of hair and a strong beard. His right arm is missing just below the shoulder, as well as his whole right leg, and his left leg from the knee downwards. His left hand stretches forward, holding six apples, and it is possible that in his missing right arm he may have held a club. The back of the statue is unfinished. The craftsmanship is of good quality, except for the lion skin, which is executed clumsily.⁵⁸⁷

⁵⁸² Pinterović (1978), pp.132-133.

⁵⁸³ Brunšmid (1900), p.31; and Sanader (1995), p.110 # 47.

⁵⁸⁴ Hercules' depiction as naked, with a full head of hair and a strong beard, and the addition of the lion skin over his left shoulder/arm is a standard motif. It is curious to see that only one of our statues conforms to this model; the rest presenting slight variations, with either the lion hide missing, or being tied around Hercules' neck and both his shoulders. According to Sanader it is indispensable that the god is featured with the lion hide: it not only ties him to his myth, but also symbolises his courage. Deviations from these symbols are not only markers of provincial production, but also provincial interpretation(s) of the cult and the myth of Hercules. Sanader (1997), p.208, pp.211-212.

⁵⁸⁵ In Croatia Hercules is almost always depicted in contrapposto. The Mursa finds examined here conform to this custom. Sanader (1997), p.208.

⁵⁸⁶ Sanader (1997), p.211.

⁵⁸⁷ Brunšmid (1900), p.32; Pinterović (1978), p.133; and Sanader (1995), p.110, #48.

The third statue is again a marble miniature measuring 25cm and discovered in the centre of the city. Hercules is depicted naked and in a resting position, his left arm and the left side of his body leaning on a tree trunk or a column. The statuette is headless, and both legs are missing below the knee. The statue is likewise missing the characteristic lion's hide. It appears that the head would have been carved separately and fixed on, as a metal support rod remains. Hercules' right hand is tucked behind his back, and could have been holding apples.⁵⁸⁸ According to Brunšmid, this could be a copy of Glykon's statue. Brunšmid likewise considers the statue of typical provincial craftsmanship.⁵⁸⁹

The fourth statue, unlike the others, is made of limestone, and measures 37cm. It depicts Hercules, in a resting position, leaning sideways much like the previous example. According to Brunšmid, the bad craftsmanship can be explained by the fact that the statue appears unfinished, with only the silhouette having been carved and the details still missing.⁵⁹⁰

Finally, the fifth statue is a small piece made of bronze and measuring just over 10cm. It depicts a naked, young, clean-shaven Hercules, standing, with his weight on his right leg, and his left leg is slightly pushed forward. The lionskin he sports covers his head, his back and runs down to his elbow. He may have held apples in his left hand and a club in his right.⁵⁹¹ Small statues of Hercules in bronze such as this one, were commonly found in Pannonia as part of domestic shrines, reflecting Hercules' role as a domestic protector in the Italian tradition.⁵⁹²

In addition to the five statues, one inscribed monument has been found as well. It is an oval statue base made of white marble, with a width of 20cm. Only the right foot, as well as a part of the lionskin can be discerned.⁵⁹³ According to Pinterović the letters are clumsily carved

⁵⁸⁸ Sanader points out that apples are another common feature of Hercules' reliefs and statuary, and that it is unusual for the god to hold more than one item in his hand. Sanader (1997), p.212.

⁵⁸⁹ Brunšmid (1900), p.32; Pinterović (1978), p.133; and Sanader (1995), pp.110-111, #49.

⁵⁹⁰ Brunšmid (1900), p.32; Brunšmid (1904-1911), p.19; Pinterović (1978), p.133; and Sanader (1995), p.110, #46.

⁵⁹¹ Pinterović (1965b), pp.80-81; Tadin (1979), p.20; and Sanader (1995), p.111, #50.

⁵⁹² Fitz (1957), p.21.

⁵⁹³ *CIL* III 15140 = *ILJug* 1963, 286 = *ILJug* 3, 3093; Pinterović (1956), p.88; Pinterović (1967a), p.48; and Sanader (1995), p.112 #52.

and the statue and the dedication are dated to the second century A.D.⁵⁹⁴ The inscription reads:

HERCVLI AVG(usto) AEL(ius) MARTIN(us)

Our dedicator's name, Aelius, indicates that his family received citizenship during Hadrian's reign, when Mursa was granted the status of a colony. It is possible due to this that our dedicator may be of autochthonous background. A further clue as to his origins could be found in the name Martinus, which is frequently found in Pannonia, Moesia, Dalmatia, Noricum and Dacia⁵⁹⁵, indicating perhaps that our dedicator may be of autochthonous origin.⁵⁹⁶ There are four other inscriptions from these provinces attesting men with the same name.⁵⁹⁷ The most interesting is a dedication to Hercules Invictus from Brigetio by an Aelius Martinus who is a *magister* of a *collegium iuventutis*.⁵⁹⁸ There is a small chance that our Mursan dedicator may be the same person recorded at Brigetio, as the two inscriptions are closely dated; although as we have previously noted, the *nomen* "Aelius" was frequently found in Pannonia. If the person recorded on these two inscriptions is the same, then not only is his devotion to the emperor and the imperial cult striking (expressed here in the use of the epithet "Augustus"), but also extremely interesting is the fact that he sets up both dedications to Hercules. This would indicate that Hercules may have been his personal favourite deity.

⁵⁹⁴ Pinterović (1978), p.133.

⁵⁹⁵ Out of the 350 inscriptions which record the name Martinus, 52 originate from these provinces. The name also occurs very frequently in Italy and Gaul, opening up the possibility that our dedicator may have been of Italic or Celtic origin. This however, seems less likely as, if indeed his family was of Italic or Gallic origin, they most likely would have received citizenship before the reign of Hadrian. Kajanto notes the name is commonly encountered during the Imperial times. Kajanto (1965), p.36. See also: *OPEL* III, p.61.

⁵⁹⁶ Mócsy (1959), p.180; Barkóczy (1964), p.317; and Pinterović (1978), p.133.

⁵⁹⁷ *AE* 1994, 1471 from Sirmium attesting Aelius Martinus *beneficiarius* of *legio II Adiutrix*; *CIL* III 2023 attesting Aelius Martinus from Salona *beneficiarius* of *legio I Italica*; *CIL* III 4272 from Brigetio attesting Aelius Martinus a *magister* of *collegia iuventutis*; and *CIL* III 8085 from Ratiaria (Moesia Superior) attesting Publius Aelius Martinus. While it is possible that the dedications from Sirmium and Salona attest the same man (he may have been transferred from one legion to another); as he identifies himself as a *beneficiarius* on both dedications we cannot presume that he is the same man recorded on the present Mursian dedication. Likewise unlikely, although the dating of the inscriptions are similar, is that the man from Ratiaria is the same man recorded here, as our dedicator is not in the habit of recording a *praenomen*.

⁵⁹⁸ *Collegia iuventutis* were associations of adolescent boys who trained in military manoeuvres, participating in the yearly display at *Iuvenalia*. For more on these associations see: Cassius Dio 52. 26; Suetonius, *Divus Augustus*, 83.1; and Jaczynowska (1978).

Hercules and Minerva

One altar dedicated to Hercules Augustus, and also bearing the image of Minerva was discovered at Mursa.⁵⁹⁹ The altar measures 88 x 42 x 24cm. The left-hand base of the altar is broken off. The left side of the altar depicts a naked, bearded Hercules leaning against a pillar (or a tree?), and holding a club in his right hand. In his left hand he holds an apple, and the typical lionhide is draped over his left arm. The right-hand side of the altar depicts the goddess Minerva wearing a helmet, and carrying a shield and a lance, accompanied by an owl. The inscription can be dated to late second or early third century A.D. The inscription reads:

HERC(uli) AVG(usto) / G(aius?) VAL(erius) MVCI / ANVS PRO SALV / [T]E SVA SVORVM / QVE OMNIVM / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

Our dedicator Mucianus, could be of autochthonous, perhaps Thracian, origin as this name is commonly found in Thrace, Dalmatia, Dacia, Moesia and eastern Pannonia.⁶⁰⁰ There is, however, no other man with the exact same name recorded in these provinces, and only one Valerius Mucianus appears on an inscription from North Africa, and appears to be of native African origin.⁶⁰¹ Since most of the men bearing the name Mucianus in the Danubian provinces also bear the names Aurelius or Aelius⁶⁰², so common among autochthonous inhabitants of Pannonia, the present author is reluctant to classify our dedicator as an autochthonous person. Although the Valerii are a prominent family in Poetovio, they are thought to have emigrated from northern Italy, and are commonly attested there, and thus the present author is inclined to believe that our dedicator may likewise be of either Italic or possibly North African origin. It is a shame that our dedicator does not record his profession, as this may have given us a clue on his origins. It is likewise curious that our dedicator does not include the goddess Minerva in his inscription, although he does include her depiction on

⁵⁹⁹ *CIL* III 6451 = *CIL* III 10266 = *AE* 1974, 538 = *ILJug* 3, 3094; Bulat, M. and Pinterović D. (1967), p.91, #10; Pinterović (1967a), p.48; Sanader (1995), p.111, #51; and Sanader (1997), p.211.

⁶⁰⁰ Out of the 95 inscriptions which record the name, 27 are from the provinces mentioned. The name also appears very frequently in Italy and Africa. Pinterović (1978), p.133. Kajanto likewise notes the name is frequent in Dalmatia and the neighbouring territories. Kajanto (1965), p.18. See also: *OPEL* III, p.89.

⁶⁰¹ *AE* 1968, 597.

⁶⁰² *CIL* III 1661 and *CIL* III 7688, among others.

the side of the altar. Joint dedications to Hercules and Minerva are not uncommon, and they occur most frequently in frontier provinces such as Pannonia, Moesia, Dacia and Numidia, among worshippers of military occupations.⁶⁰³ It is thus possible that our own dedicator, although he does not state it explicitly, belonged to the army forces.

As can be seen from the five statues and the two inscribed dedications, depictions of Hercules and his characteristics varied greatly on the territory of Mursa, and further afield in Pannonia. Several explanations have been given for this phenomenon. One theory put forward by Fitz claims that Hercules may have embodied several local autochthonous deities with a similar sphere of power. This would explain why there is little uniformity in themes and depictions of the god throughout Pannonia.⁶⁰⁴ Thus, representations of Hercules differed not only according to which local god(s) Hercules may have embodied, but also according to different geographical regions where the god was worshipped. This variety is certainly seen in our Mursan evidence examined above, and may thus reflect different local and cultural influences of the region. In a multi-cultural city like Mursa, where Greek, Oriental, Italian and autochthonous Pannonian-Illyrian worshippers are attested, such variations in iconography are perfectly plausible. If we are right in assuming that our two worshippers attested epigraphically were of varying cultural backgrounds, then this same hypothesis could perhaps be applied to our other varied iconographic representations of the god.⁶⁰⁵

Another explanation for this variety, according to Edith Thomas, is that the image of Hercules may have been modelled on emperors in power. We know that the worship of Hercules was particularly popular during the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian, Commodus and Septimius Severus.⁶⁰⁶ Thus, Thomas remarks, for example, that during the reign of Commodus the god took on certain of the emperor's features and vice-versa.⁶⁰⁷ Jenö Fitz's interpretation, although similar, offers a further nuance. Namely, Fitz argues not only that the image which Hercules projected depended on the emperor in power, but also on the image

⁶⁰³ *AE* 1919,28; *AE* 1920,22; and *CIL* VIII 4578 (Numidia); *CIL* III 10593 (Pannonia); *CIL* VII 313 (Britain); *AE* 1930,135 (Dacia); and *ILJug* 03, 1439 (Moesia), among others.

⁶⁰⁴ Fitz (1957), p.17; and p.24.

⁶⁰⁵ Fitz (1957), p.27.

⁶⁰⁶ Pinterović (1978), pp.132-133.

⁶⁰⁷ Thomas (1967), pp.14-16; and Sanader (1995), p.89.

which the emperor wanted to project of himself. Thus, during Commodus' reign the image of a rugged, bearded Hercules was popular in art. Thus, the emperor himself embodied Hercules and vice-versa.⁶⁰⁸

It appears that the personal background of the emperor likewise played a role in the representation of the god and in the popularity of the cult. Hercules, and especially the Phoenician Hercules Melqart, represented clean-shaven and young, with a calm stance, became very popular in Trajan and Hadrian's homeland during their reigns. Likewise, during the reign of Septimius Severus, the image of Hercules Melqart rose to prominence again, most likely due to the Eastern background of the emperor and to the general popularity of Eastern cults at the time.⁶⁰⁹ By and large, our evidence appears to conform to these theories. Upon examination of the six iconographic representations of Hercules that we have from Mursa, we see that the first and the second statues, in addition to the representation of Hercules on the altar of Mucianus, all conform to depictions of Commodus, with their full hair and strong beards. Since the first and largest statue appears to be the cult statue, we can assume that the temple of Hercules at Mursa would have been built during the reign of Commodus⁶¹⁰, and as suggested above, would have perhaps been renovated in anticipation of Septimius Severus' visit to Mursa in A.D. 202. This would likewise explain the presence of the fifth statue, where Hercules is depicted clean-shaven, in the fashion of Hercules Melqart.⁶¹¹ It is a shame that the third and the fourth statues are headless and we are unable to determine whether they as well would have been representations of Hercules Melqart. This is, however, likely as the erection of votive dedications such as statues and dedicatory inscriptions experienced a boom of popularity under the Severans in Pannonia, as we have seen in this work.

It is interesting to note that both of our inscribed dedications invoke the deity Hercules as Hercules Augustus. If we compare this evidence with other dedications to Hercules from Pannonia and Dalmatia we start to realise that our evidence from Mursa conforms to the overall pattern. Namely, the invocation of Hercules as Hercules Augustus is the most

⁶⁰⁸ Fitz (1957), pp.17-18; and Sanader (1995), pp.89-90.

⁶⁰⁹ Pinterović (1978), pp.132-133; Simon (1993), pp.72-88; and Sanader (1995), p.89.

⁶¹⁰ Pinterović (1978), p.134.

⁶¹¹ Pinterović (1978), pp.133-134.

predominant form of addressing the deity. Thus, for example, we encounter *HERC(uli) AVG(usto)* from Omiš⁶¹², *HERC(uli) AVG(usto)* from Čakovec⁶¹³, *HERCVLI AVG(usto) SACRVM* from Pula⁶¹⁴, *HER(culi) AVG(usto) [SA(crum)]* from Salona⁶¹⁵, *H(erculi) A(ugusto) S(acrum)* from Stražišće⁶¹⁶, *HERCVLI AVG(usto) SAC(rum)* from Plate⁶¹⁷, *HERCVLI AVG(usto) SAC(rum)* from Varaždinske Toplice⁶¹⁸; as well as the variations *HERCVLENI(!) AVG(usto) SAC(rum)* from Sisak⁶¹⁹, *HERCVLI SA[CRVM]* in Burnum⁶²⁰, *HRCELI(!) SACRVM* from Skradin⁶²¹, *HERCV(li) SACRVM* from Trogir⁶²², *[----]RCVLI IOVIS F(ilio)* from an unknown location in Dalmatia⁶²³, *IOVI HERCLI(!)* from Vis⁶²⁴, *[H]HERCVLI* from Salona⁶²⁵, *HERCVLI* from Sirmium⁶²⁶, and *DEO SANCTO HERCVLI* from Vukovar⁶²⁷. Although the invocation of Hercules as Hercules Augustus seems to be the predominant form in the provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia, the examples above also display variations within the pattern, with the use of alternate spelling, or the emphasis on specific characteristics of the god, such as his identification as the son of Jupiter. It could be said that such variations are displays of personal preference on the part of the worshipper;

⁶¹² Sanader (1995), p.103, #30.

⁶¹³ Sanader (1995), p.106, #36.

⁶¹⁴ Sanader (1995), p.96, #2.

⁶¹⁵ *CIL* III 3157; and *CIL* III 8663.

⁶¹⁶ Sanader (1995), p.103, #28.

⁶¹⁷ *CIL* III 10107.

⁶¹⁸ *CIL* III 10890.

⁶¹⁹ *CIL* III 10837.

⁶²⁰ *CIL* III 14980.

⁶²¹ *CIL* III 14977.

⁶²² Sanader (1995), p.99, #15.

⁶²³ Sanader (1995), p.98, #11.

⁶²⁴ *CIL* III 3075.

⁶²⁵ *CIL* III 1940.

⁶²⁶ *CIL* III 15136.

⁶²⁷ *CIL* III 6450; and *CIL* III 10255.

reflecting how the worshipper perceives the god, which god(s) the worshipper chooses to associate Hercules with, and which parts of Hercules-myth the worshipper chooses to focus on. If this is indeed the case, then the worship of the deity is a subjective experience, in which the deity is perceived and experienced in a slightly different manner by each worshipper, resulting in a myriad of different versions of the deity.⁶²⁸ Therefore, the same way that a person can have multiple facets of their identity, so a god can be perceived to have multiple aspects. Worshippers project their own perceptions, beliefs and identity onto the god. Thus, our dedications from Mursa, all slightly different in their details, would not only reflect the preference of the emperor, who also projects himself onto the god, but, as discussed above, would reflect the personality of the worshipper as well. This is especially seen through the depictions of Hercules within a same “type” in Mursa. Thus, for example, the first and the second statues, along with the depiction of Hercules on the dedication to Mucianus, all belong to the “bearded Commodus” type; yet, all are slightly different in their details, reflecting the personal preferences of the worshipper. Thus, while on the first statue the lionskin is covering Hercules’ head and shoulders and is tied at the paws on his chest, on the second and Mucianus’ representations the lionskin is simply draped over Hercules’ left arm. The second statue depicts Hercules holding six apples, while the Mucianus representation depicts him holding one apple and his club. Other “types”, such as the two headless reproductions of Glykon’s statue, show this same variation. It is possible that this variation can not only be attributed to the worshipper’s personal preference and understanding of the Hercules-myth, but also to the worshippers’ own cultural backgrounds, as discussed above.

Although the worshippers on our two inscribed dedications to Hercules do not state their professional or social affiliations, a survey of other dedications to the same deity throughout Pannonia and Dalmatia has demonstrated that a predominant number of worshippers of Hercules are soldiers, public officials or traders, with a minority of stonemasons from the region of coastal Dalmatia (Brač and Donji Seget).⁶²⁹ This reflects the predominance of the worship of Hercules Augustus, as has been seen before, the award of this epithet is popular as a means of expressing loyalty to the emperor among worshippers in public and imperial

⁶²⁸ Sanader concedes that the manner of worship or the focus on specific iconographic or mythological features could reflect the personal background of the worshipper, thus creating variations within the worship of the god. Sanader (1995), p.93.

⁶²⁹ Sanader (1995), p.95.

service, as well as with soldiers. It is interesting to note, however, considering Mursa's proximity to the Danubian *limes* and the predominant worship of Hercules among soldiers and public and imperial officials, that neither of our two worshippers seem to be members of the army or the public or imperial service. Although they dedicate to Hercules Augustus, they appear to be private citizens. If we are correct in our analysis of the worshipper's names, then our dedicators appear as well to be of varied backgrounds. Considering the multi-cultural composition of Mursa this is not surprising. Sanader, although conceding that worshippers of Hercules originated from across the Empire, nevertheless believes that it is unlikely that any of the Pannonian worshippers were of autochthonous origin, as their names do not tend to bear Celtic or Illyrian roots. This leads her to conclude that the autochthonous tribes, although they may have been acquainted with the cult of Hercules, did not participate in the worship.⁶³⁰ The present author is reluctant to endorse this theory, and believes that autochthonous worshippers may not have rejected the god, but that they may simply be hidden under the Roman *tria nomina*, or among dedicators of purely iconographic dedications. After all, none of the worshippers recorded in Mursa display any explicitly autochthonous names, however, this does not signify instantly that they were nonexistent in Mursa or did not participate in the spiritual life of Mursa. It could be argued that such worshippers hide under the names of Aelius or Aurelius, so often encountered in Pannonia and the Danubian provinces. The fact that the Aurelii are the most widely attested in Pannonia most likely reflects the grants of citizenship under *constitutio Antoniniana*. The accompanying boom in epigraphic dedications during this period may reflect pride of this new-found status on behalf of the larger autochthonous population.

Hermes

One marble torso of the deity Hermes was discovered near the polytechnic school in Osijek. Along with the torso a funerary monument to a freedwoman Iulia Primilla was also found.⁶³¹ The monument is dated to A.D. 71-100. Brunšmid believes that the two pieces were part of the same monument, and that the statue of Hermes stood on top of the funerary inscription. He believes that Hermes Psychopompos, the guide of deceased souls, is represented here.⁶³²

⁶³⁰ Rendić-Miočević (1948); Krahe (1955); Mayer (1959); Mayer (1963); and Sanader (1995), p.94.

⁶³¹ *CIL* III 15097.

⁶³² Brunšmid (1901), pp.128-130; and Pinterović (1956), p.86.

Considering that the statue was found in relation to a funerary monument, this hypothesis is perfectly plausible. The statue is skillfully executed. It depicts a naked adult male in a standing position. The head, the right arm, a part of the left arm and both legs beneath the knee are missing. Wrapped around his left arm and cascading down is a cloak. His left arm holds a *kerykeion*, and his right arm would have held a money purse, which is now missing, denoting him as a deity of commerce. No inscribed dedications to the god survive from Mursa.

Fortuna

There is one altar from Mursa dedicated to the goddess Fortuna.⁶³³ The altar is made of sandstone and measures 47 x 26 x 25cm. The decorations at the top of the altar, as well as the right-hand side of the inscription have been damaged. On the left side of the altar a griffin is depicted, facing to the right, and resting his right paw on a circle in front of him, most likely a wheel, representing the goddess. The right side features a *patera* and an *urceus*. The inscription reads:

FORTVN[AE] / CASVAL[I] [M(arcus)?] / AEL(ius) BALBIN[VS] / TES[SER]AR(ius) / V(otum) [S(olvit) L(ibens)] M(erito)

The dedicator, Aelius Balbinus, was a soldier of an unknown unit, who exercised the duties of *tesserarius*, the man charged with keeping the watchword. Balbinus is a name commonly found in Italy and the East⁶³⁴, and it is possible that our dedicator, whose ancestors most likely received citizenship under Hadrian or Antoninus Pius, originated from the eastern provinces. This fact is hinted at by his choice of iconography on this altar. Namely, while the goddess Fortuna is typically represented as standing on a wheel, or holding a *cornucopia*, the depiction we find here of a sole griffin accompanied by a wheel is slightly unusual. A very similar, famous example of this type of depiction originates from Palestine and dates to A.D. 210-211. It is a statue of a griffin sitting on a wheel, dedicated by a priest called Mercurios. While the wheel here again symbolises the goddess Fortuna, the griffin, according to

⁶³³ *CIL* III 10265.

⁶³⁴ Italy: *CIL* V 4466; *CIL* V 4717; and *CIL* VI 40689, among others. East: *CIL* III 7138; *CIL* III 12198; and *CIL* VIII 15140, among others. See also: *OPEL* I, pp.263-264.

Ferguson, is a symbol of the deity Nemesis.⁶³⁵ Thus, what we see here is an association of the two goddesses resulting in the syncretisation of Nemesis-Fortuna, a goddess of cosmos.⁶³⁶ As dedications indicate, such an association was popular in Pannonia and Dacia in the third century A.D.,⁶³⁷ in places where military units are attested. Thus, it is no wonder that our *tesserarius* dedicates to the goddess of changing fortune, as the lives of soldiers were wrought with danger, making them superstitious human beings. Even more interesting, however, is the use of the epithet *Casualis*. Brunšmid remarks that the epithet *Casualis* - “unexpected” is quite rare.⁶³⁸ To the author’s knowledge, so far only this dedication attests this particular epithet of the goddess. Although the dedicator does not offer us a reason for this dedication, the fact that he invokes the goddess of unexpected and changing fortune may indicate that a fortunate event, such as a professional promotion, may have befallen him recently.

Victoria

Mursa features several inscriptions which bear the name of Victory, although nothing is known of the dedicators. One inscription appears in full as *VICTORIA*⁶³⁹; and five further in the abbreviated form *VICT*.⁶⁴⁰ In addition to these, there is one joint dedication to Mars and Victory (see below).

Jupiter

⁶³⁵ Ferguson (1970), p.86. A similar relief depicting the goddess Fortuna accompanied by a wheel and a griffin originates from Dura Europos. Szirmai (2005), p.288.

⁶³⁶ Szirmai (2005), pp.287-288.

⁶³⁷ *AE* 1977, 673 (Sarmizegetusa); *AE* 1929, 227 (Carnuntum); *CIL* III 1125 (Apulum); and *CIL* III 10831 (Ad Fines), among others. Several statues of Nemesis-Fortuna are also found in Aquincum, which appears to be the Pannonian cult centre of the goddess. Szirmai (2005), pp.288-290.

⁶³⁸ Kubitschek (1879), p.158; Brunšmid (1900), pp.40-41; Brunšmid (1904-1911), pp.84-85, No.194; and Perinić-Muratović (2003), p.101.

⁶³⁹ *CIL* III 12012,091a.

⁶⁴⁰ *CIL* III 12012,092a-e.

Dedications to the god Jupiter are the most numerous in Mursa, and reflect trends further afield in Pannonia and throughout the Empire.⁶⁴¹ This popularity has led certain scholars to speculate that there may have existed more than one temple dedicated to the god in Mursa⁶⁴², although no structural remains have so far been discovered.⁶⁴³ Several inscribed dedications to the god survive, as well as at least one statue, one acroterion and two gems.⁶⁴⁴ The statue in question is an unconfirmed head of a bearded man, possibly Jupiter, due to its thick hair and beard. The head is made of marble and measures 12cm.⁶⁴⁵ The acroterion likewise depicts a man with wavy, abundant hair and a long beard. The object is made of white marble, measures 32 x 23 x 11cm and was discovered near Luc, in proximity of Osijek. On the basis of the features and the craftsmanship, Bulat believes that the acroterion depicts Jupiter, and that it was made locally in the late third or early fourth century.⁶⁴⁶

One altar simply bearing the dedication *IOVI* was discovered in Mursa.⁶⁴⁷

An additional altar is dated to the third century A.D.⁶⁴⁸ It reads:

IOVI M(arcus or possibly Marcius) AVITVS ASCLEPIADES FECIT

Apart from this dedication, the name Marcus Avitus is found in Pannonia on two other dedications, one from Poetovio, recording a Marcus Claudius Avitus, centurion of the *X Gemina*⁶⁴⁹; and one from Radovljica, near Emona, recording a Marcus Oclatius Avitus, a

⁶⁴¹ Sinobad (2010), p.175.

⁶⁴² Brunšmid believes that a temple complex may have existed where more than one deity was worshipped. He speculates that Jupiter may have shared his temple with Fortuna. Brunšmid (1900), p.37. Sinobad speculates that due to the sheer number of dedications to Jupiter found in Mursa, Mursa must have been a cultic centre of the god in southern Pannonia. Sinobad (2010), p.176.

⁶⁴³ Pinterović (1956), p.91.

⁶⁴⁴ The gems depict the god seated as Olympian Zeus. Pinterović (1965c) p.32; and p.34.

⁶⁴⁵ Brunšmid (1900), p.33; Pinterović (1967b), pp.76-77; and Pinterović (1978), p.129.

⁶⁴⁶ Bulat (1972), pp.6-8; and Bulat (1984), pp.121-122.

⁶⁴⁷ *ILJug* 2, 1074.

⁶⁴⁸ *ILJug* 1963, 288.

⁶⁴⁹ *AE* 1950, 40 = *ILJug* 01, 337.

decurion of Emona.⁶⁵⁰ Both are first century dedications, as indicated by the dedicators' names. The geographic proximity of both Radovljica and Poetovio to Italy, combined with the fact that Poetovio was colonised in its early period primarily by north Italian settlers, would lead us to conclude that our dedicator may be of north Italian origin. However, it is also possible that our dedicator is of Celtic/autochthonous origin, as the name Avitus is common in Pannonia among autochthonous inhabitants,⁶⁵¹ as well as in provinces with a significant Celtic population.⁶⁵² We have two attestations of the name Avitus among dedications to Jupiter in Mursa. The other dedication *CIL* III 13362 records a *beneficiarius* Lucius Marcius Avitus. Our two dedicators may be related, especially if we interpret the "M" in this dedication as Marcius. It is a pity that our dedicator does not provide us with a professional affiliation. Considering this, we may speculate that he was not involved in the military or public service, since these officials largely tended to advertise their associations. We must therefore conclude that our dedicator was a private citizen. It is likely that our dedicator was of some financial means as he commissioned his dedication from one of Mursa's most famous stonecutters, Asclepiades, who fashioned an altar for the decurion Frequens (see below). Asclepiades was most likely of Greek or Oriental origin.

Jupiter Optimus Maximus

Several altars dedicated to the god Jupiter Optimus Maximus originate from Mursa.⁶⁵³ Predominant among the worshippers were soldiers, especially those holding higher ranks, such as the *beneficarii consularis*. This is not surprising as Jupiter was the chief official deity worshipped by soldiers throughout the Empire. It is interesting that almost all of the military dedications from Mursa are dedications to an official deity; namely, unless we make an exception for Fortuna Casualis, no soldier so far has dedicated to a personal, unofficial deity. This is slightly unusual since we know that apart from official deities, soldiers were allowed and frequently did dedicate to whichever deity they felt closest to, including to deities from

⁶⁵⁰ *CIL* III 3890 = *CIL* III 10780 = *AII* 218.

⁶⁵¹ Radman-Livaja and Ivezić (2012), p.144.

⁶⁵² Kajanto (1965), p.18; and p.80; and *OPEL* I, pp.231-232.

⁶⁵³ Please consult the "Catalogue of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Dedications from Mursa", pp.239-246 in this work. Due to the fact that dedications to Jupiter Optimus Maximus are the most numerous amongst our Mursa evidence, the present author has decided to assemble them in an accompanying catalogue to make the reading of the present chapter easier.

their homelands and from the territories where they previously served.⁶⁵⁴ That this does not happen in our case is unfortunate as it prevents us from learning more about the individual soldiers and their backgrounds. Perhaps this phenomenon can be explained by the professional affiliations and official purpose of our dedicators. Firstly, it is likely that our dedicators honour an official deity due to their distinguished and highly-ranking posts within the army. Since all of our dedicators were men who held military posts, as men of relatively high rank they were expected to set a good example for ordinary soldiers and other military personnel ranked below them. They thus may have promoted official deities in order to instill a sense of purpose and pride in defending the Roman Empire, as well as a sense of unity and camaraderie among their men.⁶⁵⁵ Secondly, these high-ranking military officials may have dedicated to an official deity in order to display affection and loyalty towards the emperor and the state. The imperial cult was inextricably linked to the worship of official deities such as Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and erecting a dedication to this deity would have been an ideal display of loyalty. Thirdly, due to the high-stress and high-risk nature of a soldier's job, soldiers were highly religious and needed the most powerful deity to protect them. Jupiter Optimus Maximus, as a supreme deity, would have been an ideal choice. This may be an additional factor in why soldiers chose to dedicate predominantly to *I.O.M.* Furthermore, it may also explain why soldiers were prone to invoke several deities on a single dedication. It was a way of multiplying the power of their invocation and raising the odds that their plea might be heard.⁶⁵⁶

Jupiter Optimus Maximus Fulgurator

There is only one dedication from Mursa which mentions Jupiter Fulgurator, the “Thunderer”, who reigns over the skies, the weather and affects the growth of crops.⁶⁵⁷ The epithet “Fulgurator” denotes Jupiter as a master of nature, and connects him to Italic deities such as Jupiter Flavius and Jupiter Flazzus/Flazius.⁶⁵⁸ According to Scherrer and Sinobad, the

⁶⁵⁴ Helgeland (1978), p.1473; and Perinić-Muratović (2003), p.102.

⁶⁵⁵ Perinić-Muratović (2003), pp.100-101.

⁶⁵⁶ Le Bohec (1994), p.237.

⁶⁵⁷ *ILJug* 3, 3108 = *AE* 1973, 445. Bulat (1967b), p.359; Bulat (1969), pp.41-42; Bulat, M. and Pinterović, D. (1971), p.108; and Pinterović (1978), p.129.

⁶⁵⁸ *CIL* X 1571.

epithet “Fulgurator” connects Jupiter to the imperial cult and the emperor, as thunder was a feature of the god’s divine supremacy, in the same way that an emperor is supreme among his mortal subjects.⁶⁵⁹ Our altar was found in Kopačevo near Osijek. The dedication dates from the mid to late second century A.D. The inscription reads:

[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo) F(ulguratori) / C(aius) AEL(ius) SVRI / NVS DE / C(urio) COL(oniae) M(ursensium) IIV / IRAL(is) Q(uin)Q(uennalis) / DES(ignatus) / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

Our dedicator, Caius Aelius Surinus identifies himself as a decurion of Mursa. It is likely that he was of Celtic or Pannonian-Illyrian origin⁶⁶⁰, as he himself, or his family, appear to have gained Roman citizenship fairly recently, under Hadrian or Antoninus Pius. As has been noted previously, the name Aelius, along with the name Aurelius, is extremely common in Pannonia, reflecting receipt of citizenship on behalf of the autochthonous population under Hadrian or Antoninus Pius, and Caracalla respectively. It is possible that Surinus may have been a local aristocrat, accounting for his gain of citizenship upon the founding of the colony of Mursa. His autochthonous aristocratic status would also perhaps explain his rising to the position of decurion, as the Romans were known to groom local aristocracies throughout the Empire. We cannot, however, be absolutely certain that he is indeed a descendant of the pre-Roman autochthonous people who inhabited the region of Mursa, and not a Celtic or Pannonian newcomer from another part of the province or the Empire. It is likely that Surinus erected this dedication on the occasion of his public nomination, both as a self-promotion and as a display of loyalty to the Emperor.

Jupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus, and (possibly) Mercury

Only one altar from Mursa attests this combination of deities.⁶⁶¹ The altar was found in Klisa near Osijek. It dates from the end of the second century to the early third century A.D. The inscription reads:

⁶⁵⁹ Scherrer (1984), p.605; and Sinobad (2010), p.166.

⁶⁶⁰ Radman-Livaja and Ivezić (2012), p.142.

⁶⁶¹ AE 1973, 444 = AE 1997, 1275 = CCID 205. Bulat, M. and Pinterović, D. (1971), pp.106-107.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / DOLI / C<h>ENO / E[T]MERC[I OR VRIO] / [C]O[LL(egium?)] / [NEG(otiantium?)]

While the altar is severely damaged we cannot be absolutely certain if indeed the last part of this dedication includes the deity Mercury. Considering that Mercury was the deity of commerce it would then make perfect sense that the dedicator(s) consisted of an association of traders. That an association of traders existed in Mursa is almost but certain; such a city, situated so close to the Danubian *limes* and the Roman troops, while enjoying a favourable position on the ancient Amber route connecting the East with the West, would have most certainly been an optimal place for a trader's guild to be set up. This joint dedication to the god of commerce and Jupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus most likely would have reflected the nature of the *collegium* and its members. That the official deity here is paired with the Oriental god Dolichenus most likely legitimised the official standing of the *collegium* as a genuine guild, while at the same time conveying its members' connection with the East, either by displaying the origin of the members of the guild or perhaps displaying the fact that the goods they imported or sold originated or travelled through the East. Such a hypothesis is perhaps corroborated by a similar altar where a member of the *collegium* of traders from Aquincum worships Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno, Neptune and Mars.⁶⁶² Mócsy speculates that this choice of deities most likely reflects the dedicator's and the guild's own connections. Given the location of Aquincum, that the deities Mars and Neptune are included, according to Mócsy, most likely reflects the fact that the guild primarily supplied the army, and that it perhaps was greatly reliant on shipping by water.⁶⁶³ Thus, it is possible that our dedication to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus and Mercury reflects Mursa's own connections with the East.

Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno and Minerva

Only two dedications from Mursa attest all three Capitoline deities.⁶⁶⁴ In general, such dedications are rare on the territory of southern Pannonia⁶⁶⁵, reflecting the fact that perhaps

⁶⁶² *CIL* III 10430.

⁶⁶³ Mócsy (1974), p.125.

⁶⁶⁴ *AE* 1974, 537 = *ILJug* 2, 1060 = *ILJug* 3102 = *ILJug* 3, 3099. Celestin (1902), pp.100-101; Hoffiller (1912), p.4, No.2; Bulat, M. and Pinterović, D. (1967), pp.90-91; and p.93, No.9; and Bulat (1989), p.35.

Mursa and Poetovio may have been the only cities which featured a Capitoline temple in this region.⁶⁶⁶ The first dedication is an altar dating to the mid-second century A.D. The inscription reads⁶⁶⁷:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / ET IVNONI / ET MINER / VAE[----

The dedication is badly damaged and thus nothing is known of the dedicator.

The second dedication is an altar made of marble measuring 91 x 42 x 32cm, and is dated to the latter half of the second century A.D. The inscription reads:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / IVNONI / MINERVAE / SACR(um) C(aius) IVL(ius) / M[AG?]NVS / AVG(ustalis) [COL(oniae)] / MVRS[AE OR MVRS(ensium)] / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

This dedication to the Capitoline deities was erected by Gaius Julius Magnus, an *Augustalis* of Mursa. It is possible that Magnus himself was a freedman, given that he held the role of *Augustalis*; although the fact that he bore the name *Iulius* may suggest (although this is far from certain) that his ancestors gained citizenship in the first half of the first century A.D., and that thus he himself was not a freedman, but belonged to that minority of *Augustales* who were freeborn. Given that we have here two dedications to the Capitoline triad, it is possible that Mursa had a Capitolium, although no structural remains have so far been found to confirm this claim. An alternative interpretation is that these dedications may have been housed in the temple of Jupiter.⁶⁶⁸ It is possible that Magnus may have been of Italic or autochthonous background, as his *cognomen* is found most frequently in Italy and Pannonia.⁶⁶⁹

Jupiter Optimus Maximus Aeternus

⁶⁶⁵ Only one other dedication mentioning all three deities is to be found in this region: *ILJug* 832 from Burnum in Dalmatia.

⁶⁶⁶ For a discussion of the problems of confirming the presence of Capitoline temples in southern Pannonia see Sinobad (2008).

⁶⁶⁷ Bulat (1989), p.41; and Šašel-Kos (1992), p.176.

⁶⁶⁸ Pinterović (1978), p.129.

⁶⁶⁹ *OPEL* III, pp.46-47.

Only one dedication to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Aeternus survives from Mursa. It is an altar dating to early third century A.D. The inscription reads:

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) AET(erno) / C(aius) EQ(uitius?) ARTEMI / DORVS AVG(ustalis)
C(oloniae) M(ursensium) / PRO AELIA BRVTVL / LA CONI(uge) ET C(aio) / EQ(uitio?)
VICTORE / FIL(io) / V(otum) S(oluit) L(ibens) M(erito)*

Our dedicator Artemidorus is another *Augustalis* of Mursa, and thus most likely a freedman.⁶⁷⁰ Artemidorus is most likely of Greek or Oriental origin and it is quite interesting that he chooses to dedicate to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Aeternus. Dedications to Aeternus or Deus Aeternus become very common in the third century A.D. throughout the Empire, but especially in the Eastern provinces. They are a way of invoking the Jewish god, while conforming to the Latin epigraphic tradition.⁶⁷¹ The fact that this dedication dates from the third century A.D. and is erected by a freedman of Oriental or Greek origin would seem to point to the fact that the Jewish god is invoked, except for the fact that our dedicator is an *Augustalis*. It is highly unlikely that our dedicator would be an *Augustalis* if he was a Jew. It is also highly unlikely that our dedicator would dedicate jointly to Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the Jewish god, especially if he was an *Augustalis*. Thus, it seems more likely that the Eastern god Sol is invoked here alongside Jupiter. Sol is known to be awarded the epithet Aeternus.⁶⁷² Moreover, like many other Eastern cults, the cult of Sol becomes prominent in the third century, especially after the emperor Elagabalus identifies himself with the sun god. While in terms of invocatory *formulae* many variations exist in the pairing of Jupiter and Sol⁶⁷³, our exact formula used on this dedication only occurs two other times, once at Narona⁶⁷⁴ and once at Parentium⁶⁷⁵. Both of these dedications, like ours, date from the third century and were erected by men of seemingly Greek or Oriental origin. However, the epithet

⁶⁷⁰ Bulat (1989), pp.39-40; and Šašel-Kos (1992), p.176.

⁶⁷¹ See for example the dedication from Intercisa (AE 1966, 302) erected by Cosmius, an official of the Jewish synagogue, for the well-being of the emperor Severus Alexander and his mother.

⁶⁷² CIL V 3321; CIL III 604; and CIL II 259.

⁶⁷³ AE 1995, 595 (*Iovi Soli*); AE 1944, 32 (*Iovi Optimo Maximo Soli*); CIL III 968 (*Iovi Soli Invicto*); CIL VI 398 (*Iovi Optimo Maximo et Soli Divino*) and so on.

⁶⁷⁴ ILJug 1872.

⁶⁷⁵ Sinobad (2010), p.205, #154.

Aeternus is not only awarded to the Jewish god and Sol, but also occurs in the context of the worship of Jupiter Dolichenus⁶⁷⁶ and Mithras⁶⁷⁷. Thus, it is also entirely possible that the epithet Aeterno used here denotes a syncretisation of Jupiter with Dolichenus or with Mithras. Given the fact that Sol, Jupiter Dolichenus and Mithras all share the epithet Aeternus, and considering that ancient dedicators were fond of invoking several deities on a votive inscription, as a way of multiplying the chances of their prayer being granted, but also as a way of avoiding the cost of erecting multiple dedications, the present author is inclined to believe that perhaps Artemidorus chose the epithet Aeternus with several deities in mind, thus syncretising Jupiter with Sol, Mithras and Dolichenus at once. Once we consider the fact that the worship of these deities flourished in the third century A.D., and that their worshippers were largely of Oriental origin, such a hypothesis seems entirely plausible.

As we can see from the sheer volume of dedications, Jupiter Optimus Maximus is the most popular deity at Mursa. Several reasons could explain this popularity. Firstly, we must remember that Jupiter was the supreme and official deity of the state, whose spirit and universal power were embodied by the emperor himself. Since the emperor was identified with the god Jupiter, dedications to this deity showed not only support for the state gods, but were also seen as an act of loyalty towards the emperor and the state.⁶⁷⁸ Thus, it is common to find the god Jupiter Optimus Maximus worshipped in large numbers by soldiers and public officials, and the two Pannonias were no exception to this.⁶⁷⁹ In southern Pannonia settlements with the largest number of dedications to Jupiter Optimus Maximus are those which acted as legionary bases or administrative centres, such as Poetovio, Siscia and Mursa. A significant number of dedications to Jupiter Optimus Maximus date from the first century, reflecting the military presence in the region. Out of all the dedications recorded to Jupiter Optimus Maximus in southern Pannonia, however, the largest number date from the second or the third century, with a particular spike in dedications made in the late second or early

⁶⁷⁶ *CIL VI 1412 (Iovi Optimo Maximo Aeterno Dolicheno); AE 1947, 122 (Iovi Aeterno Dolicheno); and CCID 601 (Iovi Optimo Maximo Dolicheno Aeterno), to name a few.*

⁶⁷⁷ *CIL III 3158b (Deo Soli Invicto Omnipotenti Mithrae Aeterno).*

⁶⁷⁸ For more detail on the connection between the emperor and the supreme god Jupiter/J Zeus see: Ward (1933), pp.220-223; Fears (1981), p.56; pp.64-65; p.68; and p.97; Santosuosso (2004), p.83; Sinobad (2008), p.233; and p.255; and Sinobad (2010), p.147.

⁶⁷⁹ Sinobad (2008), p.255; and Sinobad (2010), p.149; and p.157.

third century.⁶⁸⁰ This was a time when Pannonia's favourite emperor, Septimius Severus, who was raised to the throne by the Pannonian legions, wore the purple. Thus it is not surprising that the men who supported Septimius' rise to the throne would now show their affection and loyalty through votive dedications. Septimius is also recorded as having visited the province in A.D. 202, and Mursa would have most likely been a stop on his tour.⁶⁸¹ It is highly probable that several dedications to Jupiter Optimus Maximus were erected on this occasion, especially on behalf of military personnel, in order to show their support and loyalty to Septimius Severus.

Other cities surveyed along the Drava show as well that the military played a large role in the spread and popularity of the cult of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. Namely, both Mursa and Poetovio show large numbers of dedications to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, while Iovia-Botivo and Aquae Iasae do not feature any. Since both Poetovio and Mursa were at some time legionary bases, and were garrisoned by multiple troops throughout their history, the popularity of Jupiter in these cities cannot be a surprise. The fact that the worship of Jupiter outweighed the worship of any other deity in Mursa is likewise unsurprising considering its proximity to the Danubian *limes*, and its probable role as a *beneficarii* post. Thus we find that among military dedications to Jupiter, those erected by the *beneficarii* are the most numerous, both in Mursa and elsewhere in southern Pannonia.⁶⁸² Thus, particularly in Mursa, we find that a large number of dedications to Jupiter were erected by soldiers who held relatively high-ranking posts within the army. The reasons for this phenomenon have been discussed above, chief among which was the responsibility to promote military values and loyalty to the state. The popularity of Jupiter Optimus Maximus is also discernable among high-ranking public officials. The officials most often recorded in Mursa, as well as in the rest of southern Pannonia, are those of the highest ranks; namely decurions and *duoviri*.⁶⁸³ Much like the high-ranking military officials, it was in the interest of high-ranking public officials to display loyalty towards the Emperor and the Roman state, shown by the practice of *always* invoking Jupiter first, even on joint dedications, reflecting not only his supreme

⁶⁸⁰ Sinobad (2010), p.152.

⁶⁸¹ Mócsy (1974), p.201.

⁶⁸² Sinobad (2010), p.157.

⁶⁸³ Sinobad (2010), p.159.

position as a divine ruler, but also his association with his equivalent, mortal ruler, the emperor himself. Thus, we can see that the popularity of the cult of Jupiter Optimus Maximus is owed in significant part to soldiers and public officials throughout the Empire.

An additional reason for the popularity of the cult in southern Pannonia is that southern Pannonian cities received large numbers of settlers and were urbanised very quickly during the Flavian and the Antonine periods, when the cult of Jupiter Optimus Maximus was becoming ever more popular throughout the Empire.⁶⁸⁴ This is indeed when Poetovio and Mursa receive the rights and privileges of a colony, under Trajan and Hadrian respectively. Thus, it is likely that the popularity of the cult of Jupiter Optimus Maximus was influenced not only by religious trends at the time, but also by new-coming settlers, who themselves were responsible for bringing the cult into Pannonia and popularising it. This theory is also supported by evidence of dedications erected to Jupiter Optimus Maximus in the neighbouring province of Dalmatia. Since most cities along the Dalmatian coast were urbanised much earlier, during the Augustan period, before the popularity of the cult of Jupiter Optimus Maximus was at its prime, our evidence for the worship of this deity is not as extensive. Thus it is possible not only that religious trends affected the popularity and spread of the cult, but also that the absence of a large military presence in Dalmatia, unlike in Pannonia, affected the popularity of this deity.

In addition to predominantly public and military officials that we find worshipping Jupiter in Mursa, we do also find a small number of dedications to the deity by private individuals, who do not state explicitly their reasons for dedicating. Given that they do not offer us information about their professional and social affiliations, nor reasons for their dedication, it is hard to determine the nature of this subgroup of dedicators. Their pleas to the god were most likely private, and it is likely that each individual, including those bound by public or military office to dedicate to Jupiter, entertained a different relationship with the god and perceived the deity differently.⁶⁸⁵ This is most vividly indicated to us by the great variety of epithets and syncretisations awarded to the god in our evidence.

⁶⁸⁴ Mócsy (1974), pp.112-113; Kolhammer (1975), pp.92-93; and Sinobad (2008), p.255.

⁶⁸⁵ Sinobad (2010), p.178.

Since Jupiter was the most popular deity in Mursa, at least according to the sheer number of his dedications, it is only natural that he would be given a variety of epithets, and thus be perceived in a variety of ways by his worshippers. Over two hundred epithets of his have survived. According to Sinobad, such a high proportion of epithets is reflected through Jupiter's syncretism and association with local deities throughout the Empire; and as he became identified with these, becoming Jupiter Dolichenus under Syrian influence or Jupiter Culminalis under Celtic/Pannonian influence, for example, so he adopted their attributes and epithets. Thus, through a complex process of syncretism with several Oriental deities, Jupiter gains the epithet "Aeternus" for example. These transformations of the supreme god under Oriental, Celtic, Illyrian/Pannonian and other influences, all point to the integrative nature of religion throughout the Roman Empire. The cult of Jupiter thus acted as a bridge, linking official Roman religion with unofficial, autochthonous and local deities. This practice served not only to integrate official and unofficial cults, but also Roman and non-Roman deities, creating a heterogeneous religious reality. Thus what we see is not a confrontation or struggle between the official and the unofficial cults, and between autochthonous and foreign deities, but an intermingling of these elements, which results in a heterogeneous and integrative picture of the cult of Jupiter in Pannonia.

Liber

Three dedications from Mursa attest the Roman fertility and wine god Liber. Liber was akin to the deity Dionysus/Bacchus, and was popular in regions which have a tradition of viticulture. The deity was usually represented in a joyful manner, with grape vines as the standard motif on Liber's altars. Pinterović notes that there was an iconographic difference in the representation of the god and his consort Libera in the west and in the east of Pannonia. Due to geographic proximity to Italy, in western Pannonia the god was represented in the Italic manner. However, depictions of the god were more "provincial" in the east of the province, where he appears often in small settlements represented in a simple manner; and sometimes, most likely due to the large Oriental sub-culture along the Danube, in association with Bacchus and his consort Ariadne.⁶⁸⁶ In addition to associations with Dionysus/Bacchus, in the Danubian provinces Liber was often grouped with other nature deities such as Terra

⁶⁸⁶ Mócsy (1962), p.733; and Pinterović (1978), p.134. See the dedication from Aquincum (*RIU*-03, 938) dedicated to *Libero Patri et Ariagne*.

Mater or Silvanus, and even with supreme deities Jupiter Optimus Maximus and Juno, most likely in order to give weight to the worshipper's plea, as having the supreme god on one's side was always desirable.⁶⁸⁷ As we have previously seen, nature deities were very popular in Pannonia, thus it is hardly surprising that groupings of nature gods occur. Such groupings probably seemed natural to worshippers who were anxious that their prayers be heard. Considering that the worshippers of nature divinities also tended to belong, by and large, to lower socio-economic classes, it is not surprising to see multiple deities worshipped on the same dedication as a way of getting the best value for one's money, since the setting up of a votive altar was a costly enterprise. This grouping phenomenon is to be found all over the Empire and in our Drava region as well, as for example, we find groupings of healing deities on dedications of worshippers who sought to be cured of their ailments at the healing resort at Aquae Iasae. Although dedications to Liber in the Danubian provinces tend to be predominantly set up for personal reasons (private dedications), we do also find a number of dedications set up by public and/or military personnel for the well-being of the emperor.⁶⁸⁸ Unfortunately none of our dedications to Liber from Mursa feature associations to other nature deities, nor displays of loyalty to the imperial house; but are, as far as we can tell, all erected for private purposes. Although this phenomenon is curious, we must not forget that we only dispose of three dedications to the god, all of which have sustained considerable damage. Thus, we must not exclude the possibility that one of our dedications may have been a joint or a public dedication.

The first of our dedications comes from the city itself and was discovered in 1962. The inscription is featured on a very damaged limestone altar measuring 22 x 28 x 7cm. The altar may be dated to the second or the third centuries A.D. It reads:

*LIBER[O S(acrum)] / [----]*⁶⁸⁹

⁶⁸⁷ *IOM et Terrae Matri Libero Patri et Liberae* from Singidunum (AE 1910, 172); *Libero Patri et Silvano Domestico* from Siscia (CIL III 3957); *IOM Silvano et Libero Patri et Genio Sirmii* (AE 1994, 1430); and *IOM Iunoni Terrae Matri Libero Patri Liberae* from Aquincum (AE 1975, 689), to name a few.

⁶⁸⁸ AE 1972, 503; AE 1972, 552; and AE 1935, 161, among others.

⁶⁸⁹ AE 1974, 531 = AE 1980 721 = *ILJug* 1061; Bulat, M. and Pinterović, D. (1967), p.88 and p.92, No.2; and Bulat (1977), pp.33-34, No.4.

It is to be noted that while the other sources concur on the reading *Liberio Sacrum*, AE 1974 prefers *Liberio Patri*. Pinterović speculates that the altar may have been set up by a public official as it was found within the city walls.⁶⁹⁰

The second dedication originates from the outskirts of Mursa. The inscription was found in the village of Ban, four miles outside of Osijek. The dedication is made of sandstone and measures 112 x 51 x 31cm. The letters are worn and the stone itself is missing the base and the top decorations. The inscription reads:

*DEO LIB(ero) PATRI / AVRELIVS CONS[TANTI]VS / EX PRO[----(?)] / INST(?) QVI
VIRIBVS SVIS INSERV[I]T / PER INSTANT(iam) VENANTI(i) FILI(i) SVI / VINEAE
ARP(ennes) CCCC / EX HIS V CVPENIS / V TERMINIS / V VALLE(n)SIBVS / V
CABALLIORI*⁶⁹¹

Brunšmid notes that the letters date the stone to the fourth century. Due to the damage on the stone several aspects of the inscription are debated. Firstly, the *cognomen* of the dedicant is uncertain. Mommsen (see *CIL* III 3294) reads it as CONSTANTINVS, although Brunšmid believes that there is no space on the stone for the third “N” in this name; he instead proposes CONSTANTIVS.⁶⁹² Katančić, however, believes that it is COERVS.⁶⁹³ Likewise debated are the missing letters in the third and fourth row. Mommsen reads them as *EX PROCVRATORE ARM(amentarii) INST(rumentorum)*. Brunšmid expresses his uncertainty over this reading, and proposes *EX PROVIN(ciae) A(siae (?) or Africae (?))*, although he claims this cannot be taken for granted either. The last four rows of the inscription, according to Mommsen, seem to enumerate the 5 *cupae vini*. Brunšmid proposes the reading of “V” not as the number 5, but as a letter, an abbreviation for *V(inea)*. He thus sees the enumeration of four vineyards. Despite this debate regarding the exact reading of the dedication we can ascertain that the reason for the dedication was most likely private and not official. The dedicator, Aurelius

⁶⁹⁰ Pinterović (1978), p.134.

⁶⁹¹ *CIL* III 3294 = *CIL* III 10275.

⁶⁹² Brunšmid (1907), pp.112-113, No. 233.

⁶⁹³ Katančić (1826), p.433, No. 450.

Constantius or Constantinus, appears to have been of autochthonous or Celtic origin, as his name is popular in provinces with a substantial Celtic element.⁶⁹⁴

The third dedication also originates from the village Popovac, outside of Osijek. It consists of a severely damaged marble altar. The inscription reads:

*LIBERO PATRI [----] / SEXT[us?]-----*⁶⁹⁵

According to Katančić the altar would have been accompanied by a relief, which is now lost. The relief, located at the bottom of the inscription, supposedly depicted a farmer and his wife. The farmer was depicted in the act of decanting wine, while the wife stood with a basket full of grapes on her head. According to Katančić the top of the inscription was decorated with depictions of Bacchus and Ceres.⁶⁹⁶ It is unfortunate that the relief depictions are lost so that we are not able to conduct a detailed analysis. However, if Katančić's speculations are correct, then this dedication conforms to Pinterović's "provincial" type, found in the eastern regions of Pannonia. Due to the fact that the inscription is severely damaged, it is very hard to draw any conclusions about our worshipper. If indeed his *nomen* or his *cognomen* was Sextus, then he may have likely been of autochthonous or Celtic origin, as this name is popular in the Danubian provinces and in the provinces with a heavy Celtic element.⁶⁹⁷

Drawing detailed conclusions about popularity of worship of Liber on the territory of Mursa from these three very damaged and incomplete dedications proves extremely difficult. While these dedications do attest that the cult of Liber was observed in the region of Mursa, we cannot make any generalisations on the reception of the cult among the ethnically-heterogeneous population of Mursa further than to say that only one (possibly two, if we concede that the lost relief of *CIL* III 3295 depicts the dedicators) of our recorded dedicators appears to have been of autochthonous origin; thus possibly indicating that the cult was observed by Pannonians involved in viticulture or agriculture, such as the farmer and his wife supposedly depicted on the lost relief. Given that Liber was a nature deity, it is hardly

⁶⁹⁴ See: Pinterović (1978), pp.134-135; and *OPEL* II, p.73.

⁶⁹⁵ *CIL* III 3295.

⁶⁹⁶ Katančić (1794), p.117; and Pinterović (1978), p.134.

⁶⁹⁷ *OPEL* IV, pp.79-80.

surprising, considering the widespread popularity of other nature deities in Pannonia such as Silvanus and the Nymphs for example, that the cult of Liber would have been popular in this province. Moreover, attestation of Liber in Mursa seems hardly surprising given that both Mursa and Sirmium were in close geographical proximity to Fruška Gora, which is still today known for its fertile, grape-cultivating land. A survey of the cult of Liber in the Danubian provinces proves that this deity was very popular in Pannonia, Moesia and Dacia. Two of our three dedications from Mursa record the god as Liber Pater. Like Silvanus and many other nature deities, Liber Pater appears to have been particularly popular in the Danubian provinces among people of humble origins.⁶⁹⁸ If we are to judge by the sheer predominance of the names Aurelius and Aelius found among the worshippers of Liber in Pannonia, then we may conclude that the god also prospered among autochthonous worshippers,⁶⁹⁹ some of whom may have belonged to lower socio-economic classes, such as for example the rural population of the Mursa region, and some who may have occupied high-ranking posts such as the *decurio* Marcus Ulpius Quadratus. It is possible that the cult appealed primarily to autochthonous grape-growers and farmers, like our Aurelius Constantius. This could be supported by the fact that two of our three dedications were found outside of the city, in a rural setting. Elsewhere along the Danubian *limes* the god appears to have been also popular among soldiers and to a lesser extent among public officials.⁷⁰⁰

Mars

One dedication and one (presumed) depiction of Mars were discovered at Mursa. The presumed depiction of Mars was discovered in Marinovci, between modern-day Osijek and Dalj. The depiction was etched on a small piece of bronze plate, outlining a human figure with a helmet, a shield and a lance, presumed to be Mars.⁷⁰¹ It is interesting to note that a

⁶⁹⁸ Many worshippers identify themselves as of servile or freedman status; or record only one name, implying servile status: Felix (*TitAq*-01, 200); *vicarius* Surus (*AE* 1997, 1266); Paulinus (*AE* 1974, 517); and Aelius Silvanus *servus vilicus* (*CIL* III 13408), to name a few.

⁶⁹⁹ Aelius Annianus, Ulpius Victorinus and Aurelius Antoninus (*AE* 1937, 194); the veteran Aurelius Monimus (*AE* 1910, 135); Aurelius Iustianus (*AE* 1971, 329); Tarutenius Ianuarius (*CIL* III 10910); *decurion* of Aquincum Marcus Ulpius Quadratus (*CIL* III 10377); and the veteran Aurelius Maximus (*CIL* III 10327), to name a few.

⁷⁰⁰ Victorinus *centurion* of *legio I Adiutrix* (*AE* 2004, 1161); Caius Antonius Sabinus *beneficiarius consularis* (*ILJug*-03, 3014); Aurelius Quintus *beneficiarius consularis* (*CIL* III 3957); and Calventius *beneficiarius consularis* (*CIL* III 3329), to name a few.

⁷⁰¹ Bulat (1984), p.126.

similar piece was discovered at Slavonski Brod, although scholars have no clue as to what the function of the bronze plate may have been.⁷⁰² As concerns the votive dedication, it is written on a marble slab in the imitation of a votive altar, approximately 10 cm thick. The slab is severely damaged. The inscription reads⁷⁰³:

*MART[I] / AVGG(ustorum) SA[C(rum)] / APOLAVST[VS] / [AV]GG(ustorum) (?)
LIB(ertus) (?) [----*

Our dedicator Apolaustus, whose name signified “enjoyable”, was an imperial freedman. Since the inscription is badly damaged we do not know the reason for Apolaustus’ dedication, although a dedication to the god of war Mars as well as the mention of two emperors would seem to point to the fact that this dedication may have been set up on some official matter, or may suggest that Apolaustus had gained his freedom upon this occasion, thus erecting this commemoration. This is the only mention of the name Apolaustus in Pannonia, although the name does appear in *Historia Augusta* Life of Commodus 7.2. Pinterović suggests that the Apolaustus mentioned here may be the same one who was murdered under Commodus in A.D. 189, and who served under the two emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus.⁷⁰⁴ His full name upon manumission would have been Lucius Aelius Aurelius Apolaustus Memphius. We learn from *Historia Augusta* Life of Lucius Verus 8.10 that he was an actor of Syrian origin whom Verus had brought to Rome after the Parthian wars. Pinterović suggests that this Apolaustus may have accompanied Marcus Aurelius to Pannonia in the late 170s and thus erected a dedication in Mursa. While it certainly is possible that this may be the same Apolaustus recorded here, due to the damage on the dedication this cannot be confirmed.

Mars and Victory

⁷⁰² Miskiv (1975), pp.23-31.

⁷⁰³ *AE* 1980, 718.

⁷⁰⁴ Pinterović (1978), pp.130-131.

There is only one joint dedication to Mars and Victory.⁷⁰⁵ It is a very badly preserved inscription, damaged at the top, on the back and on the right-hand side. It measures 69 x 42 x 19cm. The inscription reads:

MAR[TI AVG(usto) ET] / VICTO[RIAE SAC(rum)] / PRO SAL[VTE IMP(eratoris)] / AVG(usti) [----] / N[----]

The dedication, of definite official character, was found in 1957, at Dragojlov Brijeg (on the *limes*), on the outskirts of Osijek. It was set up to the well-being of an emperor, whom Bulat believes to be Macrinus.⁷⁰⁶ Considering the invocation of the deities Mars and Victory, the dedication to the well-being of the emperor, as well as the location of the inscription on the Danubian *limes*, it is almost certain that this dedication would have been erected by a soldier, although the stone itself is too damaged to confirm this hypothesis.⁷⁰⁷ Unfortunately, due to the damage of the stone, we know nothing of the dedicator and are not able to make a claim on his cultural background.

Silvanus

The deity Silvanus appears to be quite a popular deity in Mursa, which is consistent with his general popularity in Pannonian settlements on the *limes*. Up until fairly recently, only four dedications to Silvanus were known from Mursa, none of them featuring relief depictions.⁷⁰⁸ Two of the altars found have an unknown provenance; one was discovered on the banks of the Drava river, and another near Vladimir Nazor square. During archaeological excavations in 2006, on the site of present-day Faculty of Agriculture in Osijek, five more altars dedicated to Silvanus were found, along with structural remains of what the excavators presume to be a temple to the deity.⁷⁰⁹ Among various small finds, a number of small terracotta female

⁷⁰⁵ *ILJug* 2, 1071.

⁷⁰⁶ Bulat (1960a), pp.14-15; and Bulat (1984), p.120.

⁷⁰⁷ Perinić-Muratović (2003), p.107, No.8.

⁷⁰⁸ *CIL* III 3963; *CIL* III 3276; *CIL* III 3277; and *AE* 1973, 450.

⁷⁰⁹ For the excavation report see: Filipović and Katavić (2006), p.4. Only one of the newly-discovered altars has been published in the above work, the rest remain unpublished and thus we are unable to examine them in this work.

figurines were also found on the site, suggesting perhaps that this may have been a temple complex. According to the excavators, most finds date from the second century A.D.⁷¹⁰

The first altar was discovered in the year 1909, on the banks of the Drava river. The altar is made of limestone and measures 55 x 29 x 19cm. It can be dated either to the first or the second centuries A.D. It is badly damaged on the lower right-hand side. The inscription reads:

*SILVANO / MAG(no) SAC(rum) / CAIVS [----] / NIVS [----]*⁷¹¹

The altar is decorated above the inscribed field by a pattern of lines and circles. According to Hoffiller, the inscription is badly executed. The epithet given to Silvanus, could be interpreted either as “Magnus” or “Magla”. The deity Magla is poorly known, being recorded on only two dedications, both from Pannonia. Both dedications record Magla in relation to Silvanus. The Siscia dedication simply invokes the deity as “Silvano Maglae”⁷¹², presenting the possibility that this may be one and the same deity, albeit a different aspect of Silvanus (similar to Silvanus Domesticus or Silvanus Silvester). The recently-discovered dedication from Carnuntum, however, would seem to indicate that Silvanus and Magla may be two separate deities, as they are invoked as “S(ilvano) D(omestico) s(acrum) et Magl(ae)”⁷¹³. This dedication reveals that Silvanus’ function is already identified as Domesticus, while the use of the word “*et*” indicates that Magla is a separate deity. Since both known attestations of Magla associate this deity with Silvanus, we are led to presume that Magla may have been an autochthonous nature deity (the name “Magla” is not of Roman origin⁷¹⁴), perhaps a divinity of the woods. That he is attested both at Carnuntum and at Siscia would indicate that he was not tied to a specific geographical space (i.e. a local deity), as Hoffiller and Brunšmid seem to believe, but that he was more likely associated with an aspect of the natural world. Thus, Magla may have been only one version of a nature deity, perhaps like Vidasus from Ad

⁷¹⁰ Filipović and Katavić (2006), p.10.

⁷¹¹ *ILJug* 3, 3100 = *AE* 1913, 136.

⁷¹² *CIL* III 3963 = *AII* 548. Brunšmid (1904), pp.148-149; Hoffiller (1912), pp.4-5, No.3; and Pinterović (1956), p.87.

⁷¹³ *AE* 2005, 1223.

⁷¹⁴ Perinić-Muratović, Lj. and Vulić, H. (2009), p.173.

Fines, who was associated with the deity Silvanus due to a similar sphere of power. Thus, as previously suggested, it is possible that Silvanus absorbed and embodied in certain places one (or several) pre-Roman, autochthonous deities of the natural world; while in other places his powers were redoubled due to the preservation of an autochthonous deity and the adoption of Silvanus (thus the invocation “Silvano Maglae”). Although the fact that Silvanus Magla is attested at Siscia, in close proximity to Mursa, would seem to suggest that this inscription could be dedicated to this equated deity, one very compelling argument could be made against the claim that Silvanus Magla is invoked here. Namely, on both dedications which attest Silvanus Magla, the deity is invoked either in the full form of “Silvanus Maglae”, or in the abbreviated form of “S(ilvano) D(omestico) s(acrum) et Magl(ae)”. What is striking here is that both dedicators stress the letter “L” in order to show indeed that Magla is invoked. Neither invokes Magla simply with the abbreviation “MAG”. In fact, the abbreviation “MAG” which we see on our dedication is *always* used in Pannonia to designate the epithet “Magnus”.⁷¹⁵ Thus, it is extremely likely that this dedication is made to Silvanus Magnus and not Silvanus Magla.

The second altar has been discovered during excavations of the eastern side of Miljanović street in Osijek.⁷¹⁶ It is likely that the altar dates to the first century A.D. due to the use of the *praenomen*; as the use of the *praenomen* became rarer in inscriptions from the second century onwards.⁷¹⁷ The inscription reads:

SILVA / NO DO / MEST(ico) / SACR(um) / C(aius) IVL(ius) D / EMETR / IVS V(otum) L(ibens)

Silvanus Domesticus is attested only on this dedication from Mursa. It is possible that the epithet Domesticus here does not necessarily signify that Silvanus Domesticus was perceived

⁷¹⁵ Out of the six attested dedications to Silvanus Magnus, four originate from Pannonia, one from Regio I and one from Numidia. The Pannonian dedications are all distributed along the Danubian *limes* (two from Aquincum, one from Mursa and one from Carnuntum). Out of these four, three abbreviate the epithet as “MAG” (Aquincum - *AE* 1937, 208; Mursa - *AE* 1913, 136; and Carnuntum – *CIL* III 13460), and the last one features the epithet in full (Aquincum – *TitAq*-02, 951). Thus, in Pannonia, when Silvanus is invoked with the association “MAG”, according to epigraphic record, it always refers to the epithet Magnus, and not the name Magla.

⁷¹⁶ The exact location is the trench B9. *CIL* III 3276; Pinterović (1956), p.87, footnote #8; and Bojčić, Z. and Bulat, M. (1985), p.88.

⁷¹⁷ Salway (1994), p.167; and Perinić-Muratović, Lj. and Vulić, H. (2009), p.176.

just as a protector of the household, as Bojčić and Bulat believe; but may signify that he was also perceived as protector of a broader geographical region, perhaps of the city (Mursa) or the province (Pannonia) from which the dedicator and/or the deity originated.⁷¹⁸ We have no indication which profession our dedicator, Caius Iulius Demetrius may have exercised, however, it is possible that he was affiliated with the army, if he was not a soldier himself. Several aspects point to this. Firstly, Silvanus Domesticus was a popular deity among soldiers stationed in Pannonia, especially those stationed on the Danubian frontier. Perinić-Muratović and Vulić speculate that Silvanus Domesticus' iconographic representation of a standing man wearing a short tunic and boots, and holding a curved blade, is reflective of a representation of a soldier, with the curved *falx*-like blade especially reminiscent of the weapon originating from the Danubian territories. It is to be noted that in Dacia Silvanus Domesticus is sometimes represented wearing a Phrygian cap, perhaps reflecting syncretism with another deity well-represented among soldiers, Mithras.⁷¹⁹ Thus, it is possible, even though the dedicator here does not explicitly state it, that his particular choice of worship of Silvanus Domesticus may be influenced by his professional affiliation to the army. Mursa's geographical proximity to the Danubian *limes* and Sirmium, a well-known legionary base, may also suggest ties to the army. Although we can only speculate on the profession of our dedicator, it would appear that he was of either Greek or Oriental origin, as his name Demetrius suggests.⁷²⁰

The third altar is made of marble and measures 46 x 18cm. The altar was discovered in 1774, although its provenance is unknown.⁷²¹ The inscription reads:

SILVANO / SILVESTR(i) / SACRV(m) / MESTR(ius) / FLOR(us) / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

This dedication is the only invocation of Silvanus Silvester in Mursa, and in the Drava cities examined in this work. In general, as concerns the Danubian provinces, dedications to

⁷¹⁸ For a detailed discussion of this theory see the section on Silvanus in "Religion and Cults at Poetovio".

⁷¹⁹ Perinić-Muratović, Lj. and Vulić, H. (2009), p.171; and p.177.

⁷²⁰ Pinterović (1978), p.132.

⁷²¹ *CIL* III 3277 = *ILJug* Vol.3, 3091a. Brunšmid (1900), p.28; Celestin (1902), p.100; Pinterović (1956), p.87, footnote #8; and Pinterović (1978), p.131.

Silvanus Silvester tended to be distributed along the Danubian *limes*, occurring predominantly in settlements such as Aquincum, Brigetio and Carnuntum, where not only a large military presence was recorded, but also where a significant proportion of population tended to be of Oriental or Greek descent. In the neighbouring province of Dalmatia Silvester was the most frequently invoked incarnation of Silvanus. Zotović notes that the half-man half-goat representations of Silvanus (i.e. Silvanus Silvester) are to be found most frequently in the coastal areas of Dalmatia, where Greek colonies were traditionally set up and where contact with Greece (and the East) was frequent.⁷²² Considering that Mursa is the city with the heaviest Oriental influence among the cities examined in this thesis, it is thus not surprising to also see an attestation of Silvanus Silvester here. It is possible that Silvanus Silvester, perhaps due to his Pan-like features, was the preferred incarnation of the deity Silvanus among the Greek and Oriental settlers in Pannonia and the Danubian provinces. Even more likely, however, is that the geographical position of Mursa, so close to the Danubian frontier, affected the presence and spread of the worship of Silvanus Silvester. This could explain why, even though Poetovio likewise counts a significant Oriental and Greek population, the worship of Silvanus Silvester is not attested there, but primarily in places in close proximity to the Danubian *limes*.⁷²³ Thus, considering Mursa's proximity to the Danubian frontier and its significant Oriental sub-culture it is no wonder that we find the worship of Silvanus Silvester attested here.

As concerns our dedicator, it is possible, considering that Silvanus Silvester was popular in regions which featured a Greek and Oriental sub-culture, that Mestrius is of Oriental origin. According to Pinterović, Mestrius could be of Thracian origin.⁷²⁴ The present author is reluctant to side with Pinterović, as upon examination of epigraphic attestations of the name

⁷²² Paškvalin (1963), p.130; and Zotović (1992), p.179.

⁷²³ Out of the 66 dedications to Silvanus Silvester recorded, approximately half originate from the Danubian frontier. Fifteen are from Aquincum, six from Brigetio, six from Carnuntum, and one from Mursa. A number of other dedications originate from places in close proximity to the Danubian frontier, such as Gorsium, Singidunum, Sopianae and Siscia. Outside of Pannonia, fourteen dedications are to be found along the Dalmatian coast, eight from Dacia, four from Moesia, one from Thrace, one from Numidia, one from Gallia Narbonensis, one from Germania Superior, and one from Regio X. Thus, as can be seen, an overwhelming proportion of dedications to Silvanus Silvester are concentrated along the Danubian frontier and in the Danubian provinces in general.

⁷²⁴ Pinterović (1978), p.132.

Mestrius, none are to be found originating from Thrace. The name is not unusual, but in epigraphic record it is found most commonly in Italy, thus our dedicator may likewise be of Italic origin.⁷²⁵ His *cognomen*, Florus, however, predominates in Pannonia, followed closely by high attestations in Italy.⁷²⁶ Thus, it is likewise possible that our dedicator may have been of mixed Italic and autochthonous heritage. The most famous Mestrius Florus recorded is the ex consul who is noted in Suetonius' Life of Vespasian.⁷²⁷ It is unlikely, however, that this is the same person recorded here as this inscription records no official honours bestowed upon the ex consul, which would usually be found on a dedication of a man with such a high standing. Moreover, there is no indication that the ex consul visited Pannonia, and especially Mursa, thus it is unlikely that this is the same person recorded on this dedication. As our Mestrius Florus makes no mention of profession, affiliation or honours, we can suppose that he was an ordinary citizen or a soldier, perhaps of humble background, as the great majority of dedications to Silvanus Silvester are set up by ordinary men.

The fourth altar was discovered near Vladimir Nazor square in the city of Osijek during excavations in the year 1970.⁷²⁸ It measures 125 x 36 x 22cm and dates to the late second or early third century A.D. Out of the four altars dedicated to Silvanus this one is of the highest quality. The top part of the altar shows human feet and canine paws, fragments of a statue of Silvanus and his dogs, which is now lost. Pinterović suspects that the Italic version of Silvanus may have been depicted here, with the bearded god in a tunic, holding a curved blade in one hand and a branch in the other, accompanied by two dogs.⁷²⁹ The inscription on the altar reads:

*SILVANO / AVG(usto) / M(arcus) AVREL(ius) / SEVERVS / EQ(uo) P(ublico) V(otum)
S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)*

⁷²⁵ OPEL III, p.79. See for example: AE 1940, 160; AE 1991, 865; CIL V 2242; CIL V 2507; CIL V 4077; and CIL V 4225, among others. The name Mestrius is also frequently found in Moesia, Dacia, Noricum and Macedonia. This, however, is the only attestation of Mestrius Florus in epigraphic record.

⁷²⁶ OPEL II, p.149.

⁷²⁷ Suetonius, *Divus Vespasianus*, 22.

⁷²⁸ AE 1973, 450 = *ILJug* 2, 1062; Bulat (1970), p.123; and Bulat, M. and Pinterović, D. (1971), pp.105-106, No.4.

⁷²⁹ Pinterović (1978), p.132.

Our dedicator, Marcus Aurelius Severus is the only one out of our dedicators to Silvanus from Mursa who provides an affiliation. Namely, Severus identifies himself as a member of the equestrian order. It is possible that he was a city official in Mursa, although this is not indicated on this dedication. If he was indeed a city official, then his use of the epithet “Augustus” would be appropriate as a means of displaying loyalty to the emperor, thus giving this dedication an official character even though the deity invoked is not an official state deity. Since Severus is not explicitly identified here as a city official, perhaps a more likely explanation, especially when his name and the dating of this dedication are taken into account, is that he may have received his citizenship and/or his equestrian standing recently, under the Severans. Pinterović believes that Severus may have been of autochthonous origin, perhaps a native of Mursa. This is indeed possible as Aurelius, along with Aelius, are the most common names found in Pannonia, indicating, at least in the case of our dedicator, that he may have received citizenship under Caracalla. The fact that he stresses his status on this dedication may indicate that he was admitted into the equestrian order recently and wishes to express his gratitude to Silvanus Augustus. His choice of epithet for Silvanus would seem to corroborate this theory, as the use of the epithet Augustus implies ties to the imperial cult. Thus, by dedicating to Silvanus Augustus he would have not only expressed piety to the god, but would have also shown his loyalty to the emperor under whose auspices he most likely gained his privileged status and to whom he would have naturally wanted to display gratitude.

The last dedication to Silvanus, and the most recently uncovered one, consists of a small well-preserved altar whose dedicatory inscription is badly worn out. This altar was discovered in 2006 on the site of the Faculty of Agriculture in Osijek. The inscription reads⁷³⁰:

SILVANO / AVG(usto) SAC(rum) / [...]IVS / [...]VRVS(?) / V(otum) S(olvit)

It is a shame that the name of our dedicator has not been preserved, and that we are not able to form a hypothesis on his possible origins or professional affiliation.

Having examined all of our published dedications to Silvanus from Mursa, a few conclusions can be drawn on the nature of his cult in this city. Immediately striking is the fact that four of

⁷³⁰ Filipović and Katavić (2006), p.3.

our dedications invoke different aspects of Silvanus: Silvester, Domesticus, Augustus and Magnus. This is extremely interesting as such a variety is unprecedented in the Drava cities examined in this thesis. Perhaps one explanation offered for this phenomenon could be the seemingly varied ethnic background of the worshippers. As concerns our first dedication to the deity Silvanus Magnus, unfortunately the full name of our dedicator is not preserved and thus we cannot make conclusions on his ethnic origin. However, upon examination of other dedicators of Silvanus Magnus, we begin to see that the god appears to have been worshipped by men of various backgrounds, both autochthonous Pannonian/Illyrian, Italic and even Greek/Oriental.⁷³¹ Most of the dedicators to Silvanus Magnus do not indicate a professional or social affiliation, thus we must presume that they were private citizens, perhaps of humble backgrounds. The same kind of variety of worshippers is seen in the case of Silvanus Augustus. This is not surprising as a large number of dedicators of Silvanus Augustus identify themselves either as members of the army or as public officials, both of which, as we know, were recruited and originated from all corners of the Empire.⁷³² The case of Silvanus Silvester and Silvanus Domesticus is likewise comparable in the variety of the worshippers. Although names such as Aelius, Aurelius, and Ulpius are frequently found among worshippers of Silvanus Silvester and Silvanus Domesticus, indicating grants of citizenship to autochthonous Pannonian/Illyrian/Celtic inhabitants under Trajan, Hadrian and most likely Caracalla⁷³³, we likewise find a significant number of worshippers bearing Greek or Oriental

⁷³¹ Aelius Amandus of *TitAq*-02, 951 and Appinius Serotinus of *CIL* III 13460 appear to have been of autochthonous origin, while Manius Poblicius Hilarus of *CIL* VI 641 may have been of Oriental origin, and Claudius Maximinus of *AE* 1937, 208 and Antullus of *CIL* XIV 2894 appear to have been of Italic origin.

⁷³² Thus, out of the approximately 135 dedications to Silvanus Augustus recorded throughout the Empire, we have approximately 18 dedications set up by soldiers, and approximately 27 dedications set up by public or imperial officials and/or members of the *familia caesaris*. The rest of the dedications to Silvanus Augustus consist primarily of private dedications or of dedications where the name of the dedicator does not survive. Thus we can see that quite a large portion of dedicators of Silvanus Augustus were engaged either in the public or imperial service, or the army.

⁷³³ Thus, for example, for Silvanus Silvester see: Ulpius Eptezenus (*AE* 1932, 29); Vatto Titi (*AE* 1983, 823); Marcus Aurelius Attenio (*AE* 1989, 599); Marcus Aurelius Comatius (*CIL* III 1154); Accius Maximus (*CIL* III 3492); Aelius Tertius (*CIL* III 13438); Primus Vepi (*AE* 1939, 176); and Ulpius Nundinus (*AE* 1972, 364), among others. For Silvanus Domesticus see: Marcus Orgetius Velox (*AE* 1977, 622); Aurelius Silvanus (*RHP* 330); Ulpius Provincialis (*AE* 1960, 223); Mansuetus (*CIL* III 10455); Aurelius Acutianus (*CIL* III 6458); Tavius (*CIL* III 6248); and Seius Ingenuus (*AE* 1978, 657), among others.

names.⁷³⁴ Given that worshippers of various ethnic backgrounds can be found with respect to all four aspects of Silvanus in Pannonia and in the neighbouring provinces, we cannot claim that an ethnic background of a worshipper played a significant role in determining what aspect of Silvanus one chose to dedicate to. In fact, considering that both Poetovio and Mursa boasted a similar ethnic composition of population, featuring a significant percentage of Oriental immigrants as attested on votive dedications with a lower number of Italic and autochthonous persons attested on votive dedications, the fact that Mursa features four different aspects of Silvanus, while Poetovio only records Silvanus Augustus (in addition to one dedication where the god is simply invoked as “Silvano”), would tend to indicate that the ethnic background of the worshippers did not play a factor in choosing which aspect of Silvanus one dedicated to. It would appear that socio-economic status likewise did not play a role in this matter, as the majority of dedications, regardless of which version of the god is invoked, tended to be erected by worshippers of humble origins and/or lower socio-economic status.⁷³⁵ It is likely, then, that it was the geographic location of Mursa which affected this variety in the aspects of Silvanus attested. Namely, while Silvanus Augustus is attested throughout the Empire; dedications to Silvanus Magnus, Silvanus Silvester and Silvanus Domesticus tend to be concentrated largely in the Danubian provinces, with a particularly dense distribution along the Danubian *limes*. This could explain why Mursa, located so close to the Danubian frontier, features four different versions of the god, while Poetovio features only Silvanus Augustus. This particular geographical distribution may also explain why Silvanus is so popular not only among soldiers, but also among worshippers of such varying backgrounds. As we have previously pointed out, soldiers serving in the Roman army originated from all corners of the Empire, and with such a high concentration of troops on the Danubian frontier it is no wonder that we find men of varying backgrounds worshipping Silvanus.

As far as concerns our own dedicators from Mursa, they appear to conform to the multi-ethnic trend observed in Danubian cities such as Carnuntum, Aquincum and Brigetio, where

⁷³⁴ Thus, for example, for Silvanus Silvester see: Septimius Orfius (*AE* 2008, 1131); Lucius Naevius Campanus (*TitAq*-01, 333); Fortunatus Theupropi (*AE* 1933, 20); Plator (*CIL* III 9867); and Corinthus (*CIL* III 3500), among others. For Silvanus Domesticus see: Aurelius Mucatra (*TitAq*-01, 312); Hermes (*AE* 2009, 1129); Maria Calia Eiuice (*CIL* III 13428); Publius Aelius Eupropes (*CIL* III 11000); Marcus Lucilius Philoctemon (*CIL* III 7773); Hermadio (*CIL* III 7691); and Aelia Clita (*CIL* III 3672), among others.

⁷³⁵ Pinterović (1978), p.132.

similar attestations of the worship of Silvanus occur. Thus, although we cannot divine the origin of the dedicator of *AE* 1913, 136, nor of the dedicator of Filipović and Katavić (2006), p.10, nevertheless, Caius Iulius Demetrius appears to have been of Greek or Oriental origin, while it is likely that Mestrius Florus may have been of Oriental or Italic origin, and it is fairly likely that Marcus Aurelius Severus was of autochthonous Pannonian origin, perhaps belonging to Mursa's autochthonous elite. This great variation not only in the nature of worshippers, but also in the aspects of Silvanus recorded would seem to indicate that worship of Silvanus permeated into various sub-cultures of Mursa and across various levels of society. Although most of Silvanus' worshippers appear to be men of humble origins, we do also find a significant minority of those who occupy relatively high public or military posts.⁷³⁶ None of our dedicators, except Marcus Aurelius Severus, display any professional or social affiliations. Since public and imperial officials are well-known to boast of their affiliations, we may presume from the silence of our dedicators that none of them were involved in public service, but were private citizens, most likely of lower social standing. Nevertheless, the fact that we encounter in Mursa men of Oriental, autochthonous and possible Italic origins, of humble and equestrian standing, worshipping a variety of different aspects of the god is indicative of the integrationist nature of the cult and of its worshippers. Silvanus, as a nature and protector deity, was a god who appealed to soldiers, farmers and city officials alike, as his protection was needed in times of peace to watch over livestock and crops, and in times of war to protect the household, the city and its borders. Due to these basic human needs, the worship of Silvanus transcended socio-economic standing, professional affiliations and ethnicity, allowing men and women of different backgrounds to engage with the cult and each other, creating a heterogeneous cultural picture of Silvanus' worship not only in Mursa but throughout Pannonia.

Danuvius and Dravus

The river god Danuvius is attested on only one dedication from Mursa (joint dedication with the river god Dravus – see below); whereas one additional dedication attests Dravus, a joint dedication to Dravus and Tyche (see below). The main worshippers of these two deities appear to have been soldiers, sailors and traders; men whose occupations required them to

⁷³⁶ See for example *beneficiarius* *AE* 1903, 385 and *AE* 1903, 386; city decurion *CIL* III 3497 and *AE* 1934, 13; military prefect *TitAq-01*, 333; and *Augustalis* *AE* 1962, 120 and *CIL* III 3961, to name a few.

place themselves under the river gods' protection.⁷³⁷ A survey of epigraphic dedications erected to the two river deities reveals that the worshippers appear to have been of mixed origin, with autochthonous, Italic and African dedicators attested.⁷³⁸ Thus, although Danuvius and Dravus were obviously local deities, epigraphic record attests that their worshippers originated from not only diverse backgrounds but also diverse socio-economic classes⁷³⁹; therefore displaying cultural and social integration within the cult. This integration also appears to have stretched into cultic practices. Thus, while no Graeco-Roman style temple has been discovered dedicated to the river gods, indicating that they were most likely worshipped out in the open, in proximity to the two rivers⁷⁴⁰, and perhaps even retained pre-Roman autochthonous cultic rituals; the fact that they were also worshipped in a Roman manner, on marble votive altars employing standard dedicatory *formulae*, points to the integration of autochthonous and Roman religious practices. At least three, if not four of our six attested dedications to the two river gods appear to have been public and official dedications, dedicated in honour of the imperial house⁷⁴¹ and/or the emperor⁷⁴², or invoking

⁷³⁷ In total we have four dedications erected to Danuvius (*CIL* III 3416 from Aquincum; *CIL* III 10395 from Aquincum; *CIL* III 11894 from Mengen, Raetia; and *CIL* III 5863 from Ristissen, Raetia), one dedication erected to Dravus (*AII* 267 from Poetovio), and one joint dedication to the two river gods (see below). Although damaged, we can confirm that *AII* 267, *CIL* III 10395 and *CIL* III 10263 were military dedications. As for the other dedications, the dedicators do not provide professional affiliations, so we are to assume that they are civilians. Pinterović (1978), p.135.

⁷³⁸ *Primanus Secundi* (*CIL* III 5863) may have been of autochthonous or Italic origin; *Quintus Veratius Avianus* (*CIL* III 11894) may have been of Italic or Celtic origin as his name is often found in Italy and Gallia Narbonensis; *Vetulenius Apronianus* the legate of *II Adiutrix* (*CIL* III 10395) may have been of Italic origin as his name is attested most often in Italy; and *Haterius Calinicus* (*CIL* III 3416) appears to have been of African origin as the name *Haterius* is attested epigraphically most often in Numidia and Africa Proconsularis. Unfortunately the names of *AII* 267 and *CIL* III 10263 are not preserved. Thus out of the four dedications originating from Pannonia that we have, the names of dedicators on two inscriptions have not been preserved; while we appear to have one African and one Italic dedicator from Aquincum.

⁷³⁹ While *CIL* III 3416, *CIL* III 5863 and *CIL* III 11894 do not state their affiliation leading us to conclude that they were ordinary citizens; *CIL* III 10395 is a legate of *II Adiutrix*, *AII* 267 was most likely an officer of higher rank within an unknown legion as he dedicated jointly to Dravus Augustus and the *genius* of the legion, and *CIL* III 10263 appears to be a *legatus Augusti pro praetore*, the most prominent dedicator recorded here. Thus we see a variety of socio-economic and professional ranks recorded among the worshippers of the river gods.

⁷⁴⁰ Brunšmid (1900), p.37.

⁷⁴¹ *CIL* III 5863.

⁷⁴² *CIL* III 10263.

a particular legion⁷⁴³; only two dedications appear to be erected for private purposes.⁷⁴⁴ Such a predominance of dedications of “official” character dedicated to the two river gods underlines not only the importance that the rivers played in the defence and prosperity of Pannonia, but also lends these local deities a distinguished, almost semi-official status.

There is one dedication from Mursa which attests both the river gods Danuvius and Dravus.⁷⁴⁵ It is a large ara measuring 200 x 83 x 58cm and is made of grey limestone. It was discovered in a park in the village Tenja, in the proximity of Osijek. Pinterović records that the local legend recounts that the ara originally stood at a place where the two rivers converge, before it was moved to Tenja. The ara features decorations on the left side (an *urceus*), while the right-hand side is severely damaged, but would have featured most likely a *patera*. The dedication is dated either to A.D. 213-217 or to A.D. 218-222. The inscription reads:

*DANVVIO / ET DRAVO / [PRO SA]LVT[E] ET IN[COLVMIT]A[TE(?)] / [IMP(eratoris)
CA]ES(aris) M(arci) AVR(elii) [SEVER]I / [ANT]ONINI [MAGNI F]IL(i) [----] / [----] / [----]
] / [---- ? LEG(atus) AVG(usti)] PR(o) PR(aetore) [----] / [----]*

The reading of the inscription is highly uncertain due to the damage to the stone. While the name of the dedicator has not been preserved, we do know that he was an extremely prominent person, holding the post of *legatus Augusti pro praetore*. Brunšmid believes that our unknown dedicator erected the dedication to the wellbeing of the emperor Elagabalus, and that after his *damnatio memoriae* his name, as well as the dedicant's name, were deliberately stricken off.⁷⁴⁶ Pinterović suspects that the *ara* may have been set up by Pontius Pontianus, who was in charge of Pannonia most likely from A.D. 218 to 220. Due to the damage on the inscription it is also possible to speculate that the dedication was erected in honour of Caracalla. The dedication is undoubtedly official in character, and the large size of the dedication would seem to point to the fact that the dedicator was an affluent person of financial means. It is no question that the autochthonous deities Danuvius and Dravus must

⁷⁴³ *AJ* 267 and *CIL* III 10395.

⁷⁴⁴ *CIL* III 3416 and *CIL* III 11894.

⁷⁴⁵ *CIL* III 10263 = *AJ* 266.

⁷⁴⁶ Brunšmid (1900), p.25; and Pinterović (1960), pp.32-33.

have been prominent and respected in order to be called upon by a *legatus Augusti pro praetore*. Their importance in the region of Mursa was likely tied to the security of the frontier and the general respect and importance that the Danubian provinces gained in the protection of the Empire from barbarian invaders. It is possible that, due to these reasons, the river gods gained a semi-official status in the province of Pannonia, as the award of the epithet “Augustus” would seem to indicate on one dedication.⁷⁴⁷

Tyche/Dravus

The Greek goddess of chance, Tyche, is attested only on one statue from Mursa, in combination with the river deity Dravus. The statue, excavated in the year 1927 in Osijek, although damaged, partially depicts the right leg of the goddess resting, on what looks like a cave, underneath which a representation of the river god Dravus, as a long-haired and bearded man, is depicted. This statue is reminiscent of a similar depiction of the Tyche of Antioch, where the goddess sits atop a mountain under which the river god Orontes is depicted. The Tyche of Antioch is depicted with a turreted crown, representing the defences of the city; and holds wheat in her hand, most likely representing fertility and prosperity. It is possible that if our own Tyche was modelled on the Tyche of Antioch, she would have featured the same objects. In the East, Tyche was associated with nature, and with the great earth-goddess. It is thus unsurprising to see Tyche posed atop a mountain in the Antioch representation, and it could be argued that a connection can be established with the depiction of the goddess in Mursa, who is likewise posed atop a rock, likely reflecting the same association with the natural world. Both on our depiction and on the Antioch depiction, the goddess represented the city in which she was worshipped. Her role as a “city goddess” dates back to Hellenistic times, and continues under the Roman rule, as she takes on public duties. Our statue, thus, most likely reflects this tradition, and was set up for the protection and prosperity of the city of Mursa. Pinterović (1960) suspects that it may have stood as a decoration on a bridge across the Drava, probably in the Severan period. This hypothesis seems very likely for a city like Mursa, where, as we see, Oriental cults and Oriental iconographic influences thrive during the reign of the Severans.⁷⁴⁸

⁷⁴⁷ *AJ* 267. Pinterović (1960), pp.32-34.

⁷⁴⁸ Klemenc (1928), p.271; Mayer (1935), p.5; Pinterović (1956), p.87; Pinterović (1959), pp.49-50; Pinterović (1960), p.35; and Ferguson (1970), pp.82-85.

Thracian Rider Gods

A piece of the bottom left-hand corner of a lead plate bearing relief imagery of the Thracian rider gods was discovered in Popovac, north of the city of Osijek, in the early 1980s. The lead plate depicts a rider facing to the left, whose victim has fallen underneath the hooves of his horse. He rides towards a female figure depicted in the middle of the plate. This main scene is supplemented by a three-legged table with two cups, depicted in the bottom left-hand corner of the relief scene. Bulat dates this piece to the beginning of the fourth century A.D., and believes that it is a type 3 scene (an identical, better preserved lead plate has been discovered in Vinkovci, and is covered in Iskra-Janošić's article).⁷⁴⁹ According to Iskra-Janošić and Pinterović, these lead plates of the Thracian rider gods are commonly found on the territory of eastern Slavonia and especially Sirmium, where these scholars speculate that they may have been produced. They are usually square and of small dimensions (approximately 10 cm x 8 cm). In addition to the fragment above, two other, more complete fragments have also been found in proximity to Mursa. These very similar depictions are likewise on a lead plate which is divided into four iconographic zones. Our incomplete example above would have formed only one zone. Fortunately, the two other, better preserved plates reveal to us the whole picture. At the top of the plate, above the first and the second zones, in the left and right corners we have depictions of snakes. The first zone depicts Sol with a crown of sun rays on his head, holding a globe. He is flanked by two stars. Four horses are also depicted in profile, two facing to the right and two to the left. The second zone features a goddess dressed in a chiton. She is flanked by two riders, one which tramples a man and the other a fish. The third zone features a round table and three seated individuals. To the right of the table are depicted two naked persons who are holding hands and approaching the table. To the left of the table is a tree on which a carcass of a ram hangs. A man is gutting the carcass while another man, wearing a mask, watches. The fourth and final zone features a *kantharos*, accompanied by a snake, a lion, a cock and a three-legged table.⁷⁵⁰

According to Krunić, the female figure in the middle is a goddess, perhaps an autochthonous horse deity such as Epona. That this female figure holds an important function, such as a deity, is illustrated by the fact that she is the only constant element in the depictions of the

⁷⁴⁹ Iskra-Janošić (1966), pp.54-55; and Bulat (1984), p.120.

⁷⁵⁰ Iskra-Janošić (1966), pp.49-68; and Pinterović (1978), pp.141-142.

Thracian Rider cult. In her survey of Thracian Rider dedications from Singidunum, Krunić notes that all other components, such as the number of riders and any other additional objects may be omitted or depicted differently except for the female figure. Thus, the female is not only a constant, but a central element of the cult. Krunić thus notes that due to numerous variations in the presence and placement of other figures and objects, there is no “standard” cult image depiction, and presumably no strict regulations as to how the cult should be observed.⁷⁵¹ If this interpretation holds true, then the Thracian Rider cult would have offered ample opportunity for expression of individual religious identities and preferences on the part of the worshippers, resulting in highly varied interpretations and versions of the cult.

Varied interpretations of the cult may likewise stem from its syncretistic nature. As we have seen above, the Thracian rider lead plates combine several elements of different Oriental cults. Thus, we have Sol attested explicitly, and by association perhaps even implicating the deity Mithras. The central female goddess in her chiton is reminiscent of Cybele, especially considering the presence of a lion.⁷⁵² The snake could perhaps harken to the deity Sabazios. These are only some of the many syncretistic associations which could be made in relation to the richly-depicted scenes on the lead plate dedications. Although the presence of the above elements strongly hints at syncretisation with Oriental cults, we have no epigraphic testament of this association and are therefore not able to determine with certainty precisely which Oriental gods are implied. Considering that the Thracian rider cult maintained a mystery cult status, association with the above deities, who also form part of mystery religions, seems natural. However, whether the Thracian rider cult acquired its mystery status because of association with the above gods, or whether this was initially a secretive cult has not at present been determined. It is possible that these cults gravitated towards each other under the influence of the Severan rulers, when Oriental cults were at the height of their popularity.

Unknown Deities

We have two dedications from Mursa which are erected to all the gods collectively. Joint and syncretised dedications grouping several deities on the same altar became popular in Pannonia during Severan times, when in addition to autochthonous and Roman deities

⁷⁵¹ Krunić (1994), pp.163-172.

⁷⁵² Pinterović (1978), pp.142-143.

numerous Oriental and mystery cults were introduced and quickly flourished. There are several reasons why setting up a dedication to multiple deities appealed to worshippers. In a polytheistic world, with so many deities to choose from, one often must have felt confused when attempting to determine which god could serve one best. Dedicating to all the deities collectively not only took away this confusion, but ensured that no god would be forgotten or offended. Joint dedications likewise multiplied the chances that one's prayer would be heard and answered. Additionally, a dedication set up to all the gods collectively was a financially sound decision for a worshipper who was not incredibly wealthy. One thus had a chance to reach every deity by paying for only one altar.

We have two altars from Mursa which belong to this category. The first altar was discovered in 1773 near the western city walls of Mursa. The inscription reads:

*DIBVS D[E] / ABVSQVE / AVRELIA / VOTVM / SOLVIT / L(ibens) L(aeta)*⁷⁵³

The second altar is made of limestone and measures 96 x 49 x 40cm.⁷⁵⁴ The altar was discovered in 1878 in a ditch. The top and part of the left-hand side of the altar are missing. Marks at the base of the altar would seem to indicate that it was reused as building material. The inscription is faded but reads:

[DIS] D(e)A / [BV]SQVE P(ublius) / MARIVS / SATVRNIN[V]S / EX VOT(o) POS(uit) / L(ibens) M(erito)

Votive dedications erected to all the gods and goddesses were found all over the Empire, however, a large number seem to originate from the Danubian provinces, namely from Pannonia, Moesia, Dacia, Noricum and Dalmatia.⁷⁵⁵ The majority of the dedications date from the mid-second to the mid-third century A.D. The dedications begin to appear in the A.D. 160s, most likely as a response to the unstable times of the Marcomannic Wars and, perhaps, the Antonine plague. In Pannonia, by and large, the dedicators identify themselves

⁷⁵³ *CIL* III 3274. Katančić (1936), p.88; and Pinterović (1956), p.84.

⁷⁵⁴ *CIL* III 10264. Brunšmid (1900), p.40; and Pinterović (1956), p.86.

⁷⁵⁵ Out of the 244 dedications in total, 34 are from Pannonia (these are concentrated mainly along the Danube), 13 from Moesia, 3 from Dalmatia, 16 from Dacia and 25 from Noricum. Most of the other dedications originate from Germany, with a lesser number from the East and Rome. We can thus see that the provinces with the most dedications are those who were affected by the Marcomannic Wars.

as soldiers or public officials, and their names indicate ethnic heterogeneity.⁷⁵⁶ In this case, they tend to include Jupiter Optimus Maximus and/or the Capitoline triad in their dedications in addition to including all the gods and goddesses. As stated before, this practice among soldiers and public officials is most likely a display of loyalty to the emperor, a hypothesis supported by the fact that when Jupiter and/or the Capitoline triad are included in these dedications, Jupiter Optimus Maximus is always invoked first and is given the prime spot on the dedication both as a supreme and state god, and most likely also due to his association with the emperor.⁷⁵⁷ Since military and public dedications predominate, it is quite surprising then that both of our dedicators appear to have been ordinary persons, erecting dedications for private purposes. Judging by her name, it is possible that our first dedicator was a freedwoman, who either gained her freedom during the reign of Caracalla or Marcus Aurelius, or who at least was freed by a person who became a Roman citizen under these emperors. Aurelia is one of the rare female dedicators that we find and it is unfortunate that her dedication does not reveal more about her, so that we are not able to determine her origin. Our other dedicator, Publius Marius Saturninus likewise reveals little about himself, and does not provide us with his professional affiliation. It is likely because of this that he was neither a soldier nor a member of the public or imperial service, but a private person. Upon examination of epigraphic attestations of this name we find that his name occurs most often in Africa Proconsularis and Numidia.⁷⁵⁸ It is thus possible that our dedicator may be of African origin, and may have been a trader or craftsman who settled in Pannonia in the second or third century, when a wave of Greek and Oriental immigrants arrives in the region.

Dedications in Hieroglyphics and Egyptian Deities

Although Mursa appears to have had a significant subset of population of Eastern descent, only two inscribed dedications to Egyptian gods have so far been discovered, in addition to

⁷⁵⁶ *CIL* III 3456; *CIL* III 3899; and *CIL* III 10425, to name a few.

⁷⁵⁷ *AE* 2006, 1097; *AE* 2003, 1415; *AE* 2003, 1422; and *AE* 2003, 1423, to name a few.

⁷⁵⁸ Marius Saturninus (*CIL* VIII 5438); Marius Saturninus (*CIL* VIII 27030); Marcus Marius Saturninus (*CIL* VIII 3900); Quintus Marius Saturninus (*CIL* VIII 400); and Publius Marius Saturninus (*CIL* VIII 26343), to name a few. Kajanto notes that the *cognomen* Saturninus, although very common, is most frequently found in Africa, denoting perhaps Punic origins. Kajanto (1965), p.18; p.30; p.55; and p.76.

two further uninscribed dedications.⁷⁵⁹ One of the inscribed dedications is a stele honouring the gods Osiris, Isis and Nephtys jointly, while the other dedication is carved on a gemstone⁷⁶⁰, honouring the god Harpocrates. Like in other provinces throughout the Empire, Egyptian gods become popular in Pannonia in the late first century A.D. with worship attested across the social hierarchy. Whether Egyptian gods entered Pannonia via Aquileia or through the East is still uncertain. Their popularity took rapid hold along the Dalmatian coast, in the first century, so that this may be another point of diffusion. It is likely, however, that the spread of Egyptian deities into Pannonia originated from several points, and was carried by troops and civilians, most notably merchants, alike. The worship of Egyptian deities in Pannonia and in Mursa reached its peak in the Severan period.⁷⁶¹ This popularity was most likely bolstered by the Severans' own inclination towards Eastern religions. Thus, according to Giunio, the Severan period offered favourable conditions for the Oriental cults to thrive.⁷⁶² It is at this time that we also see amalgamations among several deities in Mursa, as previous individual features begin to be shared among several gods.

Osiris, Isis, Nephtys and Re

⁷⁵⁹ The two uninscribed dedications are the funerary figurine shabti and a bronze statuette of Hermes-Toth. The shabti statuette is made from terracota and glazed over with a green varnish. It was discovered in October 1954 on the corner of Radičević street and Vladimir Nator square in Osijek. The statuette is basic and conforms to the Egyptian trends, displaying a man with crossed arms and a painted *klaft*. On the back of the statue is a painted sack of grain, referring probably to agricultural labours expected to be performed on the part of the shabtis for the deceased. Degmedžić believes that the statuette was most likely brought over from Egypt to Mursa, perhaps by a soldier during Hadrian's reign, when such figurines were in fashion. Degmedžić (1954), pp.147-148; Leclant (1958), p.98; Perc (1968), pp.200-201; Selem (1972), p.40; Selem (1980), p.22; and Giunio (2002), p.48. The bronze statuette of Hermes-Toth was discovered in the nineteenth century in Osijek. It depicts the naked god standing with his legs slightly spread apart, and his right arm extended forward, holding a money purse. His left arm is broken off as well as the lower part of his right leg. Selem supposes that he would have held a *kerykeion* in his left arm. The statuette is hollow. On his head he wears a plume wedged in between two wings. Selem notes that the statuette conforms to the imperial style. Brunšmid (1913-1914), p.225; Selem (1972), p.38; and Selem (1980), p.22.

⁷⁶⁰ It is to be noted that several amulet statues of Egyptian deities have been discovered at Mursa. These include the deities Anubis, Shu and Ounout. Scholars believe that they are not remnants of ancient Mursa, but artefacts acquired by a collector in modern times and donated to the museum. Perc (1968), pp.203-204 and Selem (1980), pp.20-23.

⁷⁶¹ Giunio (2002), p.59; and Filipović (2004), pp.164-165.

⁷⁶² Giunio (2002), p.63.

The gods Osiris, Isis, Nephtys and Re are attested jointly on a stele bearing their respective images executed in low relief, at the bottom of which is an inscribed dedication in hieroglyphic.⁷⁶³ The stele is made of limestone and measures 40 x 25 x 12cm. It is of rectangular shape, except for its upper part which is curved in an arch. The goddess Nephtys occupies the left side of the relief, standing upright and facing to the right. She is depicted partly in profile, partly turned to the side and partly frontally, as was traditional in Egyptian art.⁷⁶⁴ In her hands she holds a sceptre and an *ankh* sign. That she is placed alongside Osiris and Isis is consistent with Egyptian tradition, as the three gods were united in myth (the divine sisters Isis and Nephtys, symbols of fertility and motherhood, protect and support their brother Osiris – demonstrated here by their flanking positions), and were also worshipped jointly in sanctuaries.⁷⁶⁵ Above her head is carved a symbol for her name, a feature of the goddess consistent with her Egyptian iconography.⁷⁶⁶ Next to her a vertical inscription reads:

Dd.mdw Nb.t – hwt (Words to be said by Nephtys)

The middle position on the relief is occupied by the god Osiris, who likewise stands upright, facing to the right side. His hands are crossed, suggesting an Upper Egyptian origin of the relief, and he wears the *atef* crown. He holds a sceptre (*heka*) and a *flagellum*. This representation of Osiris, standing stiffly, holding the crook and the flail, and flanked by the two goddesses, is standardly Egyptian. The *atef* crown on his head, although harkening back to the god Andjety, is likewise a standard Egyptian symbol of Osiris.⁷⁶⁷ On our relief a vertical inscription can be read next to Osiris:

Dd.mdw Wsir ntr (Words to be said by Osiris, the god)

The goddess Isis, occupies the right-hand side of the relief, standing upright, although she faces to the left, turned towards Osiris. That Isis and Osiris face each other is only natural, as they were divine consorts. She wears a long robe and a headdress of Hathor consisting of the

⁷⁶³ Celestin (1895); Leibl (1900), pp.102-103; Hoger (1942), pp.22-25; Leclant (1958), p.98; Selem (1963), pp.103-104; Perc (1968), pp.201-203; and Selem (1972), pp.39-40. For a drawing of the stele see p.207 below.

⁷⁶⁴ Pinterović (1978), pp.135-136.

⁷⁶⁵ Wilkinson (2003), pp.146-149.

⁷⁶⁶ Wilkinson (2003), pp.159-160.

⁷⁶⁷ Wilkinson (2003), pp.118-122.

horns and a sundisc. Her features are consistent with many Egyptian depictions of the goddess. She, like Nephtys, holds a sceptre and an *ankh* sign. Next to Isis a vertical inscription reads:

Ed.mdw 'Ist mwt ntr (Words to be said by Isis, the divine mother) ⁷⁶⁸

It is to be remarked that above the heads of all three gods a winged sun, encircled by what appears to be two cobras, representing the god Re, is depicted. Re, Egypt's primary deity, was the creator-god and had influence over the earth, the heavens and the underworld. He is most often depicted in the form of the sun, or the winged sun, around which a cobra recoils. This association of Re with Osiris, as we see on our relief, becomes more common in the New Kingdom, as symbols of the two gods are juxtaposed, and at times the two divinities are syncretised as Osiris-Re.⁷⁶⁹ Thus, it is not surprising to see Re added to the divine trio on this relief.

As can be seen by the iconographic representations of the deities depicted the stele conforms to the traditional Egyptian depictions of the gods. It is highly probable thus that the stele may have been imported from Egypt, or made by an Egyptian craftsman. The vertical inscriptions invoking each of the gods appear to have been executed skillfully. However, the main dedication, written horizontally below the relief, in addition to being damaged, appears carved by a hand unfamiliar with hieroglyphics and is rife with errors.⁷⁷⁰ Thus, we cannot make much sense of the dedication. According to what can be deciphered, the name of the dedicator appears to be *Pedi-hor-pa-khered*,⁷⁷¹ a common name in Roman Egypt. Pinterović believes that the first part of the name is not uncommon among late Egyptian names, while the rest of the name indicates a relation to the Greek name Harpocrates.⁷⁷² Thus, it is possible that our dedicator may have been of Graeco-Egyptian descent. Selem believes that the relief, along with the vertical inscriptions, may have been originally executed in Egypt; and that the

⁷⁶⁸ Selem (1980), pp.20-21.

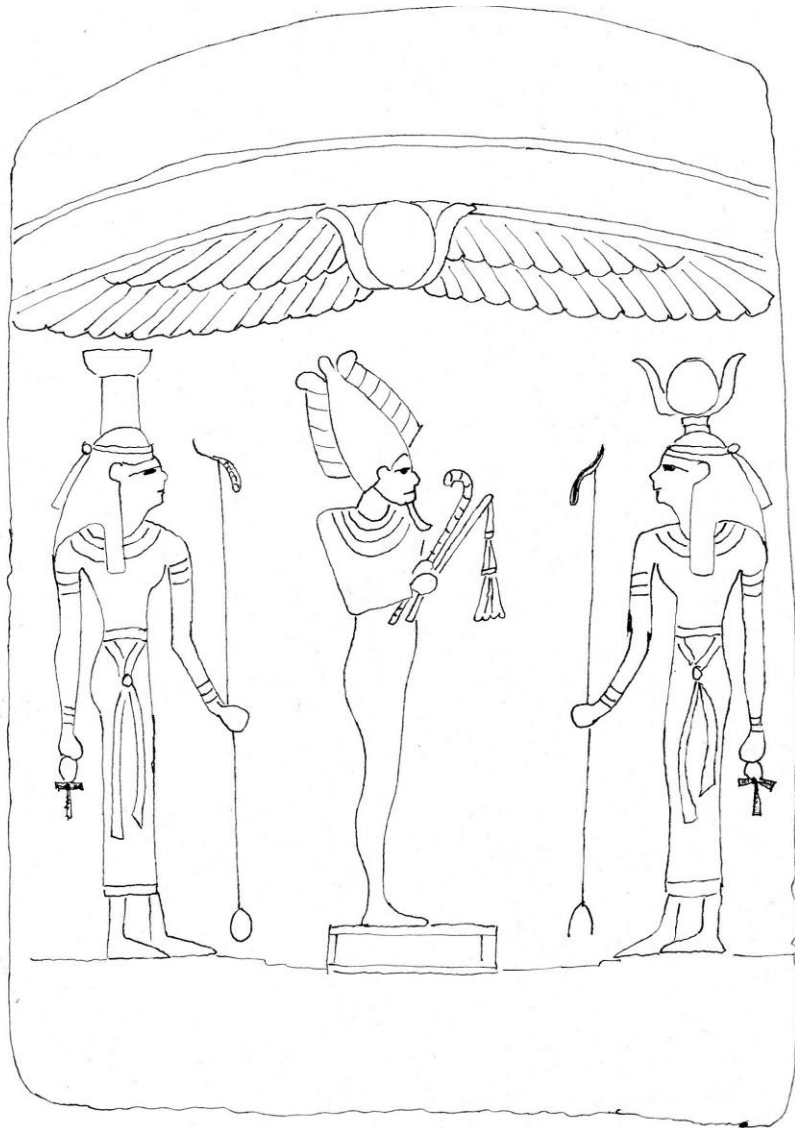
⁷⁶⁹ Wilkinson (2003), pp.205-209.

⁷⁷⁰ Pinterović (1978), p.136.

⁷⁷¹ Ranke (1935), p.124 no. 24.

⁷⁷² Pinterović (1978), p.136.

lower, horizontal dedication was added later on, most likely by a non-Egyptian stonecutter.⁷⁷³ He supposes that *Pedi-hor-pa-khered* could have been an Egyptian merchant or craftsman settled in Mursa, who brought the stele with him from Egypt. The clumsy nature of the lower inscription could certainly be explained by the carving of a Mursa stonecutter, unaccustomed to hieroglyphics. Another theory proposed by Hoger and Pinterović imagines *Pedi-hor-pa-khered* as a military man. Selem, however, points out that Egyptians serving in this part of the Roman Empire were rare.⁷⁷⁴



Egyptian stele of Osiris, Isis, Nephthys and Re

⁷⁷³ Selem (1980), p.21.

⁷⁷⁴ Hoger (1942), pp.22-25; Pinterović (1978), p.136; and Selem (1980), p.21.

Harpocrates/Eros

A decorative object discovered in Mursa possibly attests the syncretisation of the infant gods Harpocrates and Eros.⁷⁷⁵ The god Harpocrates is the Greek appellation for the Egyptian deity *Har-pa-khered*. The name *Har-pa-khered* refers to “Horus the Child”, a youthful representation of the god Horus. Harpocrates, or *Har-pa-khered*, was the son of Isis and Osiris, or in some accounts, the son of Isis and Serapis. The god is often depicted as a young, naked boy, seated on his mother’s lap; or alternatively, standing or crouching by himself, with his finger held up to his mouth, a sign of innocence. He is also often surrounded by lotus flowers, harkening back to his myth.⁷⁷⁶ Harpocrates symbolised renewal of life and fertility, and thus his role as a healer is justified. Although often worshipped in conjunction with Isis and Serapis, the god proves to be the most popular of child-deities during the Ptolemaic and Roman times, with his worship being attested all over Egypt⁷⁷⁷, and further throughout the Empire. He is most often represented through earthenware and sometimes, bronze figurines, and his worshippers hail primarily from the lower social strata, and are often of Hellenic background.⁷⁷⁸

Our object, however, is an unusual representation of the god. It is a hairpin made of elephant tusk with a depiction of a small, standing, naked child. The pin was discovered in 1874 in the lower town of Osijek. The length of the whole pin is 19 centimetres, while the child figurine measures 4 centimetres. At its top, the pin features a small Corinthian capital on which the child is standing. The naked child leans to his left on a *thyrsus*, a symbol of prosperity, and raises the finger of his right hand to his mouth. While the child sports a hairstyle typical of the deity Eros, his hair is lifted and tied up, he lacks one distinctive feature: wings. This lack of wings combined with the gesture of bringing his right-hand finger to his mouth offers the possibility that the deity in question may be Harpocrates. It is thus hard to determine with exact certainty which deity the child represents.⁷⁷⁹ Thus, this depiction is most likely a

⁷⁷⁵ One further decorative object bearing a Greek inscription attests the deity Harpocrates in Mursa. This object is examined below, among the Greek dedications.

⁷⁷⁶ Giunio (2002), p.31; p.46; and Wilkinson (2003), p.132.

⁷⁷⁷ Gyori (2002), p.70.

⁷⁷⁸ Gyori (2002), pp.65-66; and pp.69-70.

⁷⁷⁹ Vikić-Belančić (1948), pp.41-43, fig.3.

syncretism between the two deities. Syncretisations of deities were fairly common, especially in the Severan period, when most of our dedications are erected.

Dedications in Greek

Harpocrates

Harpocrates is attested at Mursa on a gem, bearing the relief image of the deity combined with a brief dedication carved onto the gemstone. The gemstone is made out of dark green jasper and was most likely used as an amulet.⁷⁸⁰ The stone is oval in shape, very well executed, and measures 16 x 11cm. It dates from the third century. Harpocrates is represented as a naked boy, crouching on a lotus flower, with two other flowers depicted to his left and to his right. Although his nakedness and the rounded out contour of his body hark back to the Hellenistic style, his body position is clearly Egyptian: namely, his head and his lower body are turned sideways, except for his shoulders, which are facing frontally. On his head he wears a solar crown emitting five rays as well as a royal crown (*psent*). His left hand is reaching to his mouth, while in his right he holds what appears to be a *flagellum*. There is an inscription on the reverse side of the gem which reads:

KPA / TOV ATH(ENAIQV)

This amulet conforms in iconography to other examples found in neighbouring Dalmatia and elsewhere in the Empire. According to Selem, the amulet may have been carried by its Greek owner to Mursa during the Severan dynasty, when, at the beginning of the third century, several legions were sent westwards.⁷⁸¹ While it may be possible that Krates was a soldier, amulet gems such as this one were very popular, especially during the Severan times, when Egyptian and Eastern deities were looked upon favourably by the ruling dynasty. Krates thus need not have necessarily been a soldier, but may have just as likely exercised another profession, such as a merchant, which may have brought him from Athens to Mursa.

Dionysus

⁷⁸⁰ Pinterović (1965c), pp.36-37; Selem (1972), pp.38-39; Perc (1968), pp.198-199; and Kóvacs (1998), #115.

⁷⁸¹ Selem (1980), pp.22-23; and Giunio (2002), p.46.

One votive relief with an accompanying Greek inscription originates from Mursa.⁷⁸² It dates from the first half of the third century. It measures 16 x 15 x 0.2cm. The relief features three figures: in the middle can be seen the bottom half of a naked adult male. His legs are slightly spread apart and he holds an unidentified object in his right hand. Below his right hand, lying on the ground and looking up at the object, is a dog. To the left of the male figure a naked child is turned sideways, facing right. The child holds his arms up to his chest, grasping an unidentified object which is barely visible. Below the three figures the inscription is etched clumsily. The relief reads:

Δίζα Λαλάγρα / ἀεί

According to Kónacs, the name Δίζα Λαλάγρα is a hapax and is of Thracian origin.⁷⁸³ A large number of Thracians attested in Pannonia are recorded either as merchants⁷⁸⁴ or auxiliary recruits.⁷⁸⁵ It is also possible that Δίζα(ς) may have been from Moesia Inferior, as several variations of this name are predominant in that province.⁷⁸⁶ It is likely, however, that Δίζα(ς) would have been of lower social standing, perhaps a merchant or a craftsman, as he does not state any public or military affiliations. This is likewise confirmed by the Greek nature of his dedication, as Kónacs remarks that the majority of Greek inscriptions in Pannonia were set up by men and women of low status (*servi, liberti*, soldiers, tradesmen, craftsmen...).⁷⁸⁷ Most of those who did inscribe in Greek, whether they were Syrian, Thracian, Jewish, Greek, or other, also tended to keep their original names on their inscriptions.⁷⁸⁸ Thus, our dedication confirms to the overall pattern encountered with respect to Greek dedications in Pannonia.

Dedications in Greek were extremely unusual in Pannonia. According to Kónacs, less than one per cent of all inscriptions on stone recovered from Pannonia are in Greek; and this number is even smaller when we consider votive inscriptions on their own. Kónacs takes this

⁷⁸² AE 1994, 1398; Bulat (1991), pp.37-50; and Kónacs (1998), #116.

⁷⁸³ Mócsy (1959), pp.102-103; Berkoczi (1964), p.292 and p.295; and Kónacs (2001), p.62;

⁷⁸⁴ Mócsy (1959), pp.102-103; Mócsy (1962), p.709; Barkoczi (1964), p.292; and Kónacs (2001), p.61.

⁷⁸⁵ Lőrincz (2001), pp.24-26; and Kónacs (2001), p.61.

⁷⁸⁶ OPEL II, p.103.

⁷⁸⁷ Bilkei (1979), pp.39-40; and Kónacs (2001), p.63.

⁷⁸⁸ Kónacs (2001), p.63.

fact to signify that immigrants to Pannonia of Greek or Eastern descent were rapidly assimilated upon their arrival, perhaps within a generation, as they largely tend to dedicate in Latin.⁷⁸⁹ Although he points out that graffiti inscriptions found in Pannonia support these low numbers and the assimilation hypothesis,⁷⁹⁰ the present author would caution against a too quick adoption of this conclusion. Although persons of Greek and Eastern descent largely follow the convention in the western Empire of inscribing in Latin, we cannot claim that they are completely assimilated, as Kóvacs himself points out that, upon closer examination, several indications could be found which declare some level of retention of original language and culture. Firstly, spelling irregularities found on certain Latin inscriptions are indicators that integration, rather than assimilation, may have been at work. Thus, we have several examples where the Latin “E” is replaced by the Greek “H”, and where the Latin “D” and “S” are replaced by “Δ” and “Σ”.⁷⁹¹ Likewise, grammatical errors hint at the retention of original language. Thus, we find that the Latin genitive “ae” is replaced by the Greek genitive “es” or “aes”.⁷⁹² While we should allow for the fact that spelling and grammatical irregularities may also be a sign of poor education or illiteracy⁷⁹³, especially as Kovács notes that most dedications set up in Greek were by individuals of lower socio-economic standing, there is one other indicator which would lead the present author to argue that spelling and grammatical errors may rather be a sign of foreign language speakers, rather than of illiteracy. Namely, our integration hypothesis can also be supported by examining the content of the bilingual inscriptions. Thus, we find that public aspects of a person’s life, such as their name, their age, and their profession were inscribed in Latin, whereas their private thoughts and feelings such as greetings and emotional expressions of sadness were inscribed in their language of origin.⁷⁹⁴ This is an important remark as it leads us to entertain the possibility

⁷⁸⁹ Barkoczi (1964), p.272; Mócsy (1974), pp.260-261; and Kóvacs (2001), pp.57-58.

⁷⁹⁰ Visy (1969), pp.87-99; and Kóvacs (2001), p.58.

⁷⁹¹ Intercisa: RIU 1161 AVRHL(iae) GERMANILLAE; AE 1978, 649 CVM CRHSTENE; and *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum Pannonicarum* 144 KLAVΔIAES / HERMIONHΣ.

⁷⁹² Poetovio: [SECV]NDINES (CIL III 4052-53); ...ET IVLIES VERANILLES... (CIL III 4082); VIBVNIAES MATRONES (CIL III 14354,16); STATINIAE PHOEBES (AIJ 405); [PRO SAL(ute) BE]NIGNES (AIJ 334); and Mursa: AVRELIES VA[L] / ENTINE[S] (CIL III 3278).

⁷⁹³ I am indebted to Dr. Branka Migotti for pointing out issues of literacy.

⁷⁹⁴ Kóvacs (2001), p.58.

that there could have been a level of cultural separation between the public and the private life of individuals: thus, individuals needed not to completely shed their own culture and assimilate in order to lead successful lives within the Roman Empire, but could (and did) exhibit more than one cultural identity, adopting Latin language and certain Roman customs, while at the same time retaining certain of their own cultural aspects. In this respect, individuals adopted Roman customs in those aspects of their lives which required this change: in order to function effectively among a myriad of Pannonian inhabitants of different cultures (Italian, Greek, Egyptian, Syrian, Illyrian, Celtic...) business and public life was most often conducted in Latin. Private life, however, was left to the choice of the individual: some who married their compatriots had a chance to retain their original language; others, married and raised into different cultures, were offered a chance at multiculturalism and multilingualism. Thus, every individual integrated into society within Roman Pannonia, and the wider Roman Empire, at a different level.

Although, as we have previously noted, the percentage of Greek inscriptions in Pannonia is relatively low, the fact that these inscriptions do occur, however, tells us that in addition to cultural integration among its settlers, Pannonia played host to a number of cultural subgroups. The men and women who took the trouble to set up bilingual inscriptions, or inscriptions in their own language showed us that there was indeed an audience for such inscriptions, a community of their fellow countrymen. Thus, for example, from inscriptions we can deduce that certain Pannonian cities had a Greek-speaking sub-population/sub-culture.⁷⁹⁵ According to Kóvacs, most of the Greek and Eastern peoples migrated to Pannonia either as traders/craftsmen⁷⁹⁶, or as military recruits. The latter category could have joined the Pannonian legions when they campaigned in the East.⁷⁹⁷ This would explain a large population of Greek and Oriental origin settled in proximity of legionary bases such as Aquincum, Brigetio, Carnuntum,⁷⁹⁸ Intercisa and Ulcisia Castra⁷⁹⁹. As concerns our own

⁷⁹⁵ Kóvacs (2001), pp.58-59.

⁷⁹⁶ Mócsy (1959), pp.102-103; and Kóvacs (2001), pp.59-60.

⁷⁹⁷ Forni (1953), pp.215-218; pp.228-229; and pp.231-233; Forni (1992), pp.116; pp.118-119; pp.131-132; and pp.135-136; and Kóvacs (2001), p.59.

⁷⁹⁸ Mócsy (1959), p.50, p.58, p.68, p.82, and p.84; Barkoczi (1964), pp.268-270; pp.271-273; pp.277-279; and Kóvacs (2001), p.58.

⁷⁹⁹ Fitz (1972); Soproni (1980), pp.39-51; Kóvacs (2001), pp.60-61; and Lorincz (2001), pp.35-37.

survey of the Pannonian Drava cities, the attestation of Greek and bilingual inscriptions in Poetovio is to be attributed to the slaves and freedmen in the service of the Illyrian customs, while the Greek dedications from Mursa examined here lead us to believe that they belonged to private citizens.⁸⁰⁰

⁸⁰⁰ Dobó (1940), p.165; and pp.173-176; and Kóvacs (2001), p.61.

CONCLUSIONS

Historical Overview

The general distribution of votive dedications in Mursa points to the fact that dedicatory inscriptions tended to be most abundant during the late second and early third centuries; and sparser, if not rare, during the early period of Roman occupation in the first and early second centuries. As is the case with the rest of the Empire, the epigraphic habit declines in Mursa in the later third century. This bell-shaped distribution of dedications is highly interesting and offers us clues not only on the political and religious trends, but is also reflected in the cultural integration of autochthonous peoples and settlers in Mursa. It would seem that the early period of Roman occupation in Mursa, before Hadrian's grant of colonial status, is still shrouded in mystery in terms of religious life. We know that Mursa was occupied by Roman troops at this time, and since soldiers are known throughout the Empire as highly religious individuals and originators of many votive dedications, it is therefore strange that we do not have any votive dedications from this early period in Mursa. This may be due to the fact that such dedications have been lost, or on the contrary, have not been uncovered yet, as a large part of the ancient city, including the legionary camp, lies directly below the modern city and has therefore not been possible to uncover. It is also possible that such dedications were reused and/or relocated even in the ancient period. On the other hand, it is possible, although unlikely, that despite the military presence, the settlement of Italic and other "foreign" settlers in the region of Mursa before the grant of colonial status was slow and laborious. One reason for this possible occurrence may be the geographical position of Mursa. As Roman troops, and the merchants and settlers who followed them, tended to conquer Pannonia by pushing eastwards, settlement of Mursa, compared to Poetovio, would have been delayed. As Poetovio was located just across the Alps from northern Italy, it displays epigraphic evidence of north Italian merchants and settlers already in the early first century; something which does not occur in Mursa. Thus, due to its geographic proximity to Italy, it appears that Poetovio was urbanised and received foreign settlers much sooner than its eastern Drava counterpart Mursa.

Although this appears to be the picture provided to us by our votive evidence, archaeological evidence, on the other hand, proves that Mursa was exposed to various cultural influences, including north Italian and Roman, even before the official conquest, as we have seen from

the introductory part of this chapter. Thus, although we cannot claim that all levels of autochthonous society accepted elements of north Italic and Roman cultures (as the Pannonian-Illyrian revolt demonstrates), or were indeed influenced by them, we do know that at least certain individuals, most likely those belonging to the upper echelons of autochthonous society, as well as native auxiliary veterans, took on the role of ambassadors for the Romans, mediating between foreign and autochthonous cultures. These, accompanied by newly-arrived foreign settlers of Italic, Gallic, and other origins, played a crucial role in urbanising the region of Mursa. Thus, archaeological material uncovered from the first century after the Roman conquest of Pannonia seems to point to cultural integration, with the presence of various imported and autochthonous objects used side by side.⁸⁰¹

Among the first foreign settlers attested by votive dedications in Mursa we find Roman public and city officials from the Flavian period. Thus, it is not surprising that the earliest dedications are those offered to the official Roman state gods, such as Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the Capitoline triad. Due to the nature of the dedicators, these dedications can be interpreted as less of a personal display of belief on the part of the worshippers, and more as a symbolic confirmation of Roman rule of Pannonia and a display of loyalty on the part of the officials towards the emperor and the Empire.⁸⁰² Such a limited variety of worshippers, combined with the fact that autochthonous names are rarely attested among these dedicators, would seem to suggest that a large proportion of autochthonous Pannonians inhabiting the region of Mursa still kept to their own pre-Roman gods and religious rituals. After all, one already needed to be substantially integrated into Roman society in order to erect votive dedications in a Roman manner: they needed to have a rudimentary understanding of Roman deities (even if this understanding was not always complete), they needed to have an understanding of the Latin language and they needed to have an understanding of the Roman practice of votive dedications (including why such a dedication would be set up, on which occasion(s), how god(s) are invoked, and how votive *formulae* worked), among other things. The fact that Roman-style votive dedications are a rare occurrence in Mursa in this early

⁸⁰¹ Džino and Domić-Kunić (2012), p.102. See the example of the grave from Ilok examined above. It is to be noted that although material evidence such as this points to cultural integration, we cannot be certain of its “degree”, nor of the fact that imported objects found necessarily imbued their owner with cultural values (i.e. that they acted as transmitters of “culture”, and were not used simply for their decorative/practical purposes).

⁸⁰² Pinterović (1978), p.127.

period, except for the public and official dedications, would seem to point to the fact that the autochthonous population at this period still did not have a sufficient understanding of Roman religious practices, or perhaps was not yet interested in participating in them. Either way, an examination of votive dedications in the initial period would seem to point to the conclusion that religious integration, at least, was slow.

The largest boom in votive dedications in Mursa occurs just after the Marcomannic Wars, in the late second to early third century. The reasons for this surge in dedications can be sought in the political occurrences at the time. Firstly, the Marcomannic Wars (and the Antonine plague) had shaken up not only the province of Pannonia but the whole Empire. Mursa, due to its proximity to the *limes*, must have been particularly affected, as fear of barbarian invasion spread throughout the region. It is no wonder that in such uncertain times people turned to religion, causing a surge in votive dedications. Due to this crisis the state gods were no longer sufficient in protecting the state and the people, and individuals thus turned to other deities, combining the official and the unofficial gods on single dedications, in order to maximise the chances of their prayers being heard; thus creating syncretised deities.⁸⁰³ The practice of syncretising deities became the defining religious phenomenon in Mursa and further afield in the late second and third centuries A.D., not only due to the uncertain political climate of the period, but also due to increased multicultural contacts between inhabitants of Mursa, as new immigrants from the Eastern Empire as well as from *barbaricum* arrived in Pannonia in the aftermath of the Marcomannic Wars. The extent of religious and cultural integration of the period is best exemplified by the sheer variety of syncretistic combinations and epithets which came into use. Perhaps the best example in Mursa of this syncretisation are our three invocations of the epithet “Aeternus”, which as we have previously seen, could have referred to Mithras, Sol, Jupiter Dolichenus and/or Jahwe. Thus, in epigraphic dedications, syncretism is especially apparent with respect to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, as we find this deity paired not only with other Graeco-Roman gods such as Fortuna, Juno, Minerva and Mercury; but also with Eastern deities such as Dolichenus, Sol and Mithras through the use of the epithet “Aeternus”. Other Graeco-Roman deities display this dual syncretisation as well. Thus, we find Hercules paired with Minerva⁸⁰⁴, Fortuna

⁸⁰³ Pinterović (1978), p.135.

⁸⁰⁴ *CIL* III 6451.

paired with Nemesis⁸⁰⁵, Mars paired with Victory⁸⁰⁶, and perhaps even Liber paired with Bacchus and Ceres.⁸⁰⁷ In terms of Graeco-Roman pairings with “foreign” gods we find Dionysus paired with Sabazios and perhaps Cybele, Harpocrates paired with Eros, Hermes paired with Toth, and Tyche paired with Dravus. Syncretism is observed, in our region and throughout Pannonia, for the most part, on dedications erected by members of lower socio-economic status, ordinary people, who either due to spiritual and superstitious reasons believed that appealing to more than one deity may better the odds of their prayers being answered, or who simply did not have the financial means to set up more than one dedication, thus grouping deities. Although syncretised deities were on the rise, the official gods still remained popular, as we see by various syncretised and unsyncretised attestations of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, mainly among public and city officials as before. The consistent popularity of state deities such as Jupiter Optimus Maximus among public, imperial and city officials testifies to the fact that these individuals remained occupied with displays of support and loyalty for the Emperor and the imperial house, something which was evermore important in an unstable political climate of the third century.

Official vs. Unofficial Cults

Like many other cities throughout the Empire, Mursa boasted a rich array of both official and unofficial cults which coexisted side by side. Chief among official deities was the supreme god himself, Jupiter Optimus Maximus. He boasts the largest number of dedications. In general, worshippers of official deities predominantly consist of public officials and soldiers, men whose careers and personal advancement depended on a display of loyalty to the state and the emperor. Due to the “obligatory” nature of the worship of official deities it is hard to determine to what extent one’s own personal religious preferences played a role in the act of dedicating to an official deity. Thus in relation to official and unofficial deities, the Mursa evidence displays that professional and social affiliations played a large role in determining which deity one worshipped. This phenomenon is likewise observed in Poetovio as concerns the members of the *portorium* and the worship of Mithras. A similar occurrence is to be observed in Mursa with the deity Jupiter Optimus Maximus. Among worshippers of Jupiter

⁸⁰⁵ *CIL* III 10265.

⁸⁰⁶ *ILJug* 02, 1071.

⁸⁰⁷ *CIL* III 3295.

Optimus Maximus in Mursa we find large numbers of *beneficarii consularis* and city officials such as decurions. Considering their position, one could argue that such a large proportion of dedications were due to the required swearing in of officials before the state deity Jupiter; a taking of the *vota pro salute imperatoris*.⁸⁰⁸

Displays of loyalty to the emperor were also shown through the use of the epithet “Augustus”. In Mursa this is the most frequent epithet employed, both for official and unofficial cults. The use of this epithet was not only a way of asserting imperial power over deities of various origins, thus unifying them under the Roman state⁸⁰⁹; but was likewise a means of integrating not only official and unofficial cults, but Roman and foreign cults as well. Both the use of the epithet “Augustus” and the syncretisation of unofficial deities with Jupiter Optimus Maximus served to bridge the cultural and religious divide between autochthonous peoples and settlers, while at the same time promoting imperial ideology and inciting displays of loyalty to the emperor and the state.⁸¹⁰ Thus, new bonds and new identities were formed between culturally-distinct peoples, which focused on highlighting their common shared experience of living in Mursa, on the Danubian frontier, as part of the province of Pannonia, and as part of the Roman Empire. These new bonds helped create distinct local, regional, and provincial religious identities. Thus being Mursan was reflected through not only the cultural mix of the city (attested by inhabitants of Greek, Oriental, North African, Celtic, Pannonian/Illyrian and other origins), but also through its environment as an administrative centre (attested by men occupying the posts of *beneficiarius consularis*, *beneficiarius procuratoris*, *cornicularius procuratoris*, and *conductor ferrariarum Pannoniarum*) and a Danubian settlement (attested by settlers and cults of Dacian and Thracian origin, such as the Thracian rider cult, as well as by local cults such as the cults of Dravus and Danubius). Being Pannonian was reflected not only through the interaction of diverse autochthonous and settler cultures inhabiting the province, but also through the shared experience of being a Danubian province with a heavy military presence, teetering on the edges of the Empire, facing constant dangers of outside threat. Epigraphic evidence shows that inhabitants of Danubian provinces such as Pannonians or Moesians proudly

⁸⁰⁸ Fears (1981), p.98; and Sinobad (2008), pp.163-164.

⁸⁰⁹ Beard, North and Price (1998), p.352; and Sinobad (2010), p.164.

⁸¹⁰ Džino and Domić-Kunić (2012), p.104.

displayed these identities on monuments erected outside their place of birth.⁸¹¹ From outside the province, Pannonian identity may have been conceived of in different ways: perhaps as quasi-barbarian and marginally “Roman”, perhaps as militarily-elite defender of Roman state against the outside threat, and perhaps as an administrative and commercial hub regulating the flow of goods from the East to the West and vice-versa.⁸¹² All of these, and many other, insider and outsider perceptions defined not only what it was to be Mursan or Pannonian, but what it was to be Roman as well. For being Roman was an extremely flexible concept: the definition changed not only according to chronological, historical, geographical and social contexts, but political ones; so that being a “Roman” under the Empire came to mean being culturally diverse yet united by not only the shared experience of living under the Empire, but also by imperial structure and ideology.⁸¹³ These different identities, however, were not mutually exclusive, as one could define themselves equally by their local, regional and provincial identities.⁸¹⁴ This “unity in diversity” is exemplified in the religious sphere of Mursa not only through the sheer variety of cults and their worshippers, but also through the variety of syncretistic combinations encountered, especially in the second and third centuries A.D.

Although the unofficial cults allowed their worshippers a greater expression of individualism and individual religious preferences through a wider choice of deities, in many respects both the official and the unofficial cults were similar and were not to be perceived as a dichotomy. Our Mursan evidence examined above does not display a struggle between the official and the private cults, or indeed between Roman and non-Roman deities, but an intermingling of these elements. Firstly, one could argue that like the supreme deity, Jupiter Optimus Maximus, certain unofficial cults also acted as mediators between not only different cultural groups, but also different social groups inhabiting Mursa and Pannonia. This is the case of

⁸¹¹ *CIL* VI 2488; *CIL* VI 3184; *CIL* VI 3241; *CIL* VI 3239; *CIL* VI 3285; *CIL* VI 15011; and *CIL* XIII 7247 who all declare themselves “Pannonian”; or *CIL* VI 3297 who even states his *pagus* and *vicus*.

⁸¹² Statius, *Silvae*, 1.4.79-80 and Herodian, *Histories*, 2.11 for the warlike nature of Pannonians; and Cassius Dio 49.36 for their “barbarian” nature. Džino and Domić-Kunić (2012), p.103.

⁸¹³ Džino and Domić-Kunić (2012), p.101; and pp.103-104.

⁸¹⁴ *CIL* VI 3297 (*Ulpus Cocceius ex Pannonia Superiore natus ad Aquas Balizas pago Iovista vico Cocconetibus*); and *CIL* VI 37213 (*Aurelius Verus natione Pannonius pede Sirmese pago Martio vico Budalia*). Džino and Domić-Kunić (2012), pp.105-106.

nature deities such as Silvanus, so popular in southern Pannonia.⁸¹⁵ We have already put forth the idea in previous chapters that the popularity of nature deities in Pannonia is a possible reflection of pre-Roman autochthonous religious traditions. The fact that a nature deity such as Silvanus, so popular both among autochthonous and Italic worshippers of lower and middle classes in Pannonia is equally to be found worshipped in Italy and throughout the Empire, may reflect his role as a mediator, bridging local and provincial cultures across the Empire. This role can also be seen in the sheer variety of epithets that he is given, reflecting different aspects of the god, tied perhaps to various similar local deities which became embodied under the larger umbrella of the god Silvanus. Thus, Silvanus, in all his diversity, both in terms of iconography (depicted either anthropomorphically in a military-style tunic, or as a Pan-like creature, or even symbolised through various natural elements) and in terms of epithets that he is awarded (Domesticus, Silvester, Augustus...), unites worshippers across the Empire.

The worship of unofficial cults proves to be a much more indicative sign of individual religious preferences. Among unofficial cults in Mursa, the largest number of dedications belongs to Oriental deities. In fact, by the sheer number of dedications, Oriental deities surpass any other group in Mursa, including autochthonous deities. Due to this popularity of Oriental cults in the late second and early third centuries we could claim that the religious sphere of Mursa experienced an “Orientalisation”. Although this period sees many Oriental immigrants arrive in Mursa and its region, we must be careful about automatically attributing the popularity of eastern cults to these Oriental immigrants precisely because a good number of dedications pertaining to the Oriental cults from Mursa are iconographic in nature and bear no dedicatory inscriptions. Oriental cults had been popular in Italy and throughout the Empire from the first century A.D. and were adopted by worshippers of various cultural backgrounds. Thus, it is possible that a number of our iconographic dedications to Oriental deities were erected by individuals of various origins.⁸¹⁶

Oriental Cults

⁸¹⁵ Džino and Domić-Kunić (2012), pp.102-103.

⁸¹⁶ Pinterović (1978), p.143.

Although the early first century is poor in epigraphic dedications in Mursa, and the late first and second centuries see the rise of official deities primarily in the context of public and military worshippers, it is during the Severan period that many other, mainly Oriental deities, quickly infiltrated themselves into the religious picture of Mursa.⁸¹⁷ It is possible that Oriental cults, and especially mystery cults like the cult of Mithras, became so popular in southern Pannonia and counted so many worshippers partly because they offered structure and order in the chaos and fear of the Marcomannic Wars and its aftermath. The period following the Marcomannic Wars was a time of recovery and rebuilding. At this time we see not only a significant depopulation of the province as a consequence of the wars, but also a substantial influx of settlers of various Oriental origins, such as Syrians and North Africans⁸¹⁸, who most likely, arrived in Mursa seeking to make a new life and profit from new business opportunities as life in Mursa resumed in the aftermath of the wars. These new settlers from the Orient brought their gods with them, and it is precisely in this period, when we see a boom in the worship of Eastern deities. The Oriental settlers, however, were not the only cause of the spread of Oriental cults in Mursa and southern Pannonia and its “orientalisation”. The popularity of Eastern cults was further bolstered by the imperial influence of the Severan dynasty, some of whom themselves originated from the East.

Among Oriental deities in Mursa we find attestations of Cybele, Mithras, Harpocrates, Sabazios, Osiris, Isis, Nephtys, Re, Hermes-Toth, Jupiter Dolichenus, the syncretised Deus Aeternus and Jahwe. It is to be noted that although most of our dedications to Oriental deities are iconographic, we are nevertheless able to see a large variety of syncretistic elements, exhibiting influences of Mursa’s geographic proximity to the Danube and its various cultural connections. Thus, for example, our Mithras reliefs show not only syncretisations with the related deity Sol, as is usually found throughout the Empire, but they likewise show eastern-Thracian and Norico-Pannonian cultural influences in the theme and execution of the reliefs. This cultural influence from Dacia is especially seen in the later third century A.D., most likely as the result of the retreat of the army forces from Dacia under Aurelian.⁸¹⁹ Likewise, our Sabazios hand and cultic vase display elements which could be associated with other

⁸¹⁷ Pinterović (1978), p.128.

⁸¹⁸ Džino and Domić-Kunić (2012), p.102.

⁸¹⁹ Selem (1980), p.74.

deities, such as grapes (Dionysus and/or Liber), and lions (Cybele and/or Sabazios), while the limited distribution of the cult in proximity to the Danube reflects to the cultural mix of this region. Moreover, the occurrence of the epithet “Aeternus” and the presence of Judaism in Mursa could be tied to Jewish communities in other cities along the Danube, such as Intercisa, and to the presence of Jews in the *classis Flavia*.⁸²⁰ Thus, our evidence points to the fact that in addition to the cultural composition of Mursa, the city’s geographic location on the Danube likewise played a role in influencing Mursa’s Oriental religious identities. We know that Oriental deities were very popular in Dacia and Moesia during the Severan period, thus it is perfectly likely that Mursa and Pannonia experienced cultural and religious influences from these regions.⁸²¹ Although our epigraphic evidence for Oriental deities is fairly limited, the sheer presence of dedications in Greek and hieroglyphics, found so rarely in Pannonia, displays Mursa’s cultural and linguistic variety. Their attestation in Mursa is indicative not only of Mursa’s status as a large Danubian cultural and commercial hub, but also of the presence of various Greek and Oriental sub-cultures within the city, and their integration with other local autochthonous and settler subgroups. Thus, an Athenian, Kraton, is attested worshipping the Greco-Egyptian Harpocrates; a man of presumably Thracian origin dedicates to a Greco-Roman deity Dionysus in Greek; and finally, a man of presumably Greco-Egyptian origin dedicates a stele to Egyptian deities in hieroglyphics. Additionally, the sheer variety of materials on which Oriental deities are depicted in Mursa (ivory hairpin, limestone stele, jasper gemstone, clay and bronze figurines of Shabti and Hermes-Toth) all confirm that Mursa was not only an influential commercial centre, connecting the East with the West, but was also a cultural hub where people of differing backgrounds and origins interacted, shared and exchanged ideas and religious beliefs. Considering the variety of Oriental deities represented at Mursa, it is thus likely that Mursa had significant Oriental sub-cultural elements within its population. As we can see from our dedicators, Mursa’s Oriental substratum originated from Egypt, Thrace, Athens, and very likely also from Syria, and many other corners of the eastern Empire, bringing with them their own localised versions of Oriental deities, thus resulting not just in “orientalisation” of Mursa in the late second and third century, but in “orientalisations”.

⁸²⁰ Selem (1980), p.34 footnote #125.

⁸²¹ Selem (1980), p.73.

Autochthonous Cults

As far as concerns autochthonous deities and autochthonous worshippers, the picture is somewhat more complicated. Since most of our votive dedications from Mursa date from the Severan period, it is hard to determine the nature of autochthonous worship before this time, although it would be reasonable to assume that the autochthonous population at large carried on worshipping their deities as before in their traditional manner at least in the initial period following Roman conquest. There is some credence given to this idea by wooden and clay sculptures attested in our region (see below). Thus, it is not inconceivable to think that worship may have been expressed through media other than stone. After all, the erection of stone dedications was expensive, and it would be foolish to think that everybody could afford to worship in this manner, or indeed that they would want to. This is perhaps best illustrated by our large proportion (read: overrepresentation) of worshippers holding official public and military posts. The tradition of inscribed *arae* was well-established among these groups.⁸²² This is not to say that there was no cultural integration among these groups. As we indeed see men of presumably Oriental, autochthonous, Celtic, Italic and other origins all participated in worship through the erection of votive altars; however, this public display of piety seems to have been tied closely to the public aspect of their professions. While paying a significant sum of money to erect a public and permanent stone dedication, served not only to display piety and allegiance to a certain god and/or emperor, but also as a means of self-promotion for someone who held public office, these same dedicators may have likewise made less permanent votive offerings in their private lives, perhaps in the traditional manner of their ancestors, thus participating in more than one manner of worship simultaneously and displaying more than one religious and/or cultural identity. The problem with the inscribed votive dedications in stone, therefore, is that they offer us a biased and skewed picture of religious worship (and of the worshippers) in ancient Pannonia, as other, less permanent forms of worship have rarely survived.⁸²³

⁸²² Fitz and Mócsy maintain that while soldiers, for example, composed only 5% of the total population of Pannonia, they contributed close to 25% of epigraphic material originating from Pannonia. Mócsy (1959); and Fitz (1977), pp.396-397.

⁸²³ Radman-Livaja and Ivezić (2012), pp.144-145.

As the boom in votive dedications occurs during the Severan period, closely coinciding with the grant of citizenship to all free men within the Empire in A.D. 212, we begin to see at the same time more and more local “autochthonous” deities presented on votive dedications in Mursa, such as the river gods Dravus and Danubius, Silvanus, Liber, and Terra Mater. These deities, although worshipped in a Roman manner, most certainly embodied local and pre-Roman autochthonous nature deities. Thus, in Dalmatia, among the Liburnians the popularity of Isis is reflected through pre-Roman popularity of autochthonous fertility and mother deities. This indicates a continuity of preference for nature and mother cults. In Mursa, this is expressed through the popularity of Cybele/Magna Mater/Terra Mater, who may have embodied pre-Roman autochthonous fertility and nature deities, such as those expressed through the masked female clay figurines examined above.⁸²⁴ The popularity of these nature cults leads us to see not only a certain continuity with pre-Roman nature deities, although these have been transformed under immigrant cultural influences, but also the renegotiation of local Pannonian religious and cultural identities. The third century sees not only the arrival of Oriental immigrants and the subsequent “orientalisation” of religious life in Mursa, but also the arrival of more and more newcomers from *Barbaricum*, who upon entering Roman territory not only brought their own religious traditions, strengthening Danubian autochthonous religious identity, as can be seen by the attestation of such cults as the Thracian rider cult, but gradually renegotiated their own individual identities in the light of their new environment, integrating Roman and “barbarian” elements. This influx of new immigrants, Oriental, “barbarian” and other, results in the inevitable mixing of various religious traditions: syncretisation. A wider choice of deities indicated a more flexible and fluid representation of religious identities, as we can see from the wide range of epithets and syncretistic combinations encountered in Mursa in the third century.⁸²⁵

Although the names of local autochthonous deities on the territory of Mursa are not preserved for us in the votive epigraphic record, the sheer popularity of nature deities over the entire territory of Pannonia, including Mursa, would seem to indicate that they were preferred among its inhabitants and that this may reflect a pre-Roman autochthonous fondness for nature deities. Although the names of autochthonous deities are rarely preserved in Mursa,

⁸²⁴ Selem (1980), pp.74-75; Matijašić (2005), pp.201-202; and Zaninović (2005), p.275.

⁸²⁵ Džino and Domić-Kunić (2012), p.106.

we must not automatically assume that these gods were forgotten. There are a few reasons which could explain why autochthonous pre-Roman deities and worshippers with autochthonous Pannonian-Illyrian names are so seldomly attested in the cities along the Drava. Firstly, it could be due to the fact that the Drava was a major communication and trade route, turning cities like Poetovio and Mursa into cosmopolitan areas where Roman citizens, peregrines and slaves originating from across the Empire settled for professional or personal reasons. This high population traffic could have obscured autochthonous pre-Roman worship, rendering it virtually invisible in our present record, due to the fact that such worship may have been humble and was perhaps not prone to expensive and public displays of devotion, as is usual in the case of votive altars. Worship may have been displayed through other, more perishable and less expensive media than stone, such as wood, since wooden sculptures and art are known to have been produced in the region, and further afield in Gaul and Britain.⁸²⁶ Other ways of representing a deity may have likewise been possible. Thus, *cippi* featuring decorative elements which have been associated with the deity Silvanus have been found on the territory of the neighbouring province of Dalmatia: according to some scholars they may be local representations of Silvanus' cult.⁸²⁷ While this theory at present cannot be confirmed by epigraphy or traditional iconography of Silvanus, it is possible that in certain communities autochthonous deities did not acquire an anthropomorphic form, as is the case with Silvanus, but were represented in terms of natural elements. Thus an absence of traditional Graeco-Roman style epigraphic or relief dedications did not necessarily signify an absence of worship.

Much like the names of autochthonous deities on the territory of Mursa, the names of autochthonous worshippers are rare. Worshippers which we presume could be of autochthonous origin rarely bear their native names or filiation, or even the Latinised versions of their native names on our votive evidence. Thus, although it appears in our record of votive dedications from Mursa as if autochthonous worshippers are extremely rare, it is very likely that they are hidden under the Roman names received under Hadrian, or at the latest under Caracalla. After all, the autochthonous Pannonian population was much more

⁸²⁶ Cremošnjik (1956), p.112; Cambi (1968), p.132; Rendić-Miočević (1974), pp.30-31; Zotović (1992), p.179; and Aldhouse-Green (2005), p.58.

⁸²⁷ Rendić-Miočević (1955), p.11; Garašanin (1967), p.185; Zotović (1973), p.34; and Zotović (1992), pp.180-181.

numerous than the incoming settlers from around the Empire, and the absence of a significant number of autochthonous-sounding names in the epigraphic record is most likely not an accurate representation of the actual ethnic and cultural composition of southern Pannonia.⁸²⁸ So how are we then to interpret this lack of autochthonous names in our epigraphic record? Does this mean that the autochthonous population abstained from participating in the Roman practice of epigraphic worship in Mursa, preferring instead separation and the continuation of traditional worship? Or, does the near-absence of autochthonous names signify assimilation into the Roman way of life, exemplified by the acquisition of the *tria nomina*? Several factors may have conspired in obscuring autochthonous traces to us. It is possible that the habit of epigraphic worship was not taken up evenly across social classes or across geographic regions. Since, as we have seen, the habit of epigraphic worship predominated among the wealthy, and those who held official offices, who themselves were in the minority compared to the general population, it is likely that the epigraphic habit spread disproportionately as well among autochthonous Pannonians, being favoured by those of similar social, economic and/or professional standing, who were eager to ingratiate themselves to those in power, in the hopes of accessing further personal and social advancement. Additionally, geographical and environmental factors may have likewise impacted the frequency of autochthonous names in certain regions. Thus, we must not forget that population density or ethnic composition were not equal everywhere.⁸²⁹

Determining cultural integration on the basis of anthroponymy proves difficult and unreliable, not only since we have no certain way of determining a person's origin unless they explicitly state it (which in the case of our evidence rarely occurs), but also because every person was integrated into society differently, either by their own individual choice, and/or due to a set of circumstances which affected them, such as their environment, their socio-economic standing, their profession and so on.⁸³⁰ One example of this individual integration can be found in the case of two brothers, Marcus Aurelius Dasius and Marcus Aurelius Candidus.⁸³¹ While Dasius chose to keep his autochthonous affiliation through his

⁸²⁸ Fitz (1977), pp.396-397.

⁸²⁹ Fitz (1977), p.397.

⁸³⁰ Radman-Livaja and Ivezić (2012), pp.140-141.

⁸³¹ *CIL* VI 32680. Džino and Domić-Kunić (2012), p.105.

cognomen, his brother on the other hand, chose to adopt a Roman *cognomen*. Thus, it appears that there was no specific rule concerning attribution of names. One might have one parent of autochthonous Pannonian descent and one of Italic descent, but be named after a relative who was of Oriental descent; one might have both parents of Celtic descent who choose to give their child a Greek name because they live in a Greek community; or one might choose upon receiving Roman citizenship to keep one's autochthonous name or not; the possibilities are endless. Thus, the presence of a particular type of name may be a reflection of personal choice, and not necessarily of a common practice or tradition of a given community/cultural group.⁸³²

An additional difficulty in determining cultural integration from the scarcity of autochthonous names in the epigraphic dedications from Mursa lies in the fact that Mursa, as a large urban center, was itself home to settlers originating from all corners of the Empire. Thus, encountering a Celtic name in our dedications may not necessarily signify that our dedicator was an autochthonous person of Celtic descent, but may just as likely indicate that he was a Celt from another part of the Empire who emigrated to Mursa. The same can be claimed for the Pannonian/Illyrian names encountered. The dedicators may not be autochthonous persons descended from the pre-Roman tribal groups inhabiting the region of Mursa, but may originate from other tribes further afield in Dalmatia, Pannonia, Moesia and even Noricum.⁸³³ Thus, there is no certain way to determine one's origin unless this person explicitly states it. Although there are many things to be cautious of when attempting to determine cultural or ethnic affiliations from nomenclature, especially with regard to the scarcity of autochthonous names on dedications and the dangers of generalising on the basis of such a small sample, it would appear that Mursa was indeed a large cosmopolitan centre where a high degree of cultural and religious integration can be seen. Several elements lead to this conclusion. Firstly, although autochthonous presence appears scant in epigraphic dedications, the archaeological evidence examined in the introductory section of this chapter would seem to indicate that elements of autochthonous lifestyle persisted long after the Roman conquest, and intermingled and coexisted side by side with imported elements. Secondly, the sheer variety of syncretised and unsyncretised deities encountered in our

⁸³² Džino and Domić-Kunić (2012), p.96.

⁸³³ Radman-Livaja and Ivezić (2012), p.142; and p.144.

evidence above would seem to indicate that individuals who chose to come and settle in Mursa originated from across the Empire, and brought their gods with them into Pannonia. Thirdly, although we do see patterns of worship for certain deities, based on professional and social affiliations for example, such as the predominance of worship of Jupiter Optimus Maximus among public and military officials, by and large, most deities received cross-cultural worship. Thus, Silvanus appears to be worshipped by men of presumably Greek⁸³⁴, Oriental⁸³⁵ and autochthonous origin⁸³⁶; Liber by a worshipper of presumably autochthonous origin⁸³⁷; Fortuna by a worshipper of presumably Oriental origin⁸³⁸; Hercules by worshippers of possibly Oriental⁸³⁹ and autochthonous origins⁸⁴⁰; and Jupiter, the most popular deity, by a wide variety of worshippers of various origins and backgrounds. What we see therefore, is not a religious picture where Oriental gods are worshipped only by Oriental worshippers, for example, but a picture of religious and cross-cultural integration, where worshippers dedicate to whichever deity they deem the most suitable to answer their prayers, regardless of whether this was a local autochthonous, Roman, Oriental or other god. This integration was inevitable in a large multicultural centre like Mursa, and is also attested in other settlements with a significant proportion of immigrants, such as Poetovio, Siscia and further afield in Pannonia and throughout the Empire.

Lastly, apart from votive evidence, we have evidence of cultural integration on lead tags and military diplomas, for example. Recently-discovered lead tags from Siscia indicate widespread cultural integration as early as the first century A.D. Thus, men and women of Italic, Celtic, Pannonian-Illyrian, Greek, Punic, Thracian and other origins are attested. Additionally, a military diploma enumerating praetorians from Mursa and Cibalae displays a mix of Italic, Pannonian-Illyrian, Celtic, Thracian and Dacian names. Although the diploma

⁸³⁴ *CIL* III 3276.

⁸³⁵ *CIL* III 3277.

⁸³⁶ *AE* 1973, 450.

⁸³⁷ *CIL* III 3294.

⁸³⁸ *CIL* III 10265.

⁸³⁹ *CIL* III 6451.

⁸⁴⁰ *CIL* III 15140.

dates from A.D. 223, when Mursa is an already well-established multicultural centre, and after the issuing of *constitutio Antoniniana*, it does show the city as a cosmopolitan and culturally integrative settlement, even though we may not be able to claim with certainty that the Pannonian-Illyrian and Celtic names recorded on this diploma are descended from the pre-Roman inhabitants of the region, and not recent newcomers from other areas of the Empire. Thus, we see that the cultural picture of Mursa and southern Pannonia was much more diverse and integrative, with a higher proportion of autochthonous presence attested, than Latin votive dedications alone would let us believe.⁸⁴¹

The votive evidence examined in this chapter indicates that although the majority of our worshippers are to be counted among the public and military officials, who choose to express their religious identity through Latin votive altars, nevertheless, the sheer variety of worshippers and deities encountered, along with their wide choice of syncretistic combinations, all point to a culturally and religiously integrative spiritual picture of Mursa. Within this diverse environment we nevertheless see the emergence of local religious identities. Due to its proximity to the Danubian frontier, Mursa exhibits cultural and religious influences from neighbouring peoples and settlements in such a manner that it develops its own Danubian religious sub-culture, which is different from our other settlements examined along the Drava. Although both Poetovio and Mursa display a significant presence of Oriental cults and worshippers, the Oriental presence in Mursa displays influences from the Oriental sub-cultures present all along the Danube. Thus, an attestation of Jewish worship in Mursa leads us to connect this religious influence to similar attestations further up the Danube, in settlements with large Oriental elements such as Intercisa, and not with Oriental influences in Poetovio, which lack evidence of Jewish worship. Attestations of Sabazios and the Thracian rider gods, so popular in Sirmium and the neighbouring Moesia, lead us to see cultural and religious connections to this territory. Moreover, the popularity of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Hercules and Silvanus in Mursa is a reflection not only of the large military and administrative presence along the Danube, but also of the Danube's role as a frontier, as these deities were known to be worshipped as protectors of borders (Silvanus) and protectors of soldiers and military life (Hercules and Jupiter), and were likewise popular in other settlements along the Danube, such as Carnuntum, Aquincum and Brigetio. This

⁸⁴¹ Lead tags: Radman-Livaja and Ivezić (2012), pp.144-145. Military diploma: *CIL* VI 32542. Radman-Livaja and Ivezić (2012), pp.142-143. See also: Džino and Domić-Kunić (2012), p.103.

proximity to the Danubian frontier and its military elements most likely resulted also in the attestation of martial deities such as Victory, Mars, Jupiter Dolichenus, and Mithras at Mursa, and also in the worship of local river deities Dravus and Danubius. Thus we can see that it was not only Mursa's population which defined its religious identity, such as its "orientalisation" in the late second and third centuries with the influx of Oriental settlers, or the largely official aspect of its cults due to its role as an administrative centre, but it is also Mursa's geographical position along the Danube, and its own military and cultural influences which all played a role in shaping Mursa's local religious identity.

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSIONS

Throughout this work we have seen the emergence of several trends which have affected the development and expression of both individual and collective religious identities in the settlements along the Drava presently examined. These trends, rooted in social, economic, political and geographic spheres all impacted on the process of cultural and religious integration differently, thus creating local, regional, provincial and imperial expressions of religious identities. Thus, our three settlements, Aquae Iasae, Iovia-Botivo and Mursa, although united by their common location along (or close proximity) of the Drava river, all exhibited quite distinct local religious identities which nevertheless “fit” into the larger religious picture of Pannonia.

The overall unifying trend exhibited in our Drava cities, and throughout Pannonia, is the popularity and predominance in the worship of nature divinities. This is especially true in the case of the god Silvanus who is attested in every settlement examined in this thesis. Yet even within this broader trend of nature-deity worship, we see expressions of local religious identities and variations. Thus, in Aquae Iasae (and in Poetovio) it is the female nature deities specifically tied with healing powers which predominate, such as the Nymphs and the Silvanae at Aquae Iasae and the Nutrices at Poetovio, if we are to judge by the sheer number of their dedications. In the case of Aquae Iasae such deities are inextricably connected with the geographical features of the settlement, the healing thermal waters, and it is thus this geographical feature which primarily defines the religious identity of Aquae Iasae. On the other hand, it is the male nature deities which predominate in Iovia-Botivo and Mursa. Thus we have several dedications to Silvanus, to Liber, and to the river gods Danubius and Dravus in Mursa, with a less intense attestation of female mother deities such as Magna Mater/Cybele and Terra Mater. Iovia-Botivo likewise features predominant worship of a male nature deity, Silvanus.

It is possible that this discrepancy between male and female nature deities reflects local pre-Roman autochthonous trends. Although both Aquae Iasae and Iovia-Botivo are situated in close proximity of each other, on the territory of the autochthonous Iasi, it is possible that they nevertheless, even in the pre-Roman period, had their own very distinct religious identities. Thus, we must not automatically assume that because both settlements belonged to the same tribal group, that this group was religiously or culturally homogeneous. Since the

territory of the Iasi was of substantial size, it is likely that its inhabitants exhibited quite distinct identities depending on their proximity to other tribal groups, and on the intensity of cultural contact with these groups. Thus, it is possible that the Iasi inhabiting the territory around Aquae Iasae exhibited closer cultural connections with the neighbouring Serretes and Serapilli than with the Iasi inhabiting the area around Aquae Balissae for example, who may have borne a closer cultural connection with the neighbouring Oseriates or even the Andizetes. These possible pre-Roman cultural connections may explain why, in the Roman period, we can discern closer religious connections between Poetovio and Aquae Iasae, than between Aquae Iasae and Aquae Balissae for example, even though they were both thermal resorts situated on the territory of the Iasi. Thus, cultural influences from neighbouring settlements may be an additional explanation for the discrepancy in the gender of local nature deities worshipped at Aquae Iasae and Iovia-Botivo.

Unifying yet distinct local religious identities can also be observed in the case of Mursa and Poetovio. Both settlements grew to be, in Roman times, large multicultural administrative and commercial centres. Due to this, the religious identity of both settlements was primarily defined by their role as administrative centres, and yet, due to the different nature of administrative officials that they harboured, their religious identities developed in distinct ways. Thus, while Poetovio became a customs administrative centre, attesting a large volume of customs officials of slave and freedman status bearing Greek and Oriental names (although not *necessarily* of Greek and Oriental descent), Mursa, on the other hand, attested numerous *beneficarii consularis* of apparently various descents, charged most likely with watching the crossing on the Drava. Votive evidence from Poetovio indicates that the customs officials there were predominantly Mithraic worshippers, and up until the time of Gallienus, appear to have monopolised the Mithraea. On the other hand, the *beneficarii consularis* from Mursa are largely attested worshipping Jupiter Optimus Maximus, making the supreme god the predominant deity in this settlement. Thus, it would appear that their professional affiliations influenced their religious identities, or at least the expression of these identities in the public sphere. As administrative officials, in addition to city officials, imperial officials and military personnel are the most prominent group of dedicators in all our Drava cities, partly at least due to the obligatory expression of loyalty to the emperor that was implied in the public nature of their posts, their expressions of religious identity predominate in Mursa and Poetovio. Compared to these two large administrative centres, the dedications of Aquae Iasae

and Iovia-Botivo pale in comparison. This phenomenon, however, did not necessarily signify that Aquae Iasae and Iovia-Botivo were culturally or religiously homogeneous, but that due to the lack of permanent administrative and military installations and personnel, public displays of devotion, such as those customarily erected by public officials, were less pronounced.

We must remember, however, that votive dedications erected in stone were not available to everybody, perhaps due to their cost, or even that certain individuals may not have been attracted by this form of worship. Most individuals would have most likely made private, more humble offerings to their gods, which at present we have no trace of. Thus, we must remember that religious identities were extremely flexible, especially in a polytheistic world, and that individuals may have worshipped both by making private offerings as well as public ones to various deities, perhaps even simultaneously. This type of worship not only insured that various deities may hear (and answer) a worshipper's plea, but also highlighted the highly integrative and flexible nature of cults and deities in the Roman Empire.

Although the great variety of epithets awarded to deities in our region would seem to suggest that religious integration between autochthonous and foreign (i.e. "Roman") cults in the early period was a frequent occurrence, we however do not have any autochthonous deity names preserved with respect to the three settlements examined in this thesis, nor do we have evidence of any overt syncretisations yet at this time. It is possible that although the names of autochthonous deities are not preserved to us, that these deities are reflected through various epithets encountered in our region. Thus, for example, the fact that the Nymphs at Aquae Iasae bear several different epithets may not only testify to their versatility as nature divinities, but may also reflect amalgamations of different autochthonous deities with the Nymphs. Such expressions of religious integration appear not only in Aquae Iasae in the first century A.D. with respect to the Nymphs, but occur also at Mursa, albeit a little later, in the second century. Thus, among other evidence, we have four epigraphic attestations of Silvanus in Mursa, all bearing different epithets, which could possibly testify to his different facets and his versatility, as well as to his amalgamation with local nature divinities.

The most apparent level of religious integration is observed on inscribed votive dedications in the late second and early third centuries. It is in the mid-to-late second century A.D. that Pannonia receives a substantial influx of immigrants, primarily from the Eastern provinces,

but also some from places like Africa and further afield, from *Barbaricum*. Our epigraphic evidence shows that these new settlers flock primarily to large urban centres like Poetovio or Mursa, and there establish their own cults, which integrate and syncretise with previously attested deities, resulting in even more varied, “orientalising” expressions of religious identity.

The latter third century features a sharp drop in epigraphic votive dedications both in the Drava cities and elsewhere throughout the Empire. Although Christianity slowly comes to the forefront at this time, certain pagan cults remain popular at least for some time by integrating into Christian symbolism, as is exemplified by the “Christianised” Sol dedication from Aquae Iasae.

CATALOGUE OF MITHRAIC RELIEFS FROM MURSA

1. Relief fragment made of marble and measuring 22 x 29 x 0.65cm. It was discovered in 1937 on Gupčeva street. The relief depicts part of a tauroctony scene (the sixth type according to Campbell (1954-1955), pp.1-60). The upper left-hand corner of the relief survives. It depicts the curves of a cave below which is the image of a Cautopates. Only the top half of the Cautopates is preserved. He wears a tunic and a Phrygian cap. Next to his left pronounced folds of Mithras' cloak can be seen. Above the Cautopates, in the very left-hand corner of the relief, is a depiction of *Sol* next to whom is a barely-visible raven. The relief has been executed skilfully, and according to Bulat shows Norico-Pannonian influences in that it resembles in theme and execution to the Mithraic monuments found in this region. Bulat further speculates that this monument may have been of local Mursan production, although at the moment there is no proof of this claim. Pinterović believes that the dimensions of the dedication would tend to indicate that it was erected by a person of humble financial means. See: Bulat (1960b), p.6; p.8 fig. 1; Zotović (1973), p.39 no.50; Pinterović (1978), pp.138-139; and Selem (1980), pp.150-151.
2. Relief fragment made of white marble and measuring 13 x 14 x 0.4cm. It was discovered in the year 1940 close to the Drava. Only the bottom left-hand corner of the relief is preserved. The relief features an arch below which two figures are depicted : Mithras and Sol. Mithras stands with his legs spread apart, his left hand gripping the hair of the kneeling Sol, and his right hand raised up. He is clothed with a tunic and is facing frontally. The kneeling Sol, in contrast, is naked and turned sideways to the left, facing Mithras. Sol's hand is raised to his mouth. To the right of the arch lays a collapsed bull. Above the arch is a wreath. The relief appears to have been painted. Selem draws parallels between the raised hand gesture of Sol and the similar gestures attested on the relief from the third Mithraeum at Poetovio (Vermaseren, *Corpus*, 1579 fig.400) and the Harpocrates statue seen in this chapter. Since both the cults of Harpocrates and the cult of Mithras are Eastern cults, it could be supposed that this may be a feature brought over by Pannonia's Eastern settlers. The style of the dedication seems to indicate that this was a composite relief, featuring the tauroctony scene as a central piece, and smaller, supplementary scenes surrounding it. According to Will, this relief could either belong to the fourth

Danubian type (Will (1955), pp.358-359), or to the strict Danubian type (Ibid. p.361). Although the strict Danubian type appears in Dacia and Moesia, it is unrecorded in Pannonia. An explanation offered by Bulat raises the possibility that this relief could have accompanied the Dacian legions to Pannonia on their way to Poetovio. The fourth type, however, is attested at Siscia, although the present relief slightly differs from the Siscia relief. Thus, although no definite categorisation can be provided, the monument does display eastern-Thracian influences. See : Bulat (1960b), pp.6-8 fig.2; Zotović (1973), p.40 no.50; Selem (1980), pp.151-152.

3. Fragment of a relief, made of sandstone, found somewhere in Osijek (exact location unknown). All that is left of the relief is the bottom left-hand corner, which depicts the bottom half of a man wearing a tunic. Selem and Bulat suppose that the figure is Cautopates. The relief is carved clumsily. See: Bulat (1960b), p.7 fig.4; and Selem (1980), pp.152-153.

CATALOGUE OF JUPITER OPTIMUS MAXIMUS DEDICATIONS FROM MURSA

1. Altar (AE 2006, 1094). The inscription reads:

[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo) / [P]RO SALVTE / C(ai) IVL(ii) AGATHO / PI C(onductoris) F(errariarum) PANNO / NIAR(um) ITEMQ(ue) / PROVINCIAR(um) / TRANSMARINAR(um) / GAMICVS ARK(arius) / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

The dedication dates to the early third century A.D. The dedicator, Gamicus, is a slave in the service of the *conductor* of a Pannonian and overseas mine and iron foundry, Gaius Julius Agathopus. He sets up the dedication for the well-being of his master, who judging from his Greek *cognomen*, may have himself been a freedman, or at least a son of a freedman. See: Bulat (1989), p.36; Šašel-Kos (1992), p.176; and Sinobad (2010), pp.154-156. For more on the relation between Greek *cognomina* and freedman status see: Taylor Ross (1961), p.125; p.121; and p.127; and Matijašić (2002), pp.71-72.

2. Altar (AE 1973, 448). The inscription reads:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / T(itus) FL(avius) IVSTVS / [B(ene)F(iciarius) C]O(n)S(ularis) LEG(ionis) IIII / MACRINO [ET] / CELSO CO(n)[S(ulibus)] / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

Judging by the consuls mentioned, the dedication can be dated to A.D. 164. The dedicator, Titus Flavius Iustus identifies himself as a *beneficiarius consularis* of the *legio IV Flavia Felix*. This legion was raised in A.D. 70 by Vespasian, from soldiers previously enrolled in the *IV Macedonica*. Between A.D. 86-102 the legion was stationed in Singidunum, but was subsequently moved to Sarmizegethusa, probably to repel the barbarian invasions. From Hadrian's time onwards, the legion returned permanently to Singidunum. Iustus himself had been seconded to serve on the staff of the governor of Pannonia Inferior at Aquincum. We can perhaps speculate that Iustus was dispatched from Aquincum to Mursa on an assignment, probably to watch over the Drava crossing, as Perinić-Muratović speculates that this is why several *beneficarii consularis* are attested in this city. It is probable that Mursa then featured a *beneficarii* post. See: Bulat, M. and Pinterović, D. (1971), pp.101-119, #1; and Perinić-Muratović (2003), p.101; and p.106, No.6.

3. Altar (AE 1973, 447). The inscription reads:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / CENSORINVS / MAXIMVS / B(ene)F(iciarius) CO(n)S(ularis) / ACC(epta) MISSIONE / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

The dedication is dated to late second century – early third century A.D. Our dedicator's *nomen* may indicate that he was of Celtic origin, as the name is found primarily in Belgica (*CIL* XIII 3984; and *CIL* XIII 4288, among others) and Lugudunensis (AE 2001, 1385; and *CIL* XIII 2839, among others). Our dedicator identifies himself as a *beneficiarius consularis*. We are fortunate in that he states his reason for the setting up of the dedication; namely, that he has been given his discharge and is retired. We can thus deduce that he has set up this dedication before leaving Mursa, and that he is commemorating his stay here. See: Bulat, M. and Pinterović, D. (1971), pp.101-119, #2; and Perinić-Muratović (2003), p.101; and p.104, No.4.

4. Altar (AE 1973, 449). The inscription reads:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / IVL(ius) SALV{T} / TARIS(!) B(ene)F(iciarius) / CO(n)S(ularis) QVOD / ARAS IN HVNC / LOCVM RECOLLOCA / VERIT

The dedication is dated to the early third century. The dedicator here again identifies himself as a *beneficiarius*, although his name has been misspelled (it should read Salutaris). He may be of Italic origin, as this name is most commonly found in Italy. His reason for setting up a dedication is highly unusual and intriguing. He states that it is because he has collected altars together again, presumably those set up by other *beneficarii consularis* which had perhaps been scattered due to a natural disaster (perhaps a flooding of the Drava), or maybe due to a renovation or a rebuilding of a temple, or even yet, during the Marcomannic Wars. He does not state which altars, whether these were just altars dedicated to Jupiter or other altars as well; nor does he state why the altars needed to be relocated. See: Bulat, M. and Pinterović, D. (1971), pp.101-119, #3; and Perinić-Muratović (2003), p.101; and p.105, No.5.

5. Altar (*CIL* III 3275 = *CIL* III 10259). It was discovered in 1773, near the western city walls of Mursa. The inscription reads:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / M(arcus) VLP(ius) / IANVARIVS / CORN(icularius) PROC(uratoris) / [----] / AVG(usti) V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

The dedication is dated to the late second – early third century A.D. The dedicator here, Marcus Ulpius Ianuarius, identifies himself as a *cornicularius procuratoris*, a clerk of senior standing on the procurator's staff. It is likely that he could have been charged, along with the *beneficiarii*, to oversee the Drava crossing. Ianuarius was possibly of autochthonous origin, as his *nomen* is frequently found in Pannonia, indicating that his family gained citizenship fairly early, during Trajan's reign. His *cognomen*, according to Kajanto, is also extremely frequent, thus making it hard for us to pinpoint his exact background. See: Katančić (1936), pp.85-86; Pinterović (1956), p.62, and p.84; Kajanto (1965), pp.29-30; Fears (1981), pp.102-103; Perinić-Muratović (2003), p.101; and p.103, No.3; and Radman-Livaja and Ivezić (2012), p.144.

6. Altar (*CIL* III 10268) discovered in 1869 in the Osijek city centre. The inscription reads:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) [----] / C(aius) I[----]

See: Brunšmid (1900), p.38.

7. Altar (*CIL* III 15141 = *ILJug* 3, 3096) measuring 104 x 56 x 43cm, dating to the third century A.D. The sides of the altar feature a *patera* and an *urceus*. The inscription reads:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / T(itus) HORT(ensius) FRE / QVENS DEC(urio) COL(oniae) MVR(S)ensium) / EQVO P(ublico) / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito) / ASCLEPIADES F(ecit)

Due to the faded letters, this inscription has also been interpreted by Brunšmid as:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / ET FORT(unae) FRE / QVENS DEC(urio) / COL(oniae) MVR(S)ensium) / EQVO P(ublico) / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito) / ASCLEPIADES F(ecit)

causing confusion among scholars as to whether these are two separate dedications. The identical measurements of the altar(s) and the line breaks in the inscription would seem to suggest that this is the one and the same altar, where an “F” and an “H” in the second line have been confused. The dedicator, Titus Hortensius Frequens, identifies himself here as a decurion (city councillor) of Mursa. He also stresses that he is a member of the equestrian

order. It is possible that he may have erected the dedication in honour of his decurionate, or perhaps even as a display of loyalty to the emperor Septimius Severus in anticipation of his arrival in Mursa in the early third century. Such a show of loyalty would not have been unusual for public officials. The dedication also indicates the stone was made by a stonecutter named Asclepiades, who is also mentioned on one other dedication from Mursa (*ILJug* 1963, 288, see the section on Jupiter in the Mursa chapter). Asclepiades was most likely a slave of Greek or Oriental origin. See also: Brunšmid (1900), pp.37-38, and pp.38-39; Pinterović (1958), p.58; and Bulat, M. and Pinterović, D. (1971), p.109.

8. Altar (*CIL* III 15142 = *ILJug* 3, 3098) made of limestone, measuring 87 x 54 x 37cm and dating to the second century A.D. It was discovered in the town centre near telephone pole no.62. The top part of the altar is missing. The inscription reads:

*I(ovi) [O(ptimo) M(aximo)] / SAC[R(um)] / M(arcus) PAENIV[S] / SALVTARI[S] / V(otum)
S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)*

It is to be noted that Brunšmid reads *M(arcus)* as *M(anus)*. The letters “R” and “I” in *SALVTARI[S]* are ligatured and reversed. Brunšmid notes that in 1773 two similar dedications were reported to have been found at the same spot (*CIL* III 3275 dedicated to Jupiter, and *CIL* III 3274 dedicated to all gods), raising suspicions that a temple to Jupiter (or a joint temple to Jupiter and all the gods) may have stood here (no structural remains have been found as of yet, since most of the present-day town lies directly above the ancient). Our dedicator’s *nomen*, Paenius, as far as this author is aware, is not found elsewhere in Pannonia, with one case being recorded in Dalmatia (*ILJug* 03, 1874), one in Africa Proconsularis (*CIL* VIII 15120) and two in Rome (*CIL* VI 24055 and *CIL* VI 23720). Determining our dedicator’s origin thus proves difficult, although it is possible that he may have been of Italic or autochthonous descent. This is the second individual bearing the *cognomen* Salutaris in Mursa who dedicates to Jupiter Optimus Maximus (see above *AE* 1973, 449). It is possible that our two dedicators are related, although the name Salutaris, most likely of Italic origin, is found throughout the Empire. Brunšmid (1900), pp.37-38. See also: Pinterović (1956), p.86; and Bulat, M. and Pinterović, D. (1971), p.104.

9. Altar (*ILJug* 2, 1057 = *ILJug* 1963, 287) made of marble and measuring 63 x 22 x 26cm, discovered in 1956 at the corner of Šumadijska and Srijemska streets in

downtown Osijek. The altar is severely damaged on both sides and broken off in several pieces. The inscription reads:

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / M(arcus) AVR(elius) CO[C] / CE(ius?) EVTYCHIA / NVS
IMM[VNIS?] / [----] PR(o) SE ET [S]VIS*

Bulat dates the altar to mid to late third century A.D. According to him the name Cocceius is reasonably common in Pannonia, being found in Aquincum (*CIL* III 3546; and *CIL* III 10369); Lobor (southern Croatia) (*CIL* III 4114 = *CIL* III 10888); Arrabona (*CIL* III 4382); Bruckneudorf (*AE* 2003, 1285); Klosterneuburg (*AE* 1992, 1445); Aequinoctium (*CIL* III 14359.20); and Vindobona (*CIL* III 14359.26), among other places. The name thus seems to appear almost exclusively in a north Pannonian military context. It is very likely that this name denoted a person of Celtic Pannonian origin, as one dedicator from Bruckneudorf identifies himself as “*princeps civitatis Boiorum*” (*AE* 2003, 1285). It is interesting to note as well that one funerary inscription bearing this name has been discovered in Rome (*CIL* VI 3297), attesting a person from Aquae Balissae. Since Mursa and Aquae Balissae were separated by a fairly short geographic distance, one could speculate that these two individuals may have been related. Although the dating of the inscription would tend to indicate that our dedicator received citizenship by virtue of the *constitutio Antoniniana*, the name Eutychianus is most certainly of Greek or Oriental origin. Thus, we may have here a person of mixed origin, testifying to the culturally-integrative nature of southern Pannonia. Eutychianus identifies himself as an *immunis*, a soldier free of fatigue duties, although he does not state his legion. It is to be noted that one additional Eutychianus is recorded at Mursa on a dedication to Deus Aeternus (*AE* 1980, 719) from the second century. While it is unlikely that these two individuals are related, it does testify to the continuity of this name in Mursa since Hadrian’s reign. See: Pinterović (1956), p.239; Bulat (1960a), pp.13-14; and Perinić-Muratović (2003), p.101; and p.103, No.1.

10. Altar (*ILJug* 2, 1058 = *AE* 1974, 536) measuring 75 x 45 x 30cm, and dated to A.D. 193-235. The inscription reads:

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / C(aius) IVL(ius) IVLIA / NVS B(ene)F(iciarius) CO(n)S(ularis) /
[L]EG(ionis) IIII FL(aviae) / [----]*

The dedicator Iulianus is another *beneficiarius consularis* from the *legio IV Flavia Felix*. One can assume that the reason for his presence in Mursa is similar to his fellow *beneficiarius consularis* Iustus (AE 1973, 448 see above). Iulianus may have been of Italic origin, although Kajanto notes that his *cognomen* was extremely common. See: Kajanto (1965), p.35; Bulat, M. and Pinterović, D. (1967), p.90, No.8; and Perinić-Muratović (2003), p.101; and p.103, No.2.

11. Altar (*ILJug* 2, 1059 = AE 1974, 534) measuring 47 x 38 x 30cm; and dating between the mid-second to the mid-third centuries A.D. The inscription reads:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / FORTVNATVS / AVG(usti) LIB(ertus) / [----

Our dedicator, Fortunatus, identifies himself as an imperial freedman. It is possible that he may have erected this dedication in honour of his grant of freedom. Determining Fortunatus' origin proves tricky as he bears a common slave name, however, Kajanto notes that the name was popular in Africa, which could perhaps give us a clue about our dedicator's origins. See: Kajanto (1965), p.18; and Bulat, M. and Pinterović, D. (1967), p.89; and p.92, No.6.

12. Altar (*ILJug* 3, 3095) made of marble measuring 93 x 36cm. It was discovered in 1902 in downtown Osijek near the teachers' school. The inscription reads:

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / PRO SALVTE T(iti) FL(avi) MARTINI D(ecurionis) C(oloniae)
M(ursensium) / PRAEF(ecti) COLL(egii) CENT(onariorum) / IIVIR(i) DESIGN(ati) /
FL(avius) PHILIPPVS / LIBERT(us) / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)*

The dedication is dated to the second half of the second century A.D. The altar was set up by the freedman Flavius Philippus for the wellbeing of his former master, Titus Flavius Martinus. From the inscription we discover that Martinus held the post of decurion of the city of Mursa, in addition to being the prefect of the association of firefighters and a designated *duumvir*, a city magistrate holding executive authority. Martinus, thus, was an extremely-highly placed and prominent public official. This inscription was probably erected in honour of Martinus' nomination as *duumvir*, the most honourable post one could hold in a city like Mursa. Celestin suspects that upon Martinus' nomination he had freed Philippus, which is the reason and the occasion of Philippus' dedication. The name Martinus is commonly found in Pannonia, Moesia, Dacia and Noricum, indicating that perhaps our decurion may be of autochthonous origin. This is the second Martinus attested among the Mursa dedications, the

first one being Aelius Martinus who sets up a dedication to Hercules in the second century (see the Hercules section of the Mursa chapter). It is possible that these two men may be distantly related, although their families received citizenship at different times. See: Celestin (1902), pp.101-102; Pinterović (1956), p.86; and Bulat, M. and Pinterović, D. (1971), p.109.

13. Altar (*ILJug* 3, 3097). The altar was discovered in the town of Osijek during the building of the town hospital. The monument measures 43 x 18cm and is slightly damaged. The inscription reads:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / SACR(um) / MESSIVS / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

The dedication is dated to the third century A.D. According to Celestin, the name Messius is most common in Italy, but can also be found in Pannonia and Dalmatia. Apart from this case, we have two further instances recorded: one from Putinac mentioning the *duplarius* Aelius Messius (*CIL* III 10199); and another from Gornji Koljani in Dalmatia mentioning a certain Messia. Pinterović is convinced that the Messius here is of autochthonous origin, while Radman-Livaja and Ivezić believe that the dedicator could be most likely of Celtic or Illyrian origin. See: Celestin (1902), p.99; Pinterović (1956), p.86; Pinterović (1978), p.129; and Radman-Livaja and Ivezić (2012), p.142.

14. Altar (*CIL* III 3291 = *CIL* III 10267) dating to the late second or early third century A.D. the inscription reads:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / P(ublius) AEL(ius) / CALLI / MORPHVS / AVG(ustalis) COL(oniae) PRO / SE E[T] SVIS / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

Publius Aelius Callimorphus here identifies himself as an *Augustalis* of the colony, most likely implying Mursa. Given his Greek *cognomen* and his role as an *Augustalis* he was most likely a freedman himself or descended from a freedman, as the members of the *Augustales* tended to be drawn primarily from this class. It appears that his family received freedom during Hadrian's reign, when Mursa becomes a colony. See: Fears (1981), p.103; and Shin (1988), p.425.

15. Altar dated to mid-second century A.D. The inscription reads:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) / M(aximo) / P(ublius) SPE(ratus) / SEM(pronius) [----] / P[----]

See also: Bulat (1980), pp.30-31; and Bulat (1989), pp.32-33.

16. Altar (*CIL* III 13362) dating to the mid-second century A.D. The inscription reads:

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / L(ucius) MARCIVS / AVITVS / B(ene)F(iciarius) PROC(uratoris)
/ V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)*

The dedicator, Lucius Marcius Avitus, identifies himself as a member of the procurator's staff. His *cognomen* Avitus, may indicate Celtic or autochthonous origin, as it is commonly found in Pannonia among autochthonous inhabitants, and in other areas of the Empire with a large Celtic population (Kajanto (1965), p.18; and p.80). This is the second attestation of the name in Mursa in the context of a Jupiter dedication (see *ILJug* 1963, 288 in the Jupiter section of the Mursa chapter). It is possible that our dedicator here is related to *M AVITVS* attested on the second dedication, especially if we read the "M" as Marcius and not Marcus. Both dedications originate from roughly the same time period, making familial relation a possible outcome. See also: Brunšmid (1901), p.187; Bulat (1971), p.105; and Radman-Livaja and Ivezić (2012), p.144.

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SUPPLEMENTS

RELIGION AND CULTS AT POETOVIO (PTUJ, SLOVENIA)

The Roman city of Poetovio is located on the banks of the river Drava, at a strategically chosen position, and in the direct path of two major commercial routes: the Amber Route and the Drava river trade route.⁸⁴² Evidence of settlement in this region can be found stretching back to the late Neolithic period.⁸⁴³ In pre-Roman times the region was inhabited by the Pannonian-Illyrian tribes, the Serretes and the Serapilli, who, after the Celtic invasions of the third century B.C. were supplanted by the Celtic Taurisci. Material evidence shows that these two cultures integrated, although the Taurisci were dominant.⁸⁴⁴ This may be discerned from the fact that several Celtic cults, such as the *Nutrices*, survive well into the Roman period, as well as numerous Celtic names.⁸⁴⁵ On the other hand, autochthonous Pannonian-Illyrian names are virtually non-existent in epigraphic record on the territory of Poetovio, leading scholars to speculate that the pre-Roman ethnic composition of the region was predominantly Celtic.⁸⁴⁶ Šašel Kos believes that the deficiency of Pannonian-Illyrian personal names in the area of Poetovio can perhaps be explained by some natural disaster such as a plague, which may have decimated a large part of the autochthonous population, or forced it out of this territory.⁸⁴⁷ This, however, cannot be verified. Like the names of autochthonous worshippers, autochthonous cults are seldomly attested, either due to amalgamation with newer religious trends, or due to abandonment of ancient ways of worship.⁸⁴⁸

⁸⁴² Vikić Belančić (1968a), pp.509-521; Šašel Kos (1993), pp.219-232; and Horvat *et al.* (2003), p.153.

⁸⁴³ Korošec (1965), pp.5-53; Korošec (1973), pp.180-182; Terzan (1990); Lamut (1996), pp.15-48; and Strmčnik-Gulić (1996), pp.49-72.

⁸⁴⁴ Serretes and Serapilli: Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* 3.147-148; Šašel (1970-1971), pp.310-314; Božić (1987), pp.855-897; Božić (1993), pp.189-204; Šašel Kos (1997), pp.21-42; Božić (1999), pp.192-201; and Istenić (2002), pp.165-166.

⁸⁴⁵ *CIL* III 3577; *CIL* III 4033; *CIL* III 4083; *CIL* III 4103; *CIL* III 13412; *CIL* III 10833; *AE* 1986, 572 and *AE* 1986, 573. Horvat *et al.* (2003), pp. 158-159; and Radman Livaja and Ivezić (2012), pp.142-143.

⁸⁴⁶ Lovenjak (1994), pp.139-140 and Šašel Kos (1997), p.37.

⁸⁴⁷ Šašel Kos (1997), pp.33-34. The mention of *deserta regna pastorum* in the vicinity of Poetovio (Alps and Noricum) by Virgil, *Georgics*, 3. 470-481 may also lead us to this conclusion.

⁸⁴⁸ It is possible, however, to deduce certain pre-Roman religious inclinations of the autochthonous population on the basis of the popularity of certain cults in Pannonia during the Roman period. The extensive worship of Silvanus, one of the most popular deities in southern Pannonia, would seem to indicate that the ancient Pannonian-Illyrians were fond of pastoral deities, and/or practiced pastoralism and sought divine help in this

After the Taurisci had lost control over the territory around the middle of the first century B.C., Poetovio came under the rule of the Norican Kingdom⁸⁴⁹, which, in 15 B.C. was itself turned into a Roman province.⁸⁵⁰ In those formative years, Poetovio was quickly shifted from Noricum to Illyricum, most likely a strategic move.⁸⁵¹ After the Pannonian-Illyrian revolt of A.D. 6-9 Poetovio joined Pannonia, and under Trajan's reign finally came under the control of Pannonia Superior from A.D. 103.⁸⁵²

The Roman presence in the region was established shortly after Poetovio came under Norican control. Around 13 B.C. the Romans constructed a legionary camp for the *legio VIII Augusta* on the right bank of the Drava. According to Klemenc, *legio VIII Augusta* was stationed here in order to keep watch on the main routes and prevent incursions into Italy, as well as to build a road south, towards Siscia and beyond.⁸⁵³ In addition to infantry, there is good reason to believe that the Pannonian river fleet was stationed at Poetovio. A religious dedication to Jupiter Optimus Maximus from Poetovio attests a trierarch by the name of Lucius Iulius Maximus of the *Classis Flavia Pannonica*.⁸⁵⁴ The fleet was probably first formed by Octavian during his conquest of Siscia, and was later reorganised under Vespasian, extending

activity. Likewise, the popularity of female healing and fertility deities such as the Nutrices or the Nymphs would seem to indicate that the ancient Pannonian-Illyrians were likewise concerned with these matters and could have most likely worshipped some form of female earth and healing deity. Although no epigraphic religious dedications survive from the pre-Roman period, which makes it hard to divine the nature of pre-Roman worship in southern Pannonia, certain archaeological finds on the territory of southern Pannonia could corroborate the suggestions above. Namely, animal-shaped, and in particular, bull-shaped rhyta, if used for cultic purposes, would indicate that the ancient Pannonian-Illyrians may have worshipped a pastoral or an agricultural deity. Likewise, clay female figurines with particularly pronounced female parts, discovered in particular on the territory of ancient Vojvodina, if employed for cultic purposes, would seem to indicate that the ancient Pannonian-Illyrians worshipped a female fertility deity. Benac (1989), pp.25-26. For further examples and discussion please see the introductory section of the Mursa chapter.

⁸⁴⁹ Kos (1977), pp.49-51 and pp.71-73; Šašel-Kos (1997), p.32 and p.37; Istenić (2002), p.166; and Horvat *et al.* (2003), p.155.

⁸⁵⁰ Šašel-Kos (1997), p.32.

⁸⁵¹ Šašel (1974), p.196.

⁸⁵² Saria (1951), p.1170; and Horvat *et al.* (2003), pp.154-155.

⁸⁵³ *CIL* III 4060; *CIL* III 10879; *CIL* III 10878 and *AII* 263. See: Ritterling (1925), p.1645; Klemenc (1961), p.7, and p.10; Oldenstein-Pferdehirt (1984), p.397; Istenić (2002), p.166; and Horvat *et al.* (2003), p.156; and p.182.

⁸⁵⁴ *CIL* III 4025.

along the Danube, the Drava and the Sava.⁸⁵⁵ In the mid-forties A.D., *Legio VIII Augusta* was relieved by *legio XIII Gemina*.⁸⁵⁶ The *XIII Gemina* legion is attested by various inscriptions and brickstamps from the region, which could lead to a conclusion that it may have participated in various building projects.⁸⁵⁷ Studies conducted by Saria suggest that the permanent military camp of *legio XIII Gemina* was to be found on the right bank of the Drava, at the Gornji Breg area of Ptuj, protecting the bridge at this Drava crossing. Saria suspects that minor auxiliary forces with the same assignment were located on the opposite side of the Drava.⁸⁵⁸ According to Tacitus, Poetovio gained early fame as it was in the camp of the *XIII Gemina* that Moesian and Pannonian legions assembled and declared Vespasian emperor.⁸⁵⁹ In the late first century the *legio XIII Gemina* was relocated to Pannonia's northern frontier (Vindobona)⁸⁶⁰, and replaced most likely by *legio I Adiutrix*.⁸⁶¹ The military occupation of Poetovio ceased at the beginning of Trajan's reign, at which point Poetovio became a colony, settled by army veterans most likely belonging to the *XIII Gemina*. It thus becomes known as *Colonia Ulpia Traiana Poetovio*.⁸⁶²

⁸⁵⁵ In addition to Siscia and Poetovio, the fleet is also attested at Aquincum (*CIL* III 10343) and Taurunum (*CIL* III 10675), among other places.

⁸⁵⁶ *CIL* III 4060; *CIL* III 10879; Abramić (1925), p.13 and p.51; Ritterling (1925), p.1251 and p.1647; Saria (1951), p.1171; Klemenc (1961), p.7; and Vikić Belančić (1968), p.75, footnote #2.

⁸⁵⁷ *CIL* III 14355; *CIL* III 14355/3; *CIL* III 4061; *CIL* III 10881; *CIL* III 11358; and *CIL* III 10877, among others. It would appear that some bricks were shipped to other cities as well, as a brickstamp from Mursa bears the name of this legion (*CIL* III 1628). Ritterling (1925), p.1713; and Horvat *et al.* (2003), p.156.

⁸⁵⁸ Saria (1939), p.124; and Klemenc (1961), p.7.

⁸⁵⁹ Tacitus, *Histories*, 3.1.

⁸⁶⁰ Strobel and Vikić Belančić believe that the legion was transferred in A.D. 97/98, while Saria believes that it was sometime between A.D. 102 and 107. The *XIII Gemina* returns to Poetovio during Gallienus' reign, as it is attested on dedications from the third Mithraeum. Saria (1951), p.1172; Vikić Belančić (1968), p.75, footnote #2; and Strobel (1988), p.215;

⁸⁶¹ Istenić (2002), p.166.

⁸⁶² Šašel Kos (1993), p.219; and Horvat *et al.* (2003), p.156.

In addition to the city itself, Poetovio incorporated a number of neighbouring settlements within its territory. The territory of Poetovio bordered the province of Noricum to the west⁸⁶³, and more precisely, the territory of the Norican Celeia. To the north, it bordered the territories of Solva and Salla, stopping perhaps at the Mura river⁸⁶⁴; to the east the territory of Iovia-Botivo and to the south the territory of Andautonia.⁸⁶⁵ Thus, the territory of Poetovio included the settlements of Starše⁸⁶⁶, Stražgonjca (Pultovia)⁸⁶⁷, Formin (Ramista)⁸⁶⁸, Petrijanec (Aqua Viva)⁸⁶⁹ and Varaždinske Toplice (Aquae Iasae)⁸⁷⁰. Aquae Iasae appears to have been the most prominent of these surrounding settlements, since it featured a thermal spa which was visited by several prominent officials.⁸⁷¹ Other than these recorded visits, not much is known in terms of the population which inhabited the *ager* of Poetovio. We can presume that the population was of Celtic and Pannonian-Illyrian descent, and that it integrated and mixed with Roman and other settlers to the region. The survival of certain “native” nomenclature (see above) and of certain “native” deities, such as the cult of the *Nutrices* or the amalgamation of Mars and Marimogius, would seem to indicate that Celtic and Pannonian-Illyrian cultural influences survived and integrated in one form or another, and were not eradicated.⁸⁷² Archaeological evidence confirms only that the area was well populated⁸⁷³, but further investigation into the nature of the population is needed.

⁸⁶³ The exact location of the border between Noricum and Pannonia is disputed. Saria and Klemenc (1939); Saria (1951), pp.1177-1178; Pahić (1969), pp.329-331; Šašel (1975), p.94; Hudeczek (1988), pp.23-24; and Horvat *et al.* (2003), p.160.

⁸⁶⁴ Saria and Klemenc (1939), pp.78-79.

⁸⁶⁵ Horvat *et al.* (2003), p.160.

⁸⁶⁶ Pahić (1996), pp.136-138.

⁸⁶⁷ Šašel (1975), p.94.

⁸⁶⁸ Pahić (1964-1965), p.315; and Mikl Curk (1975).

⁸⁶⁹ Šašel (1975), p.89.

⁸⁷⁰ *CIL* III 4117; and Šimek (2001), pp.41-49.

⁸⁷¹ Von Petrikovits (1968), pp.89-93; and Horvat *et al.* (2003), p.160. Consult the Aquae Iasae chapter of this thesis.

⁸⁷² Klemenc (1961), p.11. Excavations of cemeteries from the first century A.D. surrounding Poetovio point to cultural integration between Pannonian-Illyrian, Celtic and northern Italian cultures in this region. Italian grave goods similar to those found at Urbino, Verona, and Portorecanati; along with Norico-Pannonian brooches and

In contrast to the countryside, the population of the city of Poetovio is well attested. As can be seen from epigraphic and archaeological evidence, it appears that Poetovio accommodated settlers of very varied backgrounds. The new colony was settled primarily by veterans from the two legions previously stationed there, but epigraphic evidence also attests veterans from other legions.⁸⁷⁴ In its early stages, Poetovio likewise attracted the attention of north Italian merchants and craftsmen, and later in the second and third centuries A.D., immigrants from all over the Empire, but predominantly those of Greek and Oriental origins attached to the Illyrian customs service.⁸⁷⁵ The *Valerii* clan, the leading family of Poetovio, appear to have been merchants who emigrated to the region in the beginning of the first century A.D.⁸⁷⁶ Most early settlers probably made their way to Poetovio from Northern Italy, from towns

dress accessories were discovered side-by-side indicating not only lively trading relations with northern and central Italy but also likely intermarriage between native women and veteran settlers of Italian descent. Epigraphic evidence as well supports mainly Italian military and civilian immigration in the early period at Poetovio (Military: *AII* 368; *AII* 371; and *AII* 372, among others. Civilian: *AII* 397; *AII* 400; *AII* 402; and *AII* 407, among others); although a Celtic presence (presumably native, although we may not exclude the possibility of immigrant Celts from other parts of the Empire) is also attested (*AII* 410; and *CIL* III 10883 (a *graffito* on a pot in a local (presumably Celtic) language)). Immigrants from other parts of the Empire, both nearby (Celeia – *AII* 370; and Dalmatia – *CIL* III 4056) and further away (Africa – *AII* 375) are also attested epigraphically, but to a lesser extent than Italic settlers. Thus, the first-century evidence points to a more intense cultural variety and interaction in Poetovio than in the other settlements examined in this thesis in this period.

Evidence of cultural integration in the first century among the autochthonous population can be discerned from a Roman-style *aedicola* which was used by dedicators bearing Celtic names (Deuso and Adbugiouna – *CIL* III 10883) who do not appear to have held Roman citizenship. This monument highlights the complexities of cultural integration in this early period and the multiple aspects of cultural and religious identity that one may simultaneously exhibit. Additionally, the survival of the late second/early third century Celtic *graffito* discovered on the outskirts of Poetovio is a testament to the preservation of certain forms of Celtic lifestyle, which have undoubtedly survived due to the integrationist nature of cultural changes in this region in the post-conquest period. Istenić (2002), pp.167-169. For more on funerary evidence from Poetovio see: Istenić (1999) and Istenić (2000).

⁸⁷³ Pahić (1964-1965), pp.283-320 ; Pahić (1972); and Koprivnik (1995), pp.57-124.

⁸⁷⁴ *AII* 374 attests to a *missio nummaria* and *AII* 373 and *AE* 1986, 562 both attest a *missio agraria*. Saria (1951), pp.1172; and Horvat *et al.* (2003), p.156.

⁸⁷⁵ Šašel (1979), p.4; and Šašel-Kos (1993), p.219.

⁸⁷⁶ Alföldy (1964), pp.141-142. Alföldy, like Vikić Belančić, seems to support the idea that the *Valerii*, along with other northern Italians followed the army into Pannonia, capitalising on the trade and supply opportunities. By the time of Trajan, the *Valerii* are the most prominent family in Poetovio, holding titles such as *decurio* (*CIL* III 4069; and *AII* 288) and prominent priesthoods (*CIL* VIII 4600) and equestrianhips (*CIL* III 4028). M. Valerius Maximianus even became the first known senator from Pannonia in the second century A.D. (*CIL* VIII 4600). Šašel Kos (1993), p.222; and Horvat *et al.* (2003), p.159.

such as Cremona, Dertona, Industria, Mediolanum and Parma; thus it is no wonder that the majority of early trade goods originated from this region as well.⁸⁷⁷

In contrast with the settler population, Horvat *et al.* believe that the native population of Poetovio was quite insignificant during this early period, due to a lack of epigraphic attestations. “Nonetheless, epigraphic evidence attests that the autochthonous population in Poetovio was minor, as inscriptions with typical Roman names or names of eastern origin predominated among the inscriptional material.”⁸⁷⁸ The present author wishes to caution against such premature conclusions. The silence of the epigraphic evidence concerning the native population of Poetovio may be due to several factors. It is possible that the high level of emigration to the region in the early period, both from army veterans and from other north Italic settlers, who were accustomed to worship in a Latin epigraphic manner overshadowed other, non-epigraphic, autochthonous forms of worship. As we will see in Poetovio and in our other Drava cities, the great majority of epigraphic votive dedications have been set up by imperial officials, administrative personnel or public and municipal officials. Thus, votive altars, as public displays of devotion, were closely tied to public offices that these individuals held, for they served not only the basic function of appealing to a particular deity for help, but also both to advertise one’s own achievements and proclaim affiliation to a particular government or administrative branch, and also often as a display of loyalty to the emperor and the imperial house, who played a significant role in their own personal advancement. While it is likely that the autochthonous population may not yet have taken part, at least in this early period, in public and administrative posts (for one needed not only to be accustomed to Roman administrative and government procedures, but also be literate in Latin if not even additionally in Greek, which without a doubt, would have taken some time for even certain upper levels of autochthonous classes to master), this did not imply that the

⁸⁷⁷ Horvat *et al.* (2003), p.159. Branka Vikić Belančić has written an excellent article detailing the import of ceramic goods into southern Pannonia. She stipulates that initially it was the Roman army which enabled the large-scale penetration of ceramic goods into Pannonia, opening not only new markets and trade routes, but also stimulating the emigration of merchants and craftsmen into Pannonia. Vikić Belančić (1968), pp.509-510. Vikić Belančić shows that early ceramics were imported from Northern Italy, and spread to Poetovio, Siscia, and as far as Teutoburgium, Rittium, Burgenae and Sirmium. Vikić Belančić (1968), pp.510-511. In addition to pottery, amphorae of oil and wine, oil lamps, and northern Italian building materials were all exported from Northern Italy into southern Pannonia, at least until the Pannonian production industry took off in the late first century. Vikić Belančić (1968), pp.511-512.

⁸⁷⁸ Mikl Curk (1966), pp.417-420; Šašel Kos (1999), p.153; and Horvat *et al.* (2003), p.159.

autochthonous population was “minor” in Poetovio, nor that it did not participate *at all* in “Roman” forms of worship. We must remember that epigraphic worship was only one form of religious expression, and that absence of “autochthonous-looking” names on epigraphic monuments did not necessarily imply complete abstinence from participation in other forms of “Roman” traditional worship. In fact, the autochthonous population may indeed have been more drawn to participate in other, ritualistic forms of worship of “Roman” deities rather than in epigraphic worship, as this may have resembled more their own religious traditions. We must not also forget that epigraphic dedications were expensive and that not everybody could afford to set up a votive altar, thus other forms of religious worship may have been preferred, which have not left us an archaeological trace. Thus, we must not either exclude the autochthonous population entirely from early epigraphic dedications, for it is possible that certain dedicants, especially those of upper classes, would have adopted Roman nomenclature early and would thus be invisible to us by their autochthonous identity. It is thus extremely unlikely that “autochthonous population in Poetovio was minor” especially in this early period when the autochthonous population still greatly outnumbered the settler population.

With the arrival of north Italian and other immigrants from different corners of the Empire Poetovio prospered and developed quickly into a commanding commercial and administrative centre. Under Hadrian Poetovio became the administrative centre of the *publicum portorii Illyrici*⁸⁷⁹. The *publicum portorii Illyrici*, the Illyrian customs service, was most likely established sometime between Tiberius’ and Claudius’ reigns⁸⁸⁰, although individual customs posts, such as Aquileia and Tergeste, date back to the Republican period.⁸⁸¹ It encompassed the provinces of Raetia, Noricum, Dalmatia, the two Pannonias, the two Moesias, Dacia, Thrace and *Regio X*, resulting in 68 *stationes*.⁸⁸² Poetovio housed the central administration offices for the entire *publicum portorii Illyrici*, in addition to at least

⁸⁷⁹ *CIL* III 752; Cagnat (1880), p.38; Dobó (1940), p.165; De Laet (1949), p.221; Dobó (1968), p.182, nos. 297-321; Šubić (1977), pp.95-96, no.8; and Selem (1980), p.11; and p.378.

⁸⁸⁰ De Laet (1949), pp.230-231 and pp.234-235.

⁸⁸¹ De Laet (1949), p.230.

⁸⁸² Beskow (1980), p.1. For a complete list of *stationes* see: De Laet (1949).

one, if not three, customs *stationes*.⁸⁸³ The customs offices in the interior of the Empire, like Poetovio, served two purposes: firstly, to verify whether the tax on the merchandise entering a specific district was paid; and secondly, to collect passage tax.⁸⁸⁴ Continuing from the Republican period, the early Empire saw the customs services managed by the *societates vectigaliae*. Most likely under Tiberius, the Empire was divided into vast customs districts (*portoria*) which were managed by private *societates vectigaliae* who were in charge of farming taxes in their given district. Rampant corruption and abuse of power by the *socii*, however, forced Trajan to restructure the customs service, getting rid of the *socii* and replacing them with individual tax collectors, the *conductores*, who were now in charge of the *publicum portorii Illyrici*.⁸⁸⁵ The *conductores* were usually wealthy men of equestrian or freedman status who rented out a specific district in order to collect taxes on behalf of the imperial administration. The taxes collected ended up in imperial coffers, while the *conductores* received a percentage of the profits.⁸⁸⁶ Due to its size, the *publicum portorii Illyrici* was leased out to several *conductores* at a time.⁸⁸⁷ We know of two particular families, the Julii and the Antonii, who seemed to have counted between them a large portion of the *conductores* recorded in the Illyrian customs service.⁸⁸⁸ All the *conductores* in charge of the *publicum portorii Illyrici* contributed slaves⁸⁸⁹ and resources to the running of the

⁸⁸³ A *statio Poetovionensis* is recorded by *CIL* III 14354 and *AE* 1938, 154. Gurlitt, however, believes that there would have been 3 *stationes* in total at Poetovio: one *statio* located on the Celeia-Poetovio road leading into the city; and two other *stationes* located at Spodnja Hajdina and Zgornja Hajdina, controlling customs on the Drava river. Gurlitt (1896), p.22 and p.42.

⁸⁸⁴ De Laet (1949), pp.368-369.

⁸⁸⁵ De Laet (1949), pp.382-383; and Beskow (1980), p.1.

⁸⁸⁶ De Laet (1949), pp.369-370, p.388, and p. 398.

⁸⁸⁷ Evidence from inscriptions indicates that up to three *conductores* managed the *P.P.I.* simultaneously. See the Mithraic dedications from Poetovio. De Laet (1949), pp.237-238, and pp.400-401; and Beskow (1980), p.1.

⁸⁸⁸ Thus, for example, scholars believe that the *conductores* C. Antonius Rufus and M. Antonius Fabianus, as well as the *procuratores* C. Antonius Julianus and Antonius Silvanus may have belonged to the same family. Likewise, the *conductores* Julius Proclus, T. Julius Perseus and T. Julius Saturninus, as well as the *procurator* T. Julius Paternus may have belonged to the same family as well. Moreover, it is possible that the two families were related. If this was the case, it would make passing control of the *publicum portorii Illyrici* from one *conductor* to the next much easier. Thus, scholars have speculated that C. Antonius Julianus was probably the son of T. Julius Saturninus and the adoptive son of C. Antonius Rufus, who was Saturninus' associate. De Laet (1949), p.400, footnote #1.

⁸⁸⁹ De Laet (1949), p.230, and p.385.

customs service, and thus also consequently shared in the profits.⁸⁹⁰ Thus, the customs service was staffed by slaves or by freedmen in the service of a particular *conductor*. At the head of every customs office was a *vilicus*.⁸⁹¹ He was the senior official (supervisor) of a customs post, and was in charge of other men performing various duties of *vicarius vilici* (deputy supervisor - a slave belonging to and assisting the *vilicus*), *arcarius* (assistant to the *dispensator*), *vicarius arcarii* (a slave belonging to the *arcarius*), *dispensator* (cashier), *vicarius dispensatoris* (a slave belonging to the *dispensator*), *actor* (estate administrator), *contrascriptor* (accountant) and *scrutator* (inspector of travellers and merchandise) in the customs service.⁸⁹² It is possible that when individual *conductores* changed at least some of the same staff remained, with the new *conductor* buying the slaves of the previous *conductor*. This is quite plausible since these specialized slaves would be hard to replace.⁸⁹³ By the time of Marcus Aurelius, a second reform to the customs services took place, and the management of the *publicum portorii Illyrici* now passed from the hands of the *conductores* into the custody of the *procuratores*. If we are to judge by the case of Antonius Rufus, it would appear that old *conductores* were employed as the new *procuratores*. This is likewise attested on dedications, as during the initial transitional period we find men occupying both posts of *conductor* and *procurator*.⁸⁹⁴ This latest reform in management, from *conductor* to *procurator*, caused only slight changes in the highest levels of customs administration.⁸⁹⁵ Firstly, the *procurator* was now an imperial administrator, and not an individual tax collector.⁸⁹⁶ Secondly, instead of receiving a percentage of the customs tax levied, the *procuratores* now received a fixed “salary”. This payout must have been higher than the compensation previously received in order for this administrative change to take hold. Along with a payrise, the *procuratores* as well received a higher social standing. While still being

⁸⁹⁰ De Laet (1949), pp.240-241.

⁸⁹¹ The customs *vilicus* is not to be confused with the manager of a private estate who also bears the title of *vilicus*. For an in-depth analysis of this post see: Weaver (1972), p.117, and p.252; and Sanader (1995a), pp.97-109. *CIL* III 4720 would seem to indicate that certain customs posts may have featured more than one *vilicus*.

⁸⁹² De Laet (1949), pp.380-381, and pp.393-394; Beskow (1980), p.2; and Clauss (2000), pp.37-39.

⁸⁹³ De Laet (1949), pp.395-396.

⁸⁹⁴ De Laet (1949), pp.403-405.

⁸⁹⁵ De Laet (1949), p.411.

⁸⁹⁶ Beskow (1980), p.1.

recruited from the equestrian class, the *procuratores* now were considered as *ducenarii* instead of *sexagenarii*.⁸⁹⁷ Other changes affecting the wider functioning of the customs service also took place. Most importantly, the title of the Illyrian customs changed from *publicum portorii Illyrici* to *vectigal Illyrici*. This change carried connotations of the “nationalisation” of the customs service, exhibited by the new tendency of the customs slaves to identify themselves as imperial slaves and not by an association to a specific *conductor*, as previously practiced, although they still technically belonged to individual *procuratores*.⁸⁹⁸ In addition to this, several new posts within the customs service were created at this time, such as the post of *praepositus* (with duties similar to those of a *vilicus*), and the post of *librarius* whose exact duties are obscure, and who is not attested within the territory of the Illyrian customs service.⁸⁹⁹ The reforms of Marcus Aurelius likewise encouraged the spread of *tabularia*.⁹⁰⁰ In addition to the customs administrative office, Poetovio housed as well the *tabularium* in charge of Pannonia Superior.⁹⁰¹ These imperial bureaux were headed by a procurator from the equestrian order. Under the *conductores* the *tabularia* controlled the *portoria*, and under the *procuratores*, they acted as a registration office. The main functions of the *tabularia* consisted of keeping accounts of the customs levied, controlling the finances of the *conductores* and of inspecting different customs posts.⁹⁰² The officials working for the *tabularium*, known as the *tabularii*, were of freedman status. Several of the individuals working for the *tabularium* are attested in our dedications; however, customs officers are particularly well-attested, mostly from the first⁹⁰³ and the second⁹⁰⁴ Mithraea.⁹⁰⁵

⁸⁹⁷ De Laet (1949), pp.405-406.

⁸⁹⁸ De Laet (1949), pp.407-408; and Beskow (1980), p.1. Clauss points out that this change in title, from “slave” to “imperial slave”, occurred during the reign of Commodus. Clauss (2000), p.38.

⁸⁹⁹ De Laet (1949), pp.411-415.

⁹⁰⁰ In addition to the *tabularium* at Poetovio, new *tabularia* were set up at Fines Cotti, Drobetae and Ulpiana, to name a few. De Laet (1949), pp.411-413.

⁹⁰¹ *CIL* III 3964; *CIL* III 4043; *CIL* III 4062; *CIL* III 4066; and Selem (1980), p.11.

⁹⁰² De Laet (1949), pp.389-391; and Beskow (1980), p.2.

⁹⁰³ *AII* 291-298.

⁹⁰⁴ *AII* 299-310.

In addition to housing the customs and administrative services, due to its strategic location both on the Drava trade route and on land routes connecting the east with the west, Poetovio quickly became a significant production centre, with numerous pottery, brick, glass, stone and metal workshops attested. Products from these workshops were exported down the Drava to other Pannonian cities, and in some cases, to neighbouring provinces. Epigraphic evidence additionally attests a *collegium* of carpenters in Poetovio (*collegium fabrum tignuariorum*), which likely prospered due to the fact that the Pannonian river fleet was stationed in the city.⁹⁰⁶ Thus, life in the city thrived, at least until the Marcomannic Wars, when, as of A.D. 167 barbarian tribes invaded Pannonia from across the Danube, with havoc and destruction reaching as far as Poetovio. The city was likewise ravaged by the Antonine plague. Stability was briefly regained under the Severan dynasty, before Pannonia (and Poetovio) suffered further barbarian threats. Under Diocletian Poetovio reverted back to the province of Noricum⁹⁰⁷, and in the late Roman period became famous as the seat of several prominent civil and military figures, in addition to featuring in several battle accounts⁹⁰⁸. After the sixth century, however, no further mention of Poetovio is made in our sources.

Roman Poetovio appears to have had a very vibrant religious life. There were two major cults located in the city: the cult of the eastern god Mithras and the (presumably native and local Poetovian) cult of the Nutrices Augustae. The sheer number of votive dedications to these deities attest to their immense popularity in the city. In addition to these, Roman cults, such as the cult of Jupiter (Jupiter Optimus Maximus) and the cults of Vulcan, Mercury and Fortuna⁹⁰⁹, appear to have been very popular as well. Other Graeco-Roman cults attested are

⁹⁰⁵ It is interesting to note that inscriptions show that the majority of customs officials bear Greek and Oriental names. These men predominantly tend to dedicate to Eastern deities, such as Mithras. Some scholars maintain that up to 35% of all religious dedications in and around Poetovio have been set up to Eastern deities. See: Selem (1980); and Belak (1993), pp.234.

⁹⁰⁶ *A/IJ* 364; and Lamut (1992), pp.164-165.

⁹⁰⁷ Saria (1951), p.1174; and Šašel Kos (1994), pp.99.

⁹⁰⁸ Of note are the battle of A.D. 351 between Constantius II and Magnentius (Zosimus, *Historia Nova*, 2.46), and the battle of A.D. 388 between Theodosius and Maximus (Ambrosius, *Epistulae*, 40.23). As well, Gallus Caesar appears to have been captured outside of Poetovio in A.D. 354 (Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, 14.11-20).

⁹⁰⁹ The temple of Fortuna, attested on *A/IJ* 340, was located on the right bank of the Drava, and gave its name to the neighborhood at the time: *Vicus Fortunae* (modern-day Spodnja Hajdina). Horvat *et al.* (2003), p.174.

the cults of Liber/Libera, Silvanus, Diana, the Nymphs, Venus, Aesculapius⁹¹⁰, Nemesis, and Juno. In terms of Eastern cults, in addition to Mithras, the cult of Magna Mater/Cybele, the cults of Isis and Serapis, and *possibly* the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus are present at Poetovio. Five Celtic cults are also attested on the territory of Poetovio: Jupiter Depulsor, Mars Marimogius, Epona⁹¹¹, Brogdos⁹¹², and Dravus.

Mithras

The cult of Mithras was by far the most popular cult at Poetovio. In total, Poetovio has five known Mithraea. The first three are located on the right side of the Drava bank, where Poetovio would have been first settled. The latter two, however, are on the opposite side and reflect the later extension of the town. The first and smallest Poetovian Mithraeum was built sometime in the middle of the second century A.D. It is located in the southern part of what is known today as Spodnja Hajdina, and would have formed part of the ancient *Vicus Fortunae* within the city of Poetovio. It was excavated for the first time by W. Gurlitt in the years 1898-1899. The sanctuary measures 5.60 x 5.57 meters.⁹¹³ Although numerous dedications have been found, nothing remains at present of the main cult statue, which has led certain scholars to believe that it may have been moved to the second Mithraeum.⁹¹⁴ A large number

Interestingly, this is also where two of the Mithraea are located, and one of the sanctuaries to the *Nutrices* (see their respective sections below).

⁹¹⁰ Interestingly enough, these cults, in addition to the cult of the *Nutrices*, are all attested at the same place: a large building uncovered at the start of the last century at modern-day Panorama (within the city of Poetovio). The building was excavated by Abramić, who upon finding the majority of dedications centered within two rooms of the building, concluded that this may have been a joint worship area during the second century A.D. and after. Abramić (1914), pp.87-150.

⁹¹¹ Epona is attested at Ptuj only on a relief panel which has now been lost. The panel was originally found, along with the Mercury dedication examined below, near the Poetovian *mansio* just outside the city. Since Epona is presumed to be an autochthonous goddess of horses, it may be presumed that she was worshipped at this spot by horse grooms and stable hands. Skrabar (1937-1940), p.379; Lamut (1992), p.164; and Eichner *et al.* (1994), p.140.

⁹¹² The (possible) deity Brogdos is attested at Ptuj only by a two-word inscription on a small pot found at Spodnja Hajdina (the meaning of the inscription on the pot is debatable, thus it is not certain whether “Brogdos” is a name of a deity). Eichner *et al.* suppose Brogdos to be a deity of borders. The god is otherwise unknown. Eichner *et al.* (1994), p.137.

⁹¹³ Zotović (1973), p.44.

⁹¹⁴ Cumont (1894-1899), p.365; Gurlitt (1899); Abramić (1925), pp.162-171; Saria (1939), p.56; Mócsy (1959), p.215, #56-64; Vermaseren (1960), pp.176-181, #1487; and Zotović (1973), p.44.

of dedications placed here date from A.D. 140 to 180⁹¹⁵ and were set up by customs officials stationed at Poetovio.⁹¹⁶ According to Abramić, the first Mithraeum was built by the imperial slaves in the service of three men in charge of the Illyrian customs (*conductores*): Gaius Antonius Rufus, Quintus Sabinus Verinus and Titus Julius Saturninus.⁹¹⁷ Two of these men, Rufus and Verinus, are recorded as patrons on some of the inscriptions recovered from the first Mithraeum. Will argues that these men themselves were probably not part of Mithras' cult since they do not appear as dedicators.⁹¹⁸ Two inscriptions⁹¹⁹ which were found in this Mithraeum seem to point to the conclusion that the Mithraeum was set up in memory of a certain Hyacinthus, who, according to Abramić, may have been the one who brought Mithraism to Poetovio.⁹²⁰ Mithraism appears to have arrived at Poetovio via Aquileia, due to the high quality of dedications found in the first Mithraeum and their artistic resemblance to the Mithraic dedications of Aquileia.⁹²¹ Thus, we see a cultural connection to northern Italy although most worshippers appear to have been of Graeco-Oriental descent. Since Aquileia likewise boasted a large Graeco-Oriental population, as well as featuring a customs office, it is possible that connections, at least as far as the diffusion of Oriental cults is concerned, were formed between the Graeco-Oriental elements in Aquileia and the Graeco-Oriental elements in Poetovio. According to the evidence found in the area surrounding the first Mithraeum, it is quite possible that this Mithraeum could have formed part of a sanctuary complex. Archaeological evidence reveals that the Mithraeum is adjacent to several smaller

⁹¹⁵ Mócsy (1959), p.215.

⁹¹⁶ *AIJ* 291-298 = *CIL* III 14354/25 – 14354/34. It is interesting to note that the customs offices were located at *Vicus Fortunae*. Horvat *et al.* (2003), p. 182. For a list of dedications from the first Mithraeum see the "Catalogue of Mithraic dedications from Poetovio: First Mithraeum".

⁹¹⁷ Abramić (1933).

⁹¹⁸ Will (1970), pp.633-638.

⁹¹⁹ *CIL* III 14354/33 = *AIJ* 297 and *CIL* III 14354/ 34 = *AIJ* 298.

⁹²⁰ Abramić (1933).

⁹²¹ Clauss (2000), pp.38-39. It is likewise entirely possible that the cult was brought to Poetovio from Moesia by customs officials – one of the earliest dedications comes to us from Novae sometime around A.D. 100 (Vermaseren, *Corpus*, 2269); or from the military forces from Carnuntum – another early dedication set up by a soldier of *legio XV Apollinaris* (Vermaseren, *Corpus*, 1718), who was stationed in Carnuntum between the years A.D. 98-117. Clauss (2000), p.21.

sanctuaries, two of which belonged to Vulcan and to Venus.⁹²² In addition, several other dedications were discovered near the complex, roughly a hundred meters north of the site. These include dedications to the local god Marimogius, as well as dedications to the Holy Spring and the Nymphs.⁹²³

Located about 20 meters just south of the first Mithraeum is the second Mithraic temple, constructed in the time of Septimius Severus on top of a water spring.⁹²⁴ The second Mithraeum was excavated by W. Gurlitt in the years 1900-1901. The temple measures 13.40 x 7.30 meters. It is divided into three parts, one of which includes a water spring, where about 80 coins dating to the first half of the fourth century were found.⁹²⁵ This would seem to indicate that this temple was in use up until the time of Constantius II.⁹²⁶ According to Selem, the construction of the second Mithraeum was a direct result of overcrowding in the first Mithraeum.⁹²⁷ Since Oriental religions, such as Mithraism, gain a massive boost in popularity in the third century, this is not unusual. Like the first Mithraeum, the second Mithraeum predominantly features dedications set up by customs officials, although the social background of the dedicators is more varied.⁹²⁸ Due to the nature of the dedicators at these two Mithraea, it would be plausible to argue that the cult was brought to the region of Poetovio by traders and customs officials of the *vectigal Illyrici*, and not by the army. This is

⁹²² That Vulcan and Mithras may have been grouped as part of a sanctuary complex is unsurprising, as they are both deities which share similar cult elements. Gurlitt (1899), pp.87-102; Abramić (1925), pp.30-31 and pp.162-170; and Vomer Gojković (2001), pp.105-124.

⁹²³ It is interesting to note that a water spring was located in close proximity to the first Mithraeum. This would surely account for the worship of the water deities. Horvat *et al.* (2003), p. 174. Tušek believes that these deities may have belonged to the sanctuary complex. Tušek (1986), pp.362-366.

⁹²⁴ Zotović (1973), pp.48; and Horvat *et al.* (2003), p. 157, and p.174. The first and second Mithraea share the characteristic of being built adjacently to water springs; however, where water deities were found worshipped alongside the first Mithraeum, no such occurrence arises when it comes to the second Mithraeum.

⁹²⁵ Zotović (1973), pp.48.

⁹²⁶ Abramić (1925), pp.68-84; and Saria, B. and Klemenc, J. (1939), pp.56-57.

⁹²⁷ Clauss believes that the erection of supplementary Mithraea when the original Mithraeum becomes overcrowded was a common practice in other parts of the Empire as well. Clauss (2000), p.21.

⁹²⁸ *CIL* III 15184/2- *CIL* III 15184/26 = *AII* 299-310; Selem (1980), pp.106-107; and Clauss (2000), p.38. For a list of dedications from the second Mithraeum see the "Catalogue of Mithraic dedications from Poetovio: Second Mithraeum".

further supported by the fact that the first Mithraeum was not established during the early occupation of Poetovio by the troops, but in the middle of the second century A.D., when Poetovio had already been granted its colonial status, and when, it is to be assumed, it was flourishing as a trading town due to its strategic position on the Drava.

The third Mithraeum, located on the right bank of the Drava near the river Studenčica, at modern-day Zgornji Breg part of Ptuj⁹²⁹, dates from the third century A.D. The site was first excavated by V. Skrabar in 1913, and was later taken over by M. Abramić. The temple measured in the first instance 11.20 x 6.85 metres.⁹³⁰ The temple was divided into three parts, with one central room and two side elements. This Mithraeum appears to have been built in two stages. The initial stage, according to Campbell, is contemporary with the second Mithraeum.⁹³¹ After the initial construction, the temple was expanded during the time of Gallienus⁹³². This expansion connected the third Mithraeum to what is believed to be a shrine either to the Magna Mater or to the Nutrices.⁹³³ The great majority of the inscriptions retrieved from the third Mithraeum date from the second stage onwards (mid-third century A.D.).⁹³⁴ The main dedicators appear to have been soldiers who served under Gallienus in the *legio V Macedonica* and the *legio XIII Gemina*.⁹³⁵ This is reflected in the preference of the

⁹²⁹ According to Horvat *et al.* the neighbourhoods of Zgornji Breg and Panorama were inhabited in Roman times primarily by the wealthy. Horvat *et al.* (2003), p. 182.

⁹³⁰ Zotović (1973), p. 53; and Selem (1980), p.125.

⁹³¹ Campbell (1954-1955), p.38.

⁹³² Selem (1980), p.125. Around 250 coins were found on site which date to the time of Gallienus and his successors. Zotović (1973), p. 53. An alternative interpretation put forward by Abramić states that the temple was built in the mid-third century A.D. by Gallienus' Dacian legions. The coins could support either theory. Abramić (1933), p.141.

⁹³³ A bust of what is believed to be Magna Mater was discovered in the central room. Selem expresses the possibility of this room being a metroon, although no inscriptions to female deities have been found here. Selem (1980), p.126. For the Magna Mater interpretation see: Abramić (1925), p.174 and pp.188-189. For the Nutrices interpretation see: Diez (1993), pp. 251-262. Archaeologists have uncovered two reliefs of the Nutrices and a female bust. Rak (1911), pp. 176-178; and Horvat *et al.* (2003), p. 178.

⁹³⁴ For a list of dedications from the third Mithraeum see the "Catalogue of Mithraic dedications from Poetovio: Third Mithraeum".

⁹³⁵ *AIJ* 1938, 313; 314; and 317; Abramić (1925), pp.172-188; Klemenc, J. and Saria, B. (1939), pp.51-52; Šubić (1967), p.188; Vikić Belančić (1968), p.75, footnote #2; Vidrih Perko and Lovenjak (2001), pp.179-189; and Žižek (2001), pp.125-166.

dedicators for military-themed reliefs. It is to be noted that a large part of these latter dedications are of poor quality craftsmanship. The few which display more skill are thought to belong to the first period of the Mithraeum.⁹³⁶ It is to be noted that two of the oldest inscriptions from the third Mithraeum were set up by civilians.⁹³⁷ This has led Campbell to conclude that the third Mithraeum was originally built as a civilian temple and that it only became a predominantly military sanctuary in its second building phase (i.e. after the transfer of Gallienus' *legio V Macedonica* and *legio XIII Gemina* to Poetovio).⁹³⁸

The fourth Mithraeum was supposedly located on the left bank of the Drava, where modern-day neighborhood of Muzejski Trg stands.⁹³⁹ Although no significant structural remains of this Mithraeum were found⁹⁴⁰, four dedicatory inscriptions exist which are attributed to this Mithraeum,⁹⁴¹ in addition to two inscriptions found in the proximity of the supposed temple. All the dedications date either to the third or the early fourth century A.D.

⁹³⁶ Zotović (1973), pp.53-54.

⁹³⁷ *A/I* 311 and *A/I* 312. Selem (1980), p.126.

⁹³⁸ Campbell (1954-1955), p.38.

⁹³⁹ Cumont (1896-1899), p.145 #354-357 and p.149 #388; and Horvat *et al.* (2003), p. 162.

⁹⁴⁰ Premierstein proposes the location at Muzejski Trg on the basis of some ancient remains found near the Dominican monastery. Premierstein (1886), p.235. This interpretation is problematic in that there is no way to prove that the dedicatory inscriptions originate from this spot. Zotović believes that in a city where the Mithraic religion was so prominent, such as Poetovio, it is quite possible that several dedicatory inscriptions may be found unassociated to a particular Mithraeum, without necessarily signifying the existence of an additional temple. Zotović (1973), pp.58-59. Selem, however, sides with Mikl Curk in believing that Premierstein was correct in his supposition. He notes that the 1957 excavations at Muzejski Trg revealed some Roman remains although it is impossible to reconstruct the complete structure. He also believes that *C/L* III 4039 and subsequent dedications discovered strongly support the existence of the fourth Mithraeum. See: Mikl (1962), pp.212-218; Curk (1972), p.17; and Selem (1980), p.141. Although *C/L* III 4039 is strong evidence, this author does not believe that it automatically disproves Zotović's assumption. It is quite possible that *C/L* III 4039 may have belonged to another Mithraic temple, and that it was displaced out of its original spot perhaps due to reuse as building material in later periods, as was known to happen. Thus, it seems to this author that without substantial, proven remains we cannot claim with certainty the existence of the fourth Mithraeum.

⁹⁴¹ For a list of dedications from the fourth Mithraeum see the "Catalogue of Mithraic dedications from Poetovio: Fourth Mithraeum".

The fifth Mithraeum, located at Rabelčja vas⁹⁴² on the left bank of the Drava, was excavated in November 1987, but was most likely constructed at the end of the second century A.D.⁹⁴³ This would probably make it the first of its kind at Poetovio.⁹⁴⁴ Among the remains of the sanctuary two altars were found, one dedicated to Mithras and another to Jupiter Optimus Maximus⁹⁴⁵; in addition to several marble relief fragments bearing depictions associated with the Mithraic cult.⁹⁴⁶ The altar of Mithras measures 146 x 57 x 42cm, and is sufficiently damaged; partly from erosion, and partly from having sustained a large crack in the bottom right-hand corner, causing the loss of part of the inscription.⁹⁴⁷ It is made from white marble and dates to the 19th of October A.D. 235.⁹⁴⁸ The inscription reads:

D(eo) S(oli) I(nvicto) M(ithrae) / NVM(ini) SANCT(o) / ET PRAEST(antissimo) / L(ucius) VANDER(ius) / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito) / XIII KAL(endas) NOVEM(bres) / SEVERO ET QVINT(iano consulibus) / P. P. SII[---

It is very difficult to ascertain the origin of the name of the dedicant, Vanderius or Vanderinus, since, apart from this inscription, the name is recorded on only one other inscription originating from Gallia Narbonensis.⁹⁴⁹ It is possible for this reason that the dedicator may be of Gallic/Celtic or north Italian origin. Tušek believes the dedicant to be a

⁹⁴² Rabelčja vas was known as the commercial area of Poetovio. Nevertheless, various finds discovered by archaeologists during excavations in 1977, such as various animal bones and a torso of an unidentified statue, would point to the fact that cultic practices were performed here. The discovery of the fifth Mithraeum thus confirms cultic activities at Rabelčja vas. Korošec (1977), pp.60-61.

⁹⁴³ Tušek (1987), pp.134-135; and Tušek (1990), p.267 and p.270. Tušek determined the dating of the Mithraeum based on the coins found on site.

⁹⁴⁴ Tušek (1987), p.135.

⁹⁴⁵ For more information on this altar please consult the section on Jupiter below.

⁹⁴⁶ The relief fragments depict the body of a bull, Cautes and Cautopates, Mithras slaying the bull, and Sol holding a whip. In addition to these, a top fragment of a broken altar bearing the letters "P" and "G" was discovered. These finds were accompanied by fragments of a jug as well as coins of Caracalla and several other fourth-century emperors. Tušek (1987), pp.134-135; and Tušek (1990), p. 267; and p.269.

⁹⁴⁷ Tušek (1990), pp. 267-268.

⁹⁴⁸ AE 1991, 1301; Tušek (1987), pp.134-135; and Tušek (1990), pp. 267-268.

⁹⁴⁹ CAG-66, p.505.

conductor in the Illyrian customs service, although this interpretation may also be challenged.⁹⁵⁰

Having examined the Mithraic dedications, it can safely be claimed that out of all the cults recorded at Poetovio, Mithraism, due to its sheer number of dedications, was by far the most popular. Mithraism seems to have first arrived in Poetovio, most likely via Aquileia, in the middle of the second century A.D. Much like with the Egyptian cults, the Mithraic inscriptions show that the cult was brought to Poetovio through the agency of slaves and freedmen employed by the customs and the fiscal services.⁹⁵¹ The dedications set up by these men are predominantly attested within the first and the second Mithraea. We are fortunate in the fact that the dedicators of most of these inscriptions cite their professional and social status, so that we are able to make a more detailed study of the identity of the worshippers.

Within the first Mithraeum, all but one of our dedicators prove to be of servile status. Such a conclusion can be drawn from the types of their professions (the *vicarii* predominate in the first Mithraeum, with one *scrutator* and one *contrascriptor* attested), from their use of a single name, and also from their own acknowledgement (three of the dedicators from the first Mithraeum openly acknowledge servile status, while in the case of others it is implied through the posts that they occupy).⁹⁵² Our one exception among the predominantly servile worshippers of the first Mithraeum is Caius Caecina Calpurnius (*CIL* III 14354/28), who states that he refurbished the temple. Since we know that the temple was first established by slaves affiliated with the customs services, it could be speculated that initially, this temple catered specifically to men of servile status within the customs services, who predominate among the dedicators. Calpurnius' dedication then could possibly date to the later period of this temple, when we begin to see not only the inclusion of *servi* unaffiliated with the customs services (*CIL* III 14354/31), but also the inclusion of citizens like Calpurnius.

⁹⁵⁰ Tušek does not provide a reasoning behind his argument. The last line could either refer to *Publici Portorii* or to *Patre Prosedente* after *AII* 312. See also: Abramić (1925), p.186; and Selem (1980), pp.126-127.

⁹⁵¹ Certain Mithraea found in the neighbouring provinces of Noricum and Moesia Inferior attest to the same origins. Beskow (1980), pp.1-18; and Clauss (2000), p.37.

⁹⁵² Selem (1980), pp.156-157. Since the first Mithraeum is composed almost exclusively of worshippers of servile status attached to the customs services, the exclusion of the term "servus" is not unusual. Two of the three dedicators who specify their status with the use of this term appear to be unattached to the customs service, thus they may be inclined to specify their status. It could be argued that, because of their need to specify their status, the first Mithraeum may have catered primarily to worshippers of servile status.

Although men attested in the first and the second Mithraea were largely of servile status, it appears that they were nevertheless quite wealthy. Selem and Clauss remark that the high quality of workmanship among the monuments of the first and the second Mithraea indicates not only great care for the cult, but also great wealth of its worshippers.⁹⁵³ This is especially exemplified by those who have paid for and set up more than one monument.

Real diversification among worshippers begins to be seen in the second Mithraeum, which in contrast with the first, features relatively few men connected to the customs service. Thus, in addition to customs officials of servile origins, in the second Mithraeum we begin to encounter freedmen (*CIL* III 15184/9), soldiers (*CIL* III 15184/6 and *CIL* III 15481/16) and ordinary citizens (*CIL* III 15184/10-10a; and *CIL* III 15481/12-13). This diversification in terms of worshippers may perhaps be due to the decline of customs services and its personnel, and the influx of immigrants from different parts of the Empire in the late second and early third centuries A.D. Thus, although the second Mithraeum may have been built originally to accommodate new worshippers connected to the *portorium* for whom there was no more space in the first Mithraeum, we see that the exclusivity of customs officials worship was soon broken with the joining of other Mithraists of different socio-economic, professional and cultural backgrounds.

A theory has already been set out above which states that men connected to the customs services tended to be predominantly of Graeco-Oriental origins due to the long tradition of customs services in the East.⁹⁵⁴ While this cannot be claimed for all of our Mithraic dedicators, due to a lack of explicit ethnic identification on inscriptions, and also due to the unreliability of inferring nationality from given slave names, it would seem that some, like Charidemus and Theodorus, for example, may indeed have been of Graeco-Oriental origin. When it comes to other slave names, such as Felix, Primus, Optimus etc., they are much too commonly used in order to infer any kind of nationality. While it is extremely hard to assess the ethnic origin of our worshippers only on the basis of their names, certain scholars would tend to argue that at least a quarter of our worshippers hail from Graeco-Oriental

⁹⁵³ Selem (1980), p.157; and Clauss (2000), pp.37-38.

⁹⁵⁴ Selem (1980), p.157.

backgrounds.⁹⁵⁵ It should be pointed out, however, that even this percentage is uncertain. Selem himself cautions on interpreting too lightly men bearing Latin names, as these often hide individuals of various backgrounds.⁹⁵⁶ While it is true that some of them may hide men of Graeco-Oriental origins, it would be impossible for us, and also false, to establish any kind of clear-cut percentage designating different nationalities.⁹⁵⁷ All that can be inferred with certainty is that some men of Graeco-Oriental origin were in the employ of the customs and the fiscal services, but their predominance in these professions cannot be claimed on the sole basis of the inscriptions which are, at present, available to us. Men of other ethnicities, unconnected to the customs and the fiscal services, both of servile and freed status, are likewise attested in the first and the second Mithraea. Such is the case for example of the Dalmatian Caius Caecina Calpurnius from the first Mithraeum⁹⁵⁸, and Secundus and Acutus/Acutio, who may very well be of Celtic origin, from the second Mithraeum.⁹⁵⁹ Thus, in the second Mithraeum we begin to see not only a greater variety with respect to socio-economic and professional background of the worshippers, but also with respect to their cultural background. The conclusion which we can draw with most certainty is that Poetovio seems to have been a metropolitan place, providing a home to individuals of many creeds and professions from all over the Empire. This is attested not only by the varied and vibrant religious life of Poetovio, but also by its strategic geographical location, which facilitated migration. We thus must suspect that this metropolitan lifestyle was reflected, at least partly, in the ethnic composition of the Mithraic worshippers of the city.

⁹⁵⁵ Selem (1980), p.165. While Selem himself does not believe that these worshippers are Greek, he estimates that they hail from the Greek-speaking East.

⁹⁵⁶ Selem (1980), p.165.

⁹⁵⁷ Perhaps the best argument for illustrating the futility of identifying the nationality of a slave based solely on his/her name is offered by Varro (*De Lingua Latina*, 8.21), who states that a man may name his slave after the slavetrader from whom the slave was acquired or after the city in which the slave was sold. The slave may likewise be named after any defining or arbitrary characteristic.

⁹⁵⁸ *CIL* III 14354/28. For Calpurnius' ethnicity see: Mócsy (1959), p.215, #64-59. By examining rural sanctuaries at Prozor and Sinac (Croatia) and Bihać and Konjic (Bosnia and Herzegovina) Clauss notes that from the start of the third century A.D. onwards worship of Mithras begins to be exhibited among the native populations in Dalmatia and southern Pannonia. Clauss (2000), p.37. Although the Poetovian Mithraea do not definitively attest many indigenous worshippers, the monument of the Dalmatian Calpurnius, established much earlier in the second century, would seem to put this late date into question.

⁹⁵⁹ *CIL* III 15184/11.

It is only in the latter third century A.D. that we start to see a true shift in the nature of the worshippers; with the arrival into Poetovio of Gallienus' Dacian legions, the *legio XIII Gemina* and the *legio V Macedonica*, we gain a much greater proportion of military dedicators. Although we still see a couple of dedicators connected to the *portorium*, the military dedicators, however, predominate in this Mithraeum. Our evidence would seem to indicate that the arrival of Gallienus' legions pushed out the civilian worshippers and took over this Mithraeum, as entire groups of military worshippers are attested on our dedications. Selem suspects that their adherence to the cult most likely predates their arrival in Poetovio.⁹⁶⁰ It is possible that their initiation into Mithraism occurred during their posting in Dacia, and that their worship may have been influenced by the Dacian element. Thus, their military version of the cult may have been slightly different to the predominantly servile and civilian versions encountered previously in Poetovio.⁹⁶¹ One fact which could support this theory is that, in the third Mithraeum, we do not get dedications from individual members of the legions (apart from the commander Aper), but only collective dedications.⁹⁶² This is in stark contrast to the first and the second Mithraea where individual dedications dominate even though the social status of the dedicators is far less prominent. In addition to indicating that collective dedications may have been a predominantly military feature of Mithraic worship, this evidence may also indicate that the men employed by the customs and the fiscal services, even though they were predominantly of servile status, had access to much more disposable income than soldiers enrolled in Gallienus' legions. Due to the collective nature of our military dedications from this Mithraeum, it proves extremely hard to determine the cultural backgrounds of individual soldiers, as their names, with the exception of the commander Flavius Aper, are not recorded. We can suppose however, that the original Italic composition of *XIII Gemina* had drastically changed, as by this time, soldiers were recruited locally. Thus, we may suppose a significant Danubian cultural element, and particularly Dacian, among our recruits.

⁹⁶⁰ Selem (1980), p.164.

⁹⁶¹ That military and civilian versions of Mithraism differed could perhaps be suggested by the fact that we find military and civilian Mithraea side by side throughout the Empire. See for example the case of Germany in: Schwertheim (1974), p.130 #113; and Vermaseren (1976), pp. 136-137.

⁹⁶² Selem proposes a theory that Mithras was the emblematic god of *legio V Macedonica* and *legio XIII Gemina*, and was thus widely, and collectively, worshipped by these legions. Selem (1980), p.163.

The dedications attributed to the fourth Mithraeum, due to its debatable existence, prove challenging to interpret. Although we have only four dedications from this supposed Mithraeum, the nature of these dedications leads us to conclude that this Mithraeum exhibits a complete disassociation with the previous Mithraea at Poetovio. Thus, with respect to the fourth Mithraeum, we have no attested slaves, freedmen, customs or fiscal agents, or even soldiers. Only one clearly defined profession is recorded, that of the mysterious *dux labefactatum* on *CIL* III 4039. The other three worshippers offer no professional or social affiliation which may connect them. Due to this, the present author is inclined to believe that the fourth Mithraeum may not have been an actual Mithraeum, since, firstly, it does not display a pattern of predominant worshippers like our previous Mithraea, and secondly, the dedications recovered from the location of the fourth Mithraeum prove too few to form a Mithraic congregation. Thus, the present author believes that these dedications may have been displaced from the third or the second Mithraeum in late antiquity or perhaps even in the modern period.

In addition to the examination of professional and social affiliations in our Mithraea, an examination of invocatory *formulae* and iconographic features of the cult may also provide us with clues on the nature of Mithraic worship in Poetovio. Closer examination of Mithraic *formulae* would suggest that methods of invocation were as different as the dedicators who employed them. The predominant trend is that within the early Mithraea, the types of invocations vary enormously; whereas in the later Mithraea one tends to find more uniform dedicatory *formulae*. Thus, in the first Mithraeum we have each of the following *formulae* attested only once: *Invicto Mithrae*,⁹⁶³ *Deo Invicto Mithrae*,⁹⁶⁴ *Invicto Mithrae et Transitu Dei*,⁹⁶⁵ *Transitu*,⁹⁶⁶ *Naturae Dei*,⁹⁶⁷ *Petrae* (or *Petre*) *Genetrici*,⁹⁶⁸ *Cauti Sacrum*,⁹⁶⁹

⁹⁶³ *CIL* III 14354/25. Dedicated by Festus who is a *vicarius*.

⁹⁶⁴ *CIL* III 14354/26. Dedicated by Optimus who is a *vicarius*.

⁹⁶⁵ *CIL* III 14354/27. Dedicated by Theodorus who is a *scrutator*.

⁹⁶⁶ *CIL* III 14354/28. Dedicated by Caius Caecina Calpurnius.

⁹⁶⁷ *CIL* III 14354/29. Dedicated by Prudens who is a *vicarius*.

⁹⁶⁸ *CIL* III 14354/30. Dedicated by Felix who is a *vicarius*.

⁹⁶⁹ *CIL* III 14354/31. Dedicated by Venulus (*servus*).

Cautopati Sacrum,⁹⁷⁰ and *Primitivos*.⁹⁷¹ This great variety in terms of *formulae* is unusual, and may be due to the nature of the dedicators. As examined above, most of the dedicators from the first Mithraeum are of servile status (except for Caius Caecina Calpurnius, and perhaps the unknown dedicator of *CIL* III 14354/33). Although they bear largely Greek and Latin slave names, it is quite likely that they are of varied backgrounds, thus explaining perhaps such a discrepancy in *formulae* used. They may thus have been initiated into Mithraism in their own hometowns across the Empire, and brought their own “local” variations of worship with them.

Another explanation for such differing occurrences would be personal choice. We may assume that dedicators chose *formulae* according to personal preferences and needs; thus reflecting their individuality, the nature of their personal relationship to the god, and the emphasis placed on different features of the god (*Invicto, Naturae Dei* etc.).⁹⁷² Although this explanation is tempting for this particular Mithraeum, it falls short upon the examination of the other Mithraea, especially the second and the third, which display much more uniform *formulae*. An examination of the inscriptions in the context of their reliefs, however, indicates that each invocation matches a different scene of the Mithraic myth. Thus, the reliefs of Mithras’ birth are accompanied by *Petrae Genetrici* and *Nature Dei formulae*; and the carrying of the bull is accompanied by *Transitu* or *Transitu Dei formulae*. In this manner, the different scenes of myth and the different invocations complement each other. To Selem, this signifies not only profound knowledge of Mithraic rituals on the part of the worshippers from the first Mithraeum; but also displays the purity of the cult.⁹⁷³ While this interpretation is tempting, it makes us take for granted the notion that the dedicators from this Mithraeum had extensive knowledge of the Mithraic myth and came from lands where the tradition of that cult was well-rooted (i.e. Graeco-Oriental lands). Yet, while this is possible (most of the dedicants are *vicarii* and the tradition of customs services was well-known in the East), none of the dedicants explicitly state their Graeco-Oriental origins, and it would be foolish for us to

⁹⁷⁰ *CIL* III 14354/32. Dedicated by Cresces who is a *servus*.

⁹⁷¹ *CIL* III 14354/33. Set up by an unknown dedicator who is a *contrascriptor*.

⁹⁷² Selem (1980), p.168.

⁹⁷³ Selem (1980), p.168.

presume that the Latin slave names which they bear automatically hide an eastern background.

Votive *formulae* display a drastic change towards uniformity in the second and the third Mithraea. Two particular *formulae* become predominant (*Deo Invicto Mithrae* and *Deo Soli Invicto Mithrae*). Since our second Mithraeum is composed of a variety of worshippers, while our third Mithraeum is almost exclusively a military Mithraeum, the predominance of these *formulae* thus does not appear to be tied to specific social or professional groups. Both Mithraea, however, date to the third century, and thus it is possible that the appearance of a more uniform distribution of dedicatory *formulae* may reflect the syncretistic tendencies of the third century, where lines between deities become blurred and certain gods, such as Sol and Mithras, become synonymous. Likewise highlighting the syncretistic tendencies of the period, Selem supposes that the formula *Deo Soli Invicto Mithrae* reflects the amalgamation of the cults of *Sol Invictus* and Mithras among the soldiers of the Dacian legions. Namely, Selem notes that the cult of *Sol Invictus* came to prominence during the reign of Elagabalus, and was especially popular with the *legio XIII Gemina*, then stationed at Apulum in Dacia.⁹⁷⁴ Selem supposes that after Elagabalus' *damnatio memoriae* the Dacian legions, and especially the *XIII Gemina*, sought to display their loyalty to the new emperor by reforming their image: namely replacing *Sol Invictus* with a more favourably-viewed god by the new regime, while at the same time conserving *Sol Invictus*' main qualities – his invincibility and his solar association. Since Mithras already displayed these characteristics, his transition as the new emblem of the *legio XIII Gemina* was made even easier. Thus, Selem writes: “En acceptant de confondre leur foi avec celle du mithracisme, les militaires daces s’attachent à celle des épithètes du dieu Perse qui contient aussi la dénomination de leur dieu. Dès leur dislocation à Poetovio, la tradition du culte solaire dans les légions se manifeste par un attachement absolu aux formules dédicatoires qui venèrent Mithra en tant que Soleil invincible.”⁹⁷⁵ While this theory is extremely tempting, one must not forget that the formula *Deo Soli Invicto Mithrae* was already very popular on the dedications from the second Mithraeum; dedications which are made by slaves, freedmen and other civilians, not soldiers. Thus, while it is true that there may have been variations in the military and the

⁹⁷⁴ Selem (1980), p.171. See also Halsberghe who writes: “...*Sol Invictus* was a special guardian of the *legio XIII Gemina*...” Halsberghe (1972), p.115.

⁹⁷⁵ Selem (1980), p.171.

civilian worship of the cult of Mithras, with the military aspects being influenced by the cult of *Sol Invictus*, it cannot be claimed that the formula *Deo Soli Invicto Mithrae* was exclusive to this context, however predominant it may have become.

When it comes to the fourth and fifth Mithraea, however, evidence indicates that in terms of *formulae*, they have more in common with the first Mithraeum than the third. The *formulae* found at the fourth and fifth Mithraea are again very varied. It is very hard to offer any conclusions pertaining to specific *formulae* because we can only speculate on the status and the ethnicity of our dedicators. Thus, drawing conclusions related to formula preferences proves tricky. However, by looking at the bigger picture and including all the Poetovian Mithraea together, we can begin to see a couple of patterns emerging. It appears that out of all the epithets accorded to Mithras, the epithet *Invictus* appears most frequently.⁹⁷⁶ The oldest formula used in the first Mithraeum (*Invicto Mithrae*)⁹⁷⁷ as well as the newest formula (*Deo Invicto Mithrae*)⁹⁷⁸ display the popularity and continuity of the epithet *Invictus*. Clauss points out that during the reign of Commodus the title “*Invictus*” came to be used as a quasi-official imperial title, with the later emperors adopting this and other Mithraic epithets, such as *Comes* and *Conservator*. Although the epithet *Invictus* had always been associated with Mithras in the Roman history of the worship of the cult, the adoption of the epithet from Commodus’ time onwards and its association with the emperors made the cult ever more popular at the end of the second and the beginning of the third centuries A.D. Thus, it is not surprising to discover that the epithet “*Invictus*” was the epithet most frequently in use, especially among soldiers and imperial freedmen attested in the second and the third Mithraea, who through the use of the epithet associate the god with the emperor, thus expressing their loyalty to their ruler.⁹⁷⁹

⁹⁷⁶ Selem (1980), p.167. It appears three out of eight times in the first Mithraeum; thirteen times out of fifteen in the second Mithraeum; nine out of eleven times in the third Mithraeum; five out of six times in the fourth Mithraeum; and once on the sole inscription from the fifth Mithraeum.

⁹⁷⁷ *CIL* III 14354/25 and *CIL* III 14354/27.

⁹⁷⁸ *CIL* III 14354/26.

⁹⁷⁹ Clauss (2000), p.23 and p.25.

The second most popular feature among the Mithraic dedications is the association of Mithras with Sol.⁹⁸⁰ Sol's name begins to be used in the second Mithraeum and continues all the way into the fifth. According to Selem, in the closing decades of the second century and the opening decades of the third, the usage of *Invicto* and *Soli* are relatively equally distributed.⁹⁸¹ He credits the rise of Sol in dedications to several factors: firstly, to the accession to the throne of the emperor Septimius Severus; secondly, to the identification of Elagabalus with solar aspects; and thirdly, to the syncretistic trend at this time, pointing at solar associations with not only Mithras, but several other gods such as Serapis and Zeus-Jupiter.⁹⁸² This popularity of the worship of Sol continues into the fourth century, under the influence of Aurelian's endorsement of *Deus Sol Invictus*.⁹⁸³ This, Selem believes, is why the invocations of Sol become predominant within the third and the fourth Mithraea, and are still attested even in the last Mithraeum.⁹⁸⁴ Much like in the case of the sudden rise in the use of the formula *Invictus* and in the syncretisation of Mithras with Sol in the second and the third Mithraea, we at the same time begin to see the sudden rise and overwhelming popularity of the formula *pro salute*. That this formula rises in popularity just as the epithet *Invictus* becomes associated with the expression of loyalty towards the emperor would tend to suggest that the Mithraic worshippers who entreated the god for their and their loved ones' well-being also directly or indirectly included the emperor in their prayers by employing the epithet *Invictus* in their invocations. We must not forget either, however, that the reason why the formula *pro salute* becomes so popular at this period may also be due to the unstable political climate, the barbarian invasions, and the plagues which haunted the Empire, and especially frontier provinces like Pannonia, from the mid-second century onwards.

⁹⁸⁰ Thus, interestingly, while no associations with Sol appear in the first Mithraeum, the second Mithraeum has seven mentions of Sol out of fourteen invocations; the third Mithraeum eight out of ten invocations; the fourth Mithraeum four out of six; and the fifth Mithraeum's sole inscription bears a reference to Sol as well.

⁹⁸¹ Selem (1980), pp.167-169. Similar to the cult of Mithras, the cult of Sol Invictus becomes predominant mostly due to its endorsement by the emperor Commodus and the Severan dynasty. This imperial favouring of the god, combined with the imperial adoption of the title *Invictus* in its turn most likely incites membership into the Mithraic cult. Clauss (2000), p.25.

⁹⁸² Selem (1980), pp.169-171.

⁹⁸³ Selem (1980), p.172.

⁹⁸⁴ Selem (1980), p.170.

Nutrices Augustae

In addition to Mithraism, the cult of the Nutrices Augustae seems to have been the other most prominent cult at Poetovio. It is presumed that this was a local cult of Celtic origin, as the worship of this cult is solely found at Poetovio.⁹⁸⁵ In total, three sanctuaries of the Nutrices are presumed to be located at Poetovio (two on the right bank of the river, in Spodnja Hajdina and Zgornji Breg; and one on the left, at Panorama⁹⁸⁶). Out of these three, only one is known for certain, and while evidence points to the fact that the other two existed as well, no structures have been found.

The main sanctuary of the Nutrices is to be found on the right bank, at modern-day Spodnja Hajdina part of Ptuj, which used to be the ancient *Vicus Fortunae*. The site was originally excavated by Dr. Otto Fischbach. The main sanctuary, however, was excavated in 1895 by W. Gurlitt, and continued to be researched and excavated subsequently by Ferk in 1907 and Schmid in 1935.⁹⁸⁷ At first, Gurlitt believed that the building he excavated was a customs administration office, and not a temple. This may have been due to the unusual shape of the building. It proved, however, to be a sanctuary of rectangular, slightly trapezoidal shape, measuring 11.30 x 8 metres. The cult base stood on the south side of the temple. It would appear that the walls of the temple were originally painted white. Due to several excavators, there are some discrepancies in the plans of the remains; Fischbach's plans differ slightly from Gurlitt's, which in their turn differ slightly from Schmid's.⁹⁸⁸ Votive inscriptions dedicated to the Nutrices were found both within the sanctuary, as well as within the larger

⁹⁸⁵ Šašel Kos (1999), pp. 153-154. This view, however, remains open to interpretation. Mikl Curk questions the pre-Roman existence of the cult due to a lack of evidence. Mikl Curk (1993), p.211. Although all of the known dedications originate from the city and the vicinity of Poetovio, one exception is to be remarked: there is one dedication which was found outside of Poetovio, in Maribor (Noricum).

⁹⁸⁶ The sanctuary situated on the left bank of the river is thought to have been located at present-day Panorama. Stone slabs dedicated to the Nutrices, and dating from the late second to the early third century A.D., have been discovered reused as part of an inhumation grave in Panorama. This has led scholars to believe that the Nutrices temple was located in the proximity, although, one might argue as well that the slabs had been transported here. Tušek (1986), pp.348-350; and Šašel Kos (1999), pp.168-178.

⁹⁸⁷ Gurlitt (1896), pp.1-25; Wigand (1915), pp.190-218; Schmid (1935), pp.129-157; and Šašel Kos (1999), p.155.

⁹⁸⁸ It has become almost impossible to identify whose plans are exact. Schmid has suggested that only further excavations may provide an answer to this question. For the different plans see: Wigand (1915), pp.195-196 (Gurlitt's plan); and Schmid (1935), pp.136-137 (Schmid's plan).

area of the ancient *Vicus Fortunae*.⁹⁸⁹ There are fifteen inscriptions from the main Spodnja Hajdina sanctuary⁹⁹⁰ and ten reliefs where the inscriptions have not survived. All of them, however, are fabricated from the local Pohorje marble.⁹⁹¹

The other two sanctuaries are presumed to have existed on the basis of the reliefs and inscriptions found, but the structural remains have not been discovered as of yet. One of those sanctuaries is located in Zgornji Breg, on the right bank of the Drava river, next to the third Mithraeum. Only three Nutrices dedications have been found on this site.⁹⁹² The other sanctuary is believed to be situated on the left bank of the Drava river, at Panorama. This site was first excavated by Abramić in 1914. Although no structural remains of the temple have been found up to date, nine certain votive dedications (in addition to one possible Nutrices dedication), as well as two votive reliefs without inscribed dedications were discovered by Ivan Tušek in 1983 during renovations on the Panorama hill.⁹⁹³ The reliefs were reused as part of a late Roman tomb, and are consequently damaged to varying degrees. Šašel Kos believes that these reliefs may have originated from a Nutrices temple located somewhere on the Panorama hill, thus propagating the theory that an additional Nutrices temple may have existed on the left bank of the river.⁹⁹⁴ Although it is entirely possible that these dedications may have originally come from the Nutrices temple at Spodnja Hajdina and had somehow ended up on the opposite river bank (since we have no structural remains to prove the definite existence of the other two presumed Nutrices temples), several scholars, such as Šašel Kos, Abramić and Schmid, believe that it is entirely plausible that more than one temple existed,

⁹⁸⁹ Gurlitt (1896), pp.1-25; Wigand (1915), pp.189-218; and Šašel Kos (1999), pp.153-192.

⁹⁹⁰ For a list of Nutrices dedications and reliefs from the Spodnja Hajdina sanctuary see the "Catalogue of Nutrices dedications from Poetovio: Spodnja Hajdina sanctuary".

⁹⁹¹ Šašel Kos (1999), pp. 155-156.

⁹⁹² They are all made of white Pohorje marble. For a list of Nutrices dedications and reliefs from the Zgornji Breg sanctuary see the "Catalogue of Nutrices dedications from Poetovio: Zgornji Breg sanctuary".

⁹⁹³ The dedications are all made of local (Pohorje) white marble. For a list of Nutrices dedications and reliefs from the Panorama sanctuary see the "Catalogue of Nutrices dedications from Poetovio: Panorama sanctuary".

⁹⁹⁴ Šašel Kos (1999), pp.168-169. Šašel Kos notes that prior to the discovery of these reliefs, numerous other dedications were reportedly found reused as part of later building projects. These too are thought to have originated from the left bank of the Drava, thus creating the possibility that more than one Nutrices temple was located on the left bank.

especially since the cult of the Nutrices was a family-oriented cult.⁹⁹⁵ The present author believes that due to the sheer number of reliefs and inscriptions found up to date, the possibility of more than one temple existing is quite likely. The popularity of the Nutrices cult in the local Poetovio area would have demanded the use of more than one temple to prevent overcrowding. If indeed the cult was as popular as modern scholars believe it to be, then it would make sense that more than one sanctuary would have existed at Poetovio.

Origins of the cult

As we have previously seen, the majority of scholars believe that the cult of the Nutrices was a local Poetovian cult of Celtic origin. If indeed the cult was pre-Roman, currently no physical traces of worship remain prior to the second century A.D. Likewise, we have no evidence of how the cult itself may have been structured or how it may have functioned on a day-to-day basis. This has led certain scholars, such as Mikl Curk, to doubt the pre-Roman existence of the cult.⁹⁹⁶ We must, however, keep in mind that an absence of evidence does not always signify nonexistence. Pre-Roman worship may have been conducted in a manner which does not at present leave any archaeological traces: libations may have been poured and organic offerings may have been made which have not survived the traces of time. Likewise, temples and other places of worship may have consisted of naturally-occurring formations, such as caves, or in the case of being man-made, may have been built of perishable materials. Wigand is one of the scholars who has argued in favour of Nutrices' pre-Roman existence, believing that traces of Nutrices' Celtic origins can be found in Roman-era worship. Focusing on the sole-remaining structural remains of the Nutrices temple (at Spodnja Hajdina), Wigand argues that the combination of a rectangular, almost trapezoidal shape with an eastern entrance and a southern *crepido* points heavily to sanctuaries of local Celtic gods in the west. Although Wigand acknowledges that Gallic temples are primarily square, he entertains the idea that the shape of such temples may evolve into a rectangular form citing examples from the mouth of the Seine, Pelm, Nattenheim and Pommern. In addition to the rectangular shape, Wigand believes that the particular location of the Nutrices temple itself reflects their Celtic origins.⁹⁹⁷ The temple's proximity to a water

⁹⁹⁵ Abramić (1925), p.32; and Šašel Kos (1999), p. 166; and pp.168-169.

⁹⁹⁶ Mikl Curk (1993), p.211.

⁹⁹⁷ Wigand (1915), p.213.

source can be paralleled with Celtic sanctuaries in Gaul.⁹⁹⁸ The Nutrices' connection to the water element is even further exemplified by imagery found on the reliefs. Although the Nutrices reliefs generally all display a common theme, the manner in which this theme is depicted varies greatly.⁹⁹⁹ One of the frequent motifs which we find depicted on Nutrices reliefs is that of servant women holding water jugs or bath sponges, and/or assisting in the pouring of libations. The connection with the water element has led some scholars to interpret these women as Nymphs, and the Nutrices as healing deities. Others, however, interpret the Nutrices as a family cult.¹⁰⁰⁰ An in-depth examination of the reliefs and the dedicatory inscriptions is essential in order to understand not only the nature and the origin of the cult of the Nutrices, but that of its worshippers as well.

Iconography

The standard theme of the Nutrices reliefs is that of a sitting Nutrix, dressed in long robes, usually with her left breast exposed, although sometimes with both breasts exposed, to which she is holding a nursing, and usually swaddled, baby. It is important to note that on all the reliefs available the Nutrix, although seated, is *always* depicted as the same height as the standing worshippers. This could perhaps indicate her larger-than-life divine quality. Additionally, it is important to note that the Nutrix is *always* depicted in a seated position and holding a child. This could be classified as a standard cult motif/theme. Since the Nutrix is never depicted without a child in her hands, the child as well should be classified as part of this standard motif, and should be viewed symbolically; and not as a representation of an actual child (the worshipper's offspring).¹⁰⁰¹ Thus, it could be argued that other elements which change in this Nutrices tableau, and/or which deviate from the standard motif modify the representation of the Nutrices cult and are thus significant enough to be classified into their own, different variations. The variations of this standard motif concern most frequently the placement of the Nutrix within the relief and the presence of additional figures; such as

⁹⁹⁸ Espérandieu (1912).

⁹⁹⁹ Wigand (1915), p.214.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Šašel Kos (1999), p. 166.

¹⁰⁰¹ It should be noted that in rare instances (*A/J* 325 and *C/L* III 15184,25 = *A/J* 327) the Nutrix is depicted nursing an older child and not a baby. The present author believes that in these cases the child should not be treated as part of the standard motif, but rather as a representation of an actual child.

the mother-figure, the servants/Nymphs and/or additional children. The present author believes that there are ten variations to the manner in which this theme is depicted.¹⁰⁰²

The first variation depicts a Nutrix sitting on the right side of the relief, holding a baby to her left breast. The Nutrix is accompanied by a female worshipper (the mother-figure) standing in the middle of the relief, and a standing female servant placed on the left side of the relief holding a basket or a tray of offerings on her head.¹⁰⁰³ This variation is the most common one as it presents us with most examples of this type of relief. All seven examples of this first variation are partially damaged; the most obvious ones being *AIJ* 333, Wigand (1915), pp.201-202 and *AIJ* 334. *AIJ* 333 and Wigand (1915), pp.201-202, the examples which have sustained the most damage, present us with the exact same image. Namely, only the heads of two women have been preserved on both reliefs: one holding up a basket of offerings on her head with one hand (presumably a servant-girl), and the other simply in a standing position (presumably the mother-figure). Although they both depict the same scene, minor differences can be observed: on *AIJ* 333 the women are facing frontally, while Wigand's relief shows their heads turned to the right. As well, Wigand's relief is decorated with what Šašel Kos terms a "Norican-Pannonian volute".¹⁰⁰⁴ Although the Nutrix cannot be seen on either of these reliefs, we can safely presume that she would have been originally included, as other examples of the Nutrices reliefs demonstrate. Thus, we are certain that at least three women were depicted, which is why we have chosen to include these reliefs within the first variation. It is entirely possible, however, that more figures and more details were present, but since on the current state of the reliefs there is no trace of other figures, the present author cannot

¹⁰⁰² Several scholars, such as Šašel Kos and Diez, believe that there are three main groups of reliefs (one, where the Nutrix is depicted sitting on the right side of the relief; the second, where the Nutrix is placed in the centre of the relief and flanked by two servants/Nymphs; and the third, where there are two Nutrices placed on both sides of the relief). In addition to these three main groups, the above scholars believe that there are four subgroups when it comes to classifying the Nutrices reliefs. Namely, that the first main group offers four variations which could be classified as subgroups. Diez (1992), pp.936-938; Diez (1992a), pp.620-622; and Šašel Kos (1999), pp.180-184. The present author, however, believes that there is enough variation among the reliefs in order to classify them into ten distinct groups. We will refer to these groups from now on as "variations".

¹⁰⁰³ *CIL* III 14053 = *AIJ* 332 (Spodnja Hajdina); *CIL* III 14054 = *AIJ* 333 (Spodnja Hajdina); Wigand, K. (1915), pp.201-202 (Spodnja Hajdina); Wigand, K. (1915), pp.203-204 (Spodnja Hajdina); *CIL* III 14056 = *AIJ* 334 (Spodnja Hajdina); *AE* 1986, 567 (Panorama); and *AIJ* 324 (Panorama).

¹⁰⁰⁴ Šašel Kos (1999), p.165.

speculate as to their potential existence. While Wigand (1915), pp.201-202 does not feature an inscription, *AIJ* 333 is, however, accompanied by an equally damaged inscription, which states only the first four letters of a name: *Sati*. Due to the severe damage on the relief we cannot make any comments on the identity of the worshipper(s), further than to remark that the relief appears to have been skillfully done, indicating perhaps that the dedicator was a person of financial means. The example *AIJ* 334, likewise severely damaged, only presents us with one figure, although fully preserved: a woman dressed in a long robe with long sleeves, holding up a basket of offerings on her head with her left hand, and carrying a cylindrical object in her right hand. We know that the woman is placed at the far left of the relief as we can see the border of the relief. Apart from this servant-girl we can only see the feet of another figure placed to the right. It is hard to deduce whether this figure is standing or sitting, and could thus represent either the mother-figure or the Nutrix. A clue as to the identity of the figure is given to us by the accompanying inscription. Namely the formulaic invocation of the Nutrix is too long in order for the relief to feature only two figures (the servant-girl and the Nutrix). If this were the case, the dedication would be grossly misaligned in relation to the relief. Thus, it could be deduced that the feet of the missing figure belong to the mother-figure, and that the Nutrix would have been depicted to the far-right. This is why we have chosen to include this relief within the first variation. It is to be noted that although the seven reliefs belonging to this variation all share a unifying theme of featuring three adult figures and one child, minor differences in this general theme can still be seen. The reliefs *AIJ* 332, *AIJ* 324 and *AE* 1986, 567 all depict the mother-figure with an offering in her hands. On *AIJ* 332 an altar is depicted behind her, while on *AIJ* 324 and *AE* 1986, 567 the altar is placed in front of her. Additionally, the three figures (Nutrix, mother-figure and servant-girl) are depicted on *AE* 1986, 567 as placed underneath three arches, with rosette and *calices* representations in the spandrels. Needless to say, out of the seven examples of this first variation, *AE* 1986, 567 features the most detail and the best craftsmanship. Wigand (1915), pp.201-202 features a Nutrix holding a slightly older child. The mother-figure is again placed standing in the middle, although this time she is not holding offerings but the hand of the child. The servant-girl is again depicted to the far-left of the relief, holding a basket of offerings on her head. As can be seen, although the first variation offers a unifying theme of three adult figures and one child, minor differences in details can be seen, suggesting both artistic licence and reflection of personal preferences on the part of the worshipper.

Variation number two depicts the exact same scene as the first variation, except for an addition of a second child, usually bigger and older than the baby held by the Nutrix. The mother-figure holds out this second child towards the Nutrix, as if the child is due to receive a blessing from the goddess.¹⁰⁰⁵ There are four examples of this variation. *AE* 1986, 568 and 566 are badly damaged, although it appears that all four reliefs are similar with very minor differences in detail. The similarities arise from the fact that in addition to displaying the same number of figures in the same positions (which qualifies them to be classified under the same variation), all four reliefs seem to feature an altar, placed between the mother-figure and the Nutrix, over which the second child is being presented. The altar on *AE* 1986, 566 is not visible due to the damage, however, given that all the other examples of this variation feature an altar it can reasonably be supposed that *AE* 1986, 566 conforms to the convention as well. The dress and hairstyles of the women on all four reliefs are likewise very similar. In general, most Nutrices reliefs feature women dressed in long, flowing robes with sleeves coming down to their elbows; and neat, pulled-back hairstyles ending in a bun. The second variation is no exception to this standard. There are several minor differences, however, between the four reliefs in this particular variation. The first minor difference pertains to the appearance of the baby that the Nutrix is cradling. On the relief *AE* 1986, 569 the baby that the Nutrix is holding is swaddled, whereas on the other examples the baby is naked (*AE* 1986, 566 is badly damaged so that the Nutrix is not visible, thus we do not know if the baby is swaddled or naked in this example). Secondly, *AE* 1986, 569 features a servant-girl who is depicted holding a basket on her head and not a tray of offerings as in the other examples (*AE* 1986, 568 must be excluded here as a large portion of the top part is missing so we are unable to say whether the servant-girl is holding a basket or a tray). Thirdly, *AE* 1986, 568 is the only example out of the four reliefs where the servant-girl is displayed as bringing an extra offering to the Nutrix. Namely, on the other reliefs the servant-girl is holding up a basket or a tray of offerings on her head with both her hands, whereas on *AE* 1986, 568 even though the relief is damaged, we can clearly see that the servant-girl's left hand is clutching a cylindrical object (perhaps a jug or a lantern). These differences, although they might appear minor and relatively unimportant, could offer us clues about the worshippers' identities and personal preferences, which in its turn may reveal the extent of their involvement within Roman

¹⁰⁰⁵ *AE* 1986, 565 (Panorama); *AE* 1986, 566 (Panorama); *AE* 1986, 568 (Panorama); and *AE* 1986, 569 (Panorama).

culture. These aspects will be discussed further below, once we have examined other Nutrices relief variations.

The third variation is virtually identical to the second variation, except for an inclusion of an additional, third child; thus raising the number of figures represented on one single relief to its most, namely six: three women (Nutrix, mother-figure and servant girl), and three children. There is only one example of this type of variation.¹⁰⁰⁶ This particular relief has sustained some damage, and is broken into two pieces; however, the figures represented are still fairly visible. From the right-hand side we have a depiction of a sitting Nutrix cradling a swaddled baby in her arms. Next to her stands an altar, and a mother-figure is holding out an older child over the altar towards the Nutrix. Behind the mother-figure stands a small child, a girl of perhaps four or five years old, holding an unidentified object (perhaps an offering) in her right hand and clutching to her mother's skirt with her left hand. Behind the child is a servant-girl who is holding up a large cylindrical basket on her head with her left hand, and another unidentified object (perhaps again another type of offering) in her right hand. The relief appears simple, and of a relatively low quality.

The fourth variation features two adult female figures and two children.¹⁰⁰⁷ There are only two examples of this type of variation.¹⁰⁰⁸ The Nutrix is again placed sitting on the right-hand side of the relief and holding a baby to her breast (it is to be noted that the child on *AII* 329 is small and swaddled, while the child on *AII* 327 is slightly larger and naked). The other adult female figure featured is depicted in the style of the servant girl, placed on the left-hand side of the relief and holding a tray of offerings on her head. Whether this indeed is the servant girl or the mother-figure bearing an offering herself is a point of confusion. Namely, on *AII* 327 the woman holding the offerings is freestanding, like most depictions of the servant-girl, while the Nutrix is connected to the two children (one, the baby which she holds to her breast, and the other, an older, standing child which she holds by the hand); whereas on *AII* 329 the woman holding the offerings is also leading the older child by the hand, as a mother

¹⁰⁰⁶ Wigand (1915), p.196 (Spodnja Hajdina).

¹⁰⁰⁷ *CIL* III 15184.25 = *AII* 327 (Spodnja Hajdina) and *AII* 329 (Zgornji Breg).

¹⁰⁰⁸ It is to be noted that *AII* 327 is badly damaged; and while two women and two children are clearly visible, a possibility of a third child cannot be discounted due to the damage on the relief. The present author has chosen to include this relief under the fourth variation as we are certain of at least two women and two children appearing on the relief.

would, while the Nutrix only cradles the baby in her arms. It is certainly also possible that the female figure bearing the offerings could represent both the servant and the mother depending on how the viewer chooses to interpret the reliefs. One factor perhaps could sway us to interpret the adult female as the mother-figure. If we combine the reliefs with their respective dedications we discover that mothers are mentioned on both inscriptions. This is not unusual given that the cult of the Nutrices was a family cult. What is interesting, however, is that *AII* 327 mentions a woman and her son; while *AII* 329 mentions a woman and her daughter. The iconography reflects the inscriptions: namely, *AII* 327 depicts an adult woman and a male child, while *AII* 329 depicts an adult woman and a female child. This could lead us to conclude not only that the women depicted may in fact be mothers and not servants; but also that the reliefs could, at least to some extent, depict the worshipper's actual family. This may particularly be the case of the children depicted on the relief, who were the beneficiaries of the vows made to the Nutrices. It seems logical that the worshipper would depict the child or children for whom the vow is invoked. Since we have hypothesised above that the Nutrix and the baby which she is holding are a standard motif of the Nutrices dedications, logic would dictate that any other children brought or presented to the *Nutrix* would embody the worshippers' offspring for whose benefit the worshipper(s) has/have set up the dedication. In addition to the examples from this variation, this particular viewpoint could also be supported by at least two features of the second variation. Firstly, one feature of the reliefs belonging to the second variation is that the child is placed as a central figure within the relief.¹⁰⁰⁹ The viewer's attention is thus drawn to him, presenting him as the subject of the relief and the inscription. Secondly, in the second variation, the child is being extended to the Nutrix, as if to receive a blessing. We know from accompanying inscriptions that dedications to the Nutrices were set up by parents on behalf of their children, thus the child is the benefactor of divine aid.

The fifth variation highly resembles the fourth, in that there are only two adult female figures present, but differs in respect to the number of children depicted. Namely, the fifth variation depicts only one child.¹⁰¹⁰ There are three examples of this kind of variation. The Nutrix is

¹⁰⁰⁹ It is to be noted that this feature is not restricted to the second variation and can also be found on examples of the third (Wigand (1915), p.196) and fourth (*AII* 327) variations.

¹⁰¹⁰ Wigand (1915), pp.193-196 (Spodnja Hajdina); *CIL* III 14062 = *AII* 335 (Spodnja Hajdina); and *CIL* III 4047 = *AII* 326 (Panorama).

again placed sitting on the right-hand side of the relief holding a swaddled baby to her breast. On Wigand's example, the left-hand side of the relief is occupied by a servant-girl (or possibly a mother-figure) holding a tray of offerings on her head with her left hand (it is possible that the servant-girl/mother figure is holding another object in her right hand, but this cannot be claimed for certain as the bottom left-hand corner of the relief is damaged). This particular relief does not feature an inscription thus making it hard to determine the identity of the female figure portrayed. It is unusual in that both the Nutrix and the servant-girl/mother-figure face the viewer in a full frontal position (most of the other examples of Nutrices figures are at least partially turned sideways). The example *AIJ* 326 likewise features a sitting Nutrix holding a swaddled baby on the right-hand side of the relief, but the servant-girl/mother-figure is depicted in a very different manner from the Wigand example. The woman is standing, turned towards the Nutrix, and holding a *patera* in one hand and pouring a libation on an altar from an *urceus* which she holds in her other hand. Judging by her gestures, she resembles more to the mother-figures presenting an offering, rather than to the servant-girl figures carrying offerings. Stylistically, these two reliefs, although belonging to the same variation, are quite different. *AIJ* 326 is obviously superior in quality: the carving is deeper and much more skillfully executed; and the whole relief presents a much more detailed image: from the folds of the women's dresses, to the addition of an altar and the stylised depiction of the chair on which the Nutrix is sitting. *AIJ* 326 also features an inscription, albeit a very simple one. The dedicator, known only by the name Fortunatus, dedicates the inscription on behalf of Fortuna, perhaps his daughter. Judging by his name and the excellent quality of the relief, he was most likely a slave of means. More than this cannot be deduced. The final example of this variation, *AIJ* 335, is damaged to such an extent that only the feet of the two figures and part of an altar can be seen. We are, however, able to deduce that the right-hand figure is seated, thus most likely a representation of the Nutrix holding a baby, while the left-hand figure is standing, turned towards the Nutrix and (presumably) making an offering on an altar in front of her. The altar depicted on this relief differs greatly from other altars on Nutrices reliefs as it features an inscription. Namely, the standard invocation of the Nutrices, *Nutricibus Augustis*, is not inscribed below the relief with the rest of the dedicatory inscription, but appears in its abbreviated form, *NVTR AVG*, on the altar within the relief. The rest of the dedication continues as usual below the relief. Other differences within the relief cannot be gleaned due to the damage. The actual inscribed dedication is preserved in full. It reveals that the dedication was set up by an imperial slave

named Aeliodorus, who was a *contrascriptor*, belonging most probably to the customs service at Poetovio. It is uncertain whether he set the dedication up for his own benefit or for the benefit of someone else as no other person is mentioned. From what can be seen, both the relief and the inscription seem skillfully executed, suggesting that Aeliodorus was a slave of financial means. Although all three reliefs belong to the same variation, a clear difference in details within the reliefs and in the representation of the left-hand figure (be she a servant-figure or a mother-figure) can be seen. This may indicate specific requests and personal preferences on behalf of the worshipper, as they were the ones paying for the dedication.

The sixth variation features a sole female figure, the sitting Nutrix, cradling a swaddled baby in her arms.¹⁰¹¹ The Nutrix faces the viewer in a full frontal position. She is dressed in a long robe with long sleeves and wears a veil covering her head. To the left of her is an altar with a flame burning on top. The relief is accompanied by an inscription; both appear done in an archaic style and are of relatively low quality. The questionable skill of the artist is also evident in the fact that both the Nutrix and the altar are carved leaning slightly to the right.¹⁰¹² The inscription is highly unusual in that it makes no mention of a mother or a child; in short, it does not provide us with the name of a beneficiary, nor with the reason why the dedication was set up (the standard *pro salute* formula is not used). We are only told the name of the man who set up the dedication, Valerius Secundianus. This lack of a mention of a mother and a child could have prompted the request of this unusual relief variation on the part of the dedicator.

The seventh variation features (most likely) four female figures and three children.¹⁰¹³ The relief is partially broken off, so that the Nutrix and the baby which she is (presumably) holding are missing. However, on the basis of the other Nutrices reliefs, we can claim with a fair amount of certainty that the Nutrix and the baby would have been originally depicted. The other figures on the relief are depicted in their entirety. Thus, starting from the right-hand side we have the (missing) Nutrix holding a baby to her breast. Next to the Nutrix stands a woman (a mother-figure) holding out an older, naked child towards the Nutrix. In the middle

¹⁰¹¹ *A/I* 330 (Zgornji Breg). Šašel Kos notes that the baby appears stiff “like a wooden doll”. Šašel Kos (1999), p.183.

¹⁰¹² Šašel Kos (1999), p.183.

¹⁰¹³ Tušek (1986), p.349 (Panorama).

is another female figure holding a swaddled baby with both arms. She looks as if she's waiting her turn to see the Nutrix. Finally, on the left-hand side of the relief is a servant girl holding a basket of offerings on her head with one hand, and a lantern or a small container in the other hand. In the first instance it would appear that there are two mothers depicted on this relief (the two women of almost identical appearance holding children). In her analysis of the reliefs, however, Šašel Kos believes that the middle figure holding a swaddled baby is an additional servant girl; stating that it is impossible for two mother-figures to be represented on the same relief, as the Nutrices epigraphic evidence leads us to conclude that each dedication belonged to a separate family.¹⁰¹⁴ The relief, however, offers no inscription in order to corroborate this claim. Thus, we are unable to verify whether two women and two children would have been attested on the inscription, reflecting the depiction on the relief. The present author sees no objection as to why two mothers belonging to the same family should not be depicted on the same relief, especially since there is no irrefutable evidence in the form of an inscription to disprove this theory.

A similar relief depicting four women stands immured in the medieval town of Ptuj.¹⁰¹⁵ This dedication, however, features two children and presents us with a different arrangement of our standard figures, thus meriting to be classified as its own, eight variation. From the right-hand side of the relief we have a standing woman depicted, dressed in long robes and carrying a naked child. Next to her a seated Nutrix is depicted, holding a swaddled baby to her naked left breast. To the left of the Nutrix is a kneeling woman presenting an offering on an altar. Finally, the figure to the far-left of the relief is a standing (presumably) servant-girl carrying offerings. She is only visible from the waist-down, as the upper left-hand part of the relief is broken off. The relief is unusual in the fact that the Nutrix is seated in the middle of the relief, and not on the right-hand side as is the standard depiction. Only two other reliefs place the Nutrix in the central position.¹⁰¹⁶ Additionally, the relief is unusual in the fact that each of the adult figures is placed under an arch, an occurrence present on only one other

¹⁰¹⁴ Šašel Kos (1999), p.183.

¹⁰¹⁵ Tušek (1993), p.203 (Medieval Ptuj – Drava left bank).

¹⁰¹⁶ *AII* 325 (Zgornji Breg – right bank of the Drava) and *CIL* III 4052/3 = *AII* 328 (Panorama – left bank of the Drava).

relief.¹⁰¹⁷ It is a shame that this relief does not feature an inscription so that we can ascertain whether the relief figures could be connected to actual dedicators and dedicatees.

The ninth variation features the remaining two reliefs where the Nutrix is placed as a central figure.¹⁰¹⁸ In addition to placing the Nutrix in the centre of the relief, these examples, however, feature three adult female figures (two servant-girls/mother figures and the Nutrix) and one child which the Nutrix is cradling in her arms. *AIJ* 325 is much better preserved than *AIJ* 328. *AIJ* 325 features an almost intact relief and an inscription set in a *tabula ansata*. From the right-hand side we have a depiction of a servant-girl carrying a *patera* in one hand and a *mappa* in the other. She is turned towards the Nutrix who is seated in the middle of the relief holding a rather large, naked child on her lap. To the far-left of the relief another servant-girl is depicted, this time holding an *urceus* and what looks like a small dish. She is as well turned towards the Nutrix. All three women wear the same kind of clothing (long robes) and the same kind of hairstyle (hair pulled back in a bun). According to the information we obtain from the accompanying inscription, a case could be made for the fact that the two women flanking the Nutrix are servant-girls and not mothers, as no mother-figure is mentioned on the inscription. The inscription only mentions a boy, Aurelius Primianus, and his (presumed) father Aurelius Siro. Since the child which the Nutrix is cradling is much larger than the baby appearing in our standard Nutrices motif, it could be argued that Aurelius Primianus is the child depicted here. This could also be supported by the argument which the present author invoked previously; namely, that the child, being the subject of the inscription and the benefactor of the Nutrices' aid is deservedly depicted in the central position on the relief. The other example of the ninth variation, *AIJ* 328, although similar to *AIJ* 325 in the number and position of figures, presents some minor differences. Firstly, it must be noted that half of the relief is broken off, thus, only two adult figures (a sitting Nutrix and the right-hand servant-girl) are present, and of course, the swaddled baby which the Nutrix is holding to her breast. Both figures are dressed in the similar manner to the first example of this variation. The differences arise, however, in the objects which the figures are holding. Unlike *AIJ* 325, the Nutrix on *AIJ* 328 holds the standard swaddled baby that we are accustomed to. The object that the right-hand servant-girl holds, however, is

¹⁰¹⁷ *AE* 1986, 567 (Panorama – left bank of the Drava).

¹⁰¹⁸ *AIJ* 325 (Zgornji Breg – right bank of the Drava) and *CIL* III 4052/3 = *AIJ* 328 (Panorama – left bank of the Drava).

unique among the Nutrices dedications so far. It is a large shell, perhaps serving as a washbasin. It is the presence of elements such as water jugs and shells on these Nutrices reliefs which has most likely given rise to the theory that the servant-girls could be perceived as Nymphs associated with the Nutrices, or other water deities, rather than attendants of the worshipper.¹⁰¹⁹ While the interpretation of the women as Nymphs is tempting, since water was connected with healing and the Nutrices were invoked for this purpose, it cannot be denied that only a few of the Nutrices reliefs feature such a connection.¹⁰²⁰ Most of the supposed “Nymphs” do not carry objects associated with water, but baskets or trays of bread or fruit. The instances where we do see a water connection frequently feature the image of the worshipper pouring a libation, a current imagery in various Roman religious contexts, not just those associated with water/healing divinities. Moreover, servant-girls carrying an *urceus* and a *mappa* can be found on funerary reliefs as well¹⁰²¹, indicating that these objects associated with water do not necessarily signify the presence of water deities such as Nymphs. Thus, due to a lack of clear evidence the present author cannot acknowledge the Nymph theory. Like the relief of *AII* 328, the inscription is likewise damaged, obscuring the names of the dedicators and the dedicatees. Only a partial identification can be made, recording a decurion Aelius Secundinus, who made the dedication on behalf of his (presumed) daughter Aelia Secundina.¹⁰²² If we indeed count this relief as belonging to our ninth variation, then we would have to concede that in this case the child, Aelia Secundina, is not represented on the relief, and does not fit within our hypothesis presented above. However, the differences in details discussed in this paragraph do reflect a certain degree of individuality among the worshippers and the craftsmen.

Lastly, there is only one known example of the Nutrices relief which we would classify in the tenth variation. This is the case of *AE* 1986, 564, which features three adult figures and three children. The relief is peculiar in that it is the only relief which features two Nutrices. Both

¹⁰¹⁹ Šašel Kos (1999), p.184.

¹⁰²⁰ Apart from *AII* 328 and *AII* 325; *CIL* III 4047 = *AII* 326 is the only other example which features a water element (a woman pouring a libation on an altar). Possibly *AII* 324 could offer the same depiction as *AII* 326, although there is no certain way to discern as the relief is damaged.

¹⁰²¹ See for example the monument from Teurnia recorded in Glaser (1997), pp.66-67, no.55.

¹⁰²² The inscription is damaged to such an extent that even these reconstructed names and familial associations should be taken with a grain of salt.

Nutrices are seated holding swaddled babies; one Nutrix on the right-hand side of the relief, and the other on the left. Between them, in the middle of the relief, we have a depiction of a standing woman making an offering on an altar. In one of her hands she holds a *patera*, in the other, the hand of a small girl who is standing behind her. The relief is stylistically quite simple and has a rustic quality. It is accompanied by an inscription which states that Vitalis and his wife Vintumila set up the dedication for (presumably) their daughter Maximilla. As hypothesised above, the child, Maximilla, could be the little girl represented in the central position on the relief. The woman holding her hand and making the offering then, is most likely the mother-figure, Vintumila. Judging by their names the dedicators were most likely of servile origin. The low quality of craftsmanship would suggest that the family was of modest means, unlike the dedicators of *AIJ* 326. It is puzzling that no mention is made of why two Nutrices were depicted. Diez believes that this was done for aesthetic reasons, in order to achieve symmetry.¹⁰²³ While this may be so, one begs to ask why many other reliefs, such as perhaps *AIJ* 330, were not given this same symmetrical treatment? Šašel Kos, on the other hand, suggests that perhaps the depiction of two Nutrices on this relief may give us a clue about the true number of the goddesses.¹⁰²⁴ Since this relief is the only one which depicts more than one Nutrix, and since the Nutrices are always invoked in their plural form, until proven otherwise, evidence would seem to point to the fact that there were indeed two goddesses.

In addition to the ten variations of Nutrices reliefs discussed above, there have been several fragmented pieces found which cannot currently be classified within any of the variations due to their limited depictions. All of these originate from the Spodnja Hajdina sanctuary. They include seven discernable fragments and a dozen presumed fragments which may or may not have belonged to the Nutrices sanctuary. We will here deal only with the seven certain fragments: *CIL* III 14055; Wigand (1915), p.197, figs. 103 and 104; Wigand (1915), pp.197-198, fig. 105; Wigand (1915), p.198, fig. 106; Wigand (1915), p.203, fig. 110; and Wigand (1915), pp.205-206, fig. 113. The fragment *CIL* III 14055 only preserves the lower part of the relief showing (presumably) the sitting goddess. It is the only fragment out of the seven which bears an inscription. Unfortunately, the inscription only preserves the last three letters

¹⁰²³ Diez (1992), p.938.

¹⁰²⁴ Šašel Kos (1999), pp.183-184.

of the dedicator's name, *sus*, suggesting that the dedicator may have borne a Roman name. The rest of the inscription is faithful to the established invocation formula for the Nutrices. The fragment Wigand (1915), p.197, fig. 103 preserves only the exposed breasts of the sitting Nutrix, whose head is missing. The head of a baby suckling the left breast of the Nutrix can also be seen. According to Šašel Kos, the Nutrix here appears as a wet nurse.¹⁰²⁵ The fragment Wigand (1915), p.197, fig. 104 depicts only the baby, cradled in the arms of the Nutrix, and suckling the exposed left breast. The fragment Wigand (1915), pp.197-198, fig. 105 preserves only the upper half of the Nutrix. She is seated, cradling a nursing and swaddled baby in both arms. What is peculiar, however, is that she is wearing an arm band on her left arm, a rare occurrence on a Nutrices relief. The fragment Wigand (1915), p.198, fig. 106 preserves only the head of the Nutrix. What is peculiar about this fragment is that the hair of the Nutrix appears curly. This is an unusual representation, since, as we have seen on previous reliefs, the hair of the Nutrix is always tied back in a bun or covered. The fragment, Wigand (1915), p.203, fig. 110, differs from the others in that it does not depict a Nutrix, but the servant-girl figure. The figure is only preserved from the waist-up. What can be seen is a standing woman carrying a tray of offerings on her head with both her arms. The final fragment, Wigand (1915), pp.205-206, fig. 113, features only a facial depiction of a woman from the profile, her head turned to the right. Her hair is pulled back in a low bun. Presumably she is the mother-figure.¹⁰²⁶ As can be seen, even within this group of fragments we notice differences in the representation of the Nutrices: one with curly hair, one wearing an arm band, one with both breasts exposed... Like examples of the ten variations above, we notice diversity within a unifying theme. This may lead us to conclude that each worshipper may have included a level of individuality within their dedication, expressing their personal preferences, their own perceptions of the cult of the Nutrices and aspects of their cultural and religious identity.

Nutrices or Matres/Matronae?

In addition to the Nutrices dedications from Poetovio examined above, several further finds are to be commented upon, which may clarify our understanding of the Nutrices cult. Although, as has been stated above, scholars tend to believe that the cult of the Nutrices was

¹⁰²⁵ Šašel Kos (1999), p.164.

¹⁰²⁶ Šašel Kos (1999), p.165.

a local Poetovian cult whose worship is restricted to the territory of Poetovio, certain votive finds from across the Empire may contradict this theory. To date, only one irrefutable dedication to the Nutrices has been found outside of Poetovio. This is the case of *CIL* III 5314 = *CIL* III 11713, from Maribor (Noricum)¹⁰²⁷, mentioned at the beginning of this section.¹⁰²⁸ Due to a lack of other epigraphic dedications to the Nutrices in Maribor it is hard to claim that the Nutrices may have had a sanctuary there or that their worship was practiced regularly in that region. How our dedication came to be there is a mystery, it may have been set up in Maribor originally by a worshipper from Poetovio, or may have been transported there from Poetovio in order to be reused during the late Roman period or even in the modern period. Until further epigraphic evidence attesting the worship of the Nutrices is discovered outside of Poetovio, it would be imprudent for now to claim that their cult may have spread further afield than Poetovio.

In addition to the inscription from Maribor, votive figurines depicting a seated woman nursing a baby are to be found all over the Empire.¹⁰²⁹ They most likely formed part of private, home shrines, and could have been also deposited in temples and graves. One of such statuettes has been found at Poetovio as well. It was originally discovered in Panorama in 1911 and consists of a seated woman holding a nursing baby to her left breast.¹⁰³⁰ This statuette is almost identical in theme and in style to the representations of the Nutrices we find on the reliefs: seated, wearing a long dress, hair tied back in a bun and always holding a

¹⁰²⁷ The administrative status of Maribor has been debated in recent years. In Roman times it was a small settlement of no great importance. Although most scholars believe that it belonged to the territory of Flavia Solva (*CIL* III 5309; Mommsen in *CIL* III p.648; and Alföldy (1974), p.60), its relative proximity to Poetovio and the discovery of the Nutrices dedication have led some scholars to believe that it may have belonged to the Poetovian *ager* (Alföldy (1964-1965), pp.137-144; and Šašel Kos (1999), pp.178-179.).

¹⁰²⁸ Votive inscription without a relief. It is unknown if the relief was originally part of the inscription. The place of provenance is likewise unknown and the relief is now lost. According to Wigand and Gurlitt the relief read:

NVTRICIB(us) AVG(ustis) SACR(um) PRO SALVT(e) /VALERIAE MA / R[C]ELLAE [...P]ATER V(otum) [S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)?]

According to Šašel Kos the relief is dated to the second century A.D. Gurlitt (1896), p.8; Wigand (1915), pp.210-211; and Šašel Kos (1999), p.180.

¹⁰²⁹ Figurines of nursing deities were found at: Randozzo, Himera (fig.16), Gela (fig.19), unknown Greek site (fig.23) (Hadzisteliou Price (1978)); Munich (plate 14 fig. 2), Bonn (plate 14 fig.3) (Bauchhenss, G. and Neumann, G. (1987)); and Avenches (Dasen (1997), pp.125-140). See also: Green (1976), p.15.

¹⁰³⁰ Abramić (1914), p.108; Wigand (1915), pp.209-210; Abramić (1925), p.159; and Jevremov (1988), pp.54-55.

baby to her left breast. The most logical conclusion would be that this is a statuette of a Nutrix. If we thus take these attributes as defining markers of the goddesses Nutrices, then the logical conclusion would be to assume that all the other votive statuettes found across the Empire bearing the same characteristics represent the same goddesses. This would inevitably lead to a conclusion that the cult of the Nutrices was not solely restricted to Poetovio, but was present all over the Empire. And yet, why are there no reliefs and inscriptions to the goddesses outside of Poetovio (with the exception of Maribor)? Can we really claim that the cult of the Nutrices was widespread without definite epigraphic evidence to confirm their identity?

One solution proposed by Marjeta Šašel Kos is to view these statuettes of nursing women as versatile ex-voto objects, capable of embodying not only the Nutrices, but any other female deity associated with family protection and nursing.¹⁰³¹ Thus, where the Nutrices were worshipped the statuette could represent a Nutrix, the same way that it could simultaneously represent the Matres as they are known in Gaul and Matronae as they are known in Germany among the people who worshipped these deities, and so on. Although this explanation appears convenient, several problems arise. Firstly, the Nutrices, although invoked in their plural form, are almost always depicted as a single female deity.¹⁰³² The Matres, however, are primarily depicted in clusters of three.¹⁰³³ Although both deities appear seated and semi-clothed (with usually one breast exposed), the Matres are not usually depicted holding a nursing child, but instead hold fruit or loaves of bread. The Matres are almost always depicted seated frontally, whereas the Nutrices are sometimes depicted facing the viewer and sometimes turned to the side. These, and other iconographic discrepancies would lead us to conclude that although both the Nutrices and the Matres/Matronae appear to have been Celtic goddesses with similar spheres of power and attributes, they nevertheless should not be regarded as the same, since they display several variations. Instead, they should perhaps be

¹⁰³¹ Šašel Kos (1999), p.177.

¹⁰³² There is only one relief which depicts more than one Nutrix, in this case two (AE 1986, 564). Since the Nutrices are always invoked in the plural, but depicted in singular form, barring this case, we cannot automatically assume a definite number of Nutrices, for example, two, precisely because this relief is an exception. Šašel Kos proposes that there may have been several Nutrices, three at least if a connection with the Matres is to be taken into consideration, and perhaps even an infinite number, where a separate Nutrix could cater to a different developmental stage in a child's life. Šašel Kos (1999), pp. 180-181.

¹⁰³³ Birkhan (1997), p.492 and p.513.

seen as belonging to a larger group of motherly, fertility and healing deities, in essence, female nature deities, akin to other versatile goddesses invoked in multiple form, such as the Nymphs or the Silvanae for example.¹⁰³⁴

Epigraphy

In terms of the inscriptions which accompany the reliefs, one thing in particular stands out. The Nutrices are always referred to in the plural form, even though all of the reliefs (except one) depict only one Nutrix. It is to be assumed that the single Nutrix stands as a representation of all the Nutrices (however many there were, we do not know). The sole relief depicting two Nutrices (*AE* 1986, 564), one sitting on the left side of the relief and one on the right side, could, however, lead us to interpret it as proof that there were only two goddesses known as Nutrices. Although this explanation is tempting, it is to be noted that this particular relief is an exception among the group, and thus should not be taken as proof that there were only two Nutrices until further evidence corroborates this theory. The reason could simply be aesthetic: the Nutrices may have been placed on either side of the relief in order to achieve symmetry.¹⁰³⁵

Another feature of the Nutrices invocations is the use of the epithet *Augustae*. According to certain scholars, the use of this epithet gave the cult not only prestige, by linking it to the emperor and by extension, the imperial cult; but a certain official standing¹⁰³⁶ and higher authority¹⁰³⁷ as a municipal cult. This epithet is employed on all the Nutrices dedications except two: *CIL* III 15184,25 = *AIJ* 327 where the goddesses are invoked solely as Nutrices, and *CIL* III 4047 = *AIJ* 326 where there is no direct mention of the goddesses, but an invocation *pro salute* is employed instead (the subject of the relief makes it quite clear that the dedication was intended for the Nutrices). *CIL* III 4047 was set up by a man named Fortunatus, who was probably of servile status if we are to judge by his single name. The dedicator of *CIL* III 15184,25 seems to have likewise been a slave from his mention of his

¹⁰³⁴ For a more detailed discussion of these deities see the section on the Silvanae in the *Aquae Iasae* chapter.

¹⁰³⁵ Šašel Kos (1999), pp. 182-184.

¹⁰³⁶ Šašel Kos (1999), pp. 180-181.

¹⁰³⁷ For the use and meaning of the epithet “Augustus” or “Augusta” see: Fishwick (1991), pp.446-454 and Tassaux (1997), pp.77-84.

domina and his single Greek name. Too hasty conclusions, however, about the socio-economic status of the dedicators and the lack of the epithet *Augustae* should not be drawn, as other *Nutrices* dedications set up by men of servile status employ the epithet *Augustae* (see for example *CIL* III 14062 and *CIL* III 14052, to name a few).

In the majority of inscriptions, the *Nutrices* were invoked using the formula “*pro salute*” – for the health and safety of the child or the children in question. Thus, as has been noted before, they are a family cult connected with the wellbeing of children, and by extension, their mothers. While the dedicators spring from various social classes,¹⁰³⁸ it is to be noted that in the majority of cases they are male. There are only 8 inscriptions dedicated by the husband and wife conjointly, and only one by a woman alone. This is a curious coincidence for a cult which is aimed at the protection of children and women and is presented as an alternative to Mithraism.¹⁰³⁹ Scholars have attempted to explain this phenomenon by arguing that perhaps, when these inscriptions were set up, the mothers were absent from the children’s lives, perhaps having died in childbirth. If this was indeed so, then it seems odd to the present author that the mothers are almost always present on the *Nutrices* reliefs.

¹⁰³⁸ *AE* 1986, 568 and *AII* 328 are both from the *ordo decurionum*, while *AE* 1986, 569 was dedicated by an *Augustalis*. Dedicators of *AII* 335 and *CIL* III 14052 were both imperial slaves. *AII* 330 and *CIL* III 5314 were both set up by members of the *Valerii*, an influential family from Poetovio. It is to be supposed that the other inscriptions were set up by ordinary citizens or *peregrini*.

¹⁰³⁹ It is to be noted that two *Nutrices* temples are adjacent to three *Mithraea*. The main *Nutrices* sanctuary is located in close proximity to the first and second *Mithraea*, while another *Nutrices* sanctuary is practically attached to the third *Mithraeum*. This occurrence can hardly have been a coincidence and it could be inferred that the two cults were somehow connected. A plausible explanation would be that since Mithraism was a male religion, and the cult of the *Nutrices* a female and family-oriented one, the two cults were set up side by side to complement each other. This pairing of a male and a female deity is not unusual in Pannonia: as the cult of *Savus* and *Adsalluta*, found at *Andautonia*, attests. Another piece of evidence pointing to the assumption that the two deities were connected is the fact that the sanctuaries for these two cults seem to have been built around the same time. All of the inscriptions found pertaining to the *Nutrices* are dated from the mid-second century A.D. to the end of the third century A.D. (Wigand (1915), p.214), and we have already seen that the earliest *Mithraeum* was built in the middle of the second century A.D. Thus, this connection cannot be a coincidence. It is possible that the cult of *Mithras*, and especially the cult of *Nutrices*, gained prominence in the late second century and early third century due to the political and social crisis which arose during that period. In addition to political instability and barbarian invasions which plagued Pannonia at that time, the mid-to-late second century was marked by the spread of the Antonine plague. It is precisely at this time when we see the appearance of *Nutrices* dedications and temples. Combined with the “*pro salute*” formula employed on many of the *Nutrices* dedications and their general role as nurses and protector-goddesses of children, logic dictates us to suppose that their cult may have arisen as a means of safeguarding children from the plague.

In addition to featuring dedicators from various social and professional backgrounds, the cultural backgrounds of our Nutrices worshippers seem to be likewise diverse, implying adoption and integration of the cult among autochthonous and foreign worshippers alike. It would appear that the cultural composition of our worshippers is distributed equally among autochthonous/Celtic and Graeco-Oriental elements. Several names among our worshippers would also point to Italic origin. Thus, it appears, that the cultural composition, as well as the professional and social compositions of Poetovio were well-represented among the worshippers of the Nutrices. It is natural, considering that the Nutrices were goddesses who protected children, that they would appeal to worshippers cross-culturally, as the health and safety of a child was a basic desire which transcended social, cultural and professional divisions. Thus, it could be claimed that due to their healing nature, the Nutrices, brought together worshippers of different backgrounds, and bridged differences between them. They were thus a unifying cult.

Magna Mater/Cybele and Juno

The Eastern mother goddess is attested at Poetovio by one votive dedication and three iconographic representations. In general, the goddess is not attested widely throughout Pannonia¹⁰⁴⁰, and in our Drava evidence, only in Poetovio and Mursa; leading us to speculate that her worship may have been tied to larger cities where Oriental immigrant elements tended to cluster. The first non-epigraphic representation from Poetovio is a statue, discovered at Spodnja Hajdina near the first two Mithraea. It is thought to be the main cult statue, and is usually taken as proof of the existence of a Magna Mater temple at Spodnja Hajdina. The second statue is a marble bust discovered near the third Mithraeum at Zgornji Breg.¹⁰⁴¹ The final iconographic representation of Magna Mater is a syncretised relief plate of the goddess from Panorama. The plate depicts the goddess around whose head a snake recoils and approaches the lying bodies of the Dioscuri. Above her are depicted Sol and Luna, and below is a depiction of a priest sacrificing.¹⁰⁴² This last representation of the goddess thus incorporates, in addition to the Dioscuri, several syncretistic elements of religions

¹⁰⁴⁰ Kolšek (1968), p.279.

¹⁰⁴¹ Abramić (1925), pp.31-32, 39-40 and 188-189; Marić (1933), p.75; Swoboda (1969), pp.200-202; Selem (1980), pp.200-201; and Diez (1993), p.255.

¹⁰⁴² Lamut (1992), p.167.

predominant in the third century, such as Mithraism, the cult of Sol and even elements of the Danubian rider cult.¹⁰⁴³

One votive altar originating from Spodnja Hajdina has been discovered in 1958. It is a joint dedication to the goddesses Juno and Magna Mater. Considering that both the cult statue and this altar have been recovered from Spodnja Hajdina, it could be argued that these goddesses shared a temple, or at least that, as mother-deities, they may have been grouped in adjoining temples.¹⁰⁴⁴ Our altar is made of marble and measures 76cm x 42cm x 30cm. The left side of the altar is significantly damaged. The right side of the altar is decorated with an *urceus*. The monument dates to the first half of the second century. The inscription reads¹⁰⁴⁵:

[D(eae?) I]VNONI / [M(atri)] D(eum) M(agnae) / [SAC(rum)] ALBVCIA T(iti) F(ilia) / [CE]LERINA / [---] / ALBVCIVS / T(iti) F(ilius) RVFVS

Our dedicators identify themselves as Albucia and Albucius Rufus, son and daughter of Titus. Their use of filiation stresses their freeborn status.¹⁰⁴⁶ If we are to judge by their names, they appear to be of Celtic/northern Italic origin. The name Albucius/Albucia appears frequently in northern Italy (see for example: *AE* 1951, 94; *AE* 2005, 644; and *CIL* V 4522), Gaul (*CIL* XII 195, p.806; and *CIL* XII 5924) and Belgica, with a lesser frequency in Dalmatia (*CIL* III 2167; and *CIL* III 1965), Pannonia (*CIL* III 10979) and Raetia (*CIL* III 15216). Their pairing of the goddess Juno with Magna Mater is interesting, and slightly unusual. As far as the present author is aware, this particular invocation occurs only on this dedication; however Juno is attested paired with similar incarnations of mother-goddesses, such as the Matres, and Terra Mater. Juno's pairing with the Matres, it seems, occurs only one other time, in Hispania Citerior (*CIL* II 2521). Furthermore, the pairing of Juno with Mater Matuta occurs once in Syria (*CIL* III 6680). A similar pairing of Juno and Terra Mater

¹⁰⁴³ Abramić (1914), p.87 and Kolšek (1968), p.281 speculate that the Danubian rider cult had a temple at Poetovio. The cult was often syncretised with other popular third century deities, as our relief plate demonstrates, and was believed to be of a mystic and magical character.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Surprisingly, no remains of a Capitoline temple have been found in Ptuj so far, thus perhaps indicating that if Juno was not worshipped in a Capitoline temple, she may have been grouped in sanctuary complex with other similar deities, such as Magna Mater and the Nutrices. Kolšek (1968), p.274.

¹⁰⁴⁵ *AE* 1966, 298 = *ILJug* 1138.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Weaver (1972), p.42.

occurs an additional three times: twice in Aquincum (*CIL* III 10431 – with I.O.M.; and *AE* 1975, 689 – with I.O.M., Liber and Libera), and once in Dacia (*CIL* III 12594 – with I.O.M. and Minerva). Given that Juno was the queen of gods and protectress of women and fertility, her association with Magna Mater or Terra Mater thus seems natural. In Italy, she is further invoked as Juno Sospita Mater Regina (see for example: *CIL* XIV 2091; and *CIL* XV 1155, 2-5). As Sospita (the Saviour), her cult was connected with fertility rites, thus strengthening her connection and association with other mother and fertility goddesses, such as for example, the Matres, and even perhaps the Nutrices. It is a shame that our dedication is damaged, so that we are not able to find out who was the beneficiary of the dedication, or why it was erected. It is possible, given that it appears to have been erected jointly by a brother and a sister, that the dedication was intended to protect a female sibling, or an offspring of female sex, as both goddesses invoked catered to fertility and family matters.

Matres/Matronae

The Celtic mother goddesses are attested on one inscribed *tegula*, found in a grave at the Rabelčja vas Roman cemetery in 1977. The cemetery was in use from the late first to the early second century A.D. It features various types of burials, both inhumation and cremation, containing “Roman” goods such as lamps bearing stamps from Italian workshops and Roman coins; as well as pottery featuring Celtic motifs, such as comb decorations. This mix of Roman and Celtic materials in the afterlife, most likely reflects cultural integration experienced in the city of Poetovio by the deceased during their lifetimes.¹⁰⁴⁷ Our *tegula* in question measures 43.5cm x 30cm x 6cm. The inscription reads¹⁰⁴⁸:

MAT(ronis) / MATRON(is) / QVITO COMIOS OSLVT

Our dedicator’s name is extremely unusual. Only one other mention of the name “Quito/Quitius” exists to the present author’s knowledge, on a late Roman Christian gravestone from Germania Superior (*CIL* XIII 6258), implying perhaps that the name is of Germanic or Celtic origin. The name “Comios” is equally uncommon, appearing only three other times to our knowledge (*CIL* III 3476 from Aquincum; *CIL* XIV 3103 from *Regio I*; and *CIL* XII 3719 from Gallia Narbonensis), thus leading us to conclude as well that this may

¹⁰⁴⁷ Gabričević and Kulundžić (1977), pp.87-89.

¹⁰⁴⁸ *AE* 1983, 770 = *AE* 1982, 793.

be a Celtic name. Given that this is the earliest dedication to the Matronae attested on the territory of Poetovio, it may indicate the beginning of the adoption of Latin epigraphic forms of worship among the autochthonous population of the region, who most likely were already acquainted with the Matres/Matronae, or a version of these goddesses, and worshipped them previously in their own traditional manner. This dedication certainly displays a formative attempt at imitating the epigraphic convention. The double invocation of the Matronae may be interpreted both as an attempt at confining these multiple deities to a single-name epigraphic invocation, and as an attempt at constructing epigraphic abbreviations, since the same word is abbreviated twice in a different manner. Likewise, the redoubling of the deities may be perceived as an attempt to redouble the power of the invocation, or even the power of the deities themselves. Such an attempt is often made in iconography of the Matres/Matronae, by depicting them in a cluster of three. The dedicator here may have been attempting to achieve the same effect epigraphically, although the fact that he invokes them twice instead of three times may be interpreted as a local variant: after all, the local Nutrices, so similar to the Matres, were always invoked in plural form but often depicted as a single goddess in iconography. Thus, it is possible that our dedicator's manner of invocation here may be a local variant. Further support to the notion that this dedication may be an early autochthonous attempt at adopting the Latin epigraphic form of worship may be displayed through a muddled attempt to imitate the votive formula. Thus, "*OSLVT*" may be interpreted as "*SOLV(i)T*". This dedication thus appears to be one of the rare and precious attestations of cultural and religious integration in the early period. Our dedicator's attempt at adopting and adapting the Latin epigraphic habit as a new means of expressing devotion to his own Celtic deities integrates both Celtic and Roman cultural elements. He makes use of these different cultural elements in his own individual manner (double invocation of the Matronae, different abbreviations), and as he understands and interprets that these elements should function ("*OSLVT*" instead of "*SOLV(i)T*").

Aesculapius

One dedication to the healing deity Aesculapius has been discovered at Poetovio. This is a badly damaged votive slab. The inscription reads¹⁰⁴⁹:

¹⁰⁴⁹ AE 1920, 64 = A/I 265.

AESCVLAPIO AV[G(usto) SACR(um)?] / M(arcus) MESSIVS MESSOR [PROC(urator) P(rovinciae) P(annoniae) S(uperioris)?] / AVGG(ustorum) NN(ostrorum) EX VOTO POSVIT

Our dedicator Messor is recorded as procurator of Pannonia Superior in A.D. 161, thus effectively dating our dedication to this period. The origin of our dedicator's name is hard to pinpoint as it occurs throughout the Empire. Due to the damage on the dedication we are not able to know with certainty whether Messor was a freedman or an equestrian procurator; however, we are inclined to believe that he may have been of equestrian status. According to Weaver, the use of the word "*NN(ostrorum)*" is indicative of the relationship between a master and a slave, and not of a relationship between a freedman or a freeborn person and his patron. He notes that the term comes into use in the second century, as a reflection of the supreme power of the emperor.¹⁰⁵⁰ Chantaine notes that one way the term can be interpreted is as an expression of affection and loyalty to the emperor(s).¹⁰⁵¹ This appears to be the case in this dedication, as in addition to the use of "*NN(ostrorum)*", Messor attributes the epithet "Augustus" to Aesculapius, thus likening the god to the imperial cult and showing an expression of loyalty to the imperial house. Thus, our dedication tends to be of "official" character. Kolšek notes that in Pannonia, in general, dedications to Aesculapius were erected by individuals of Greek or Oriental descent, who exercised the medical profession.¹⁰⁵² Our dedicator, thus, is the exception to the rule. He most likely then erected the dedication due to some illness.

Isis and Serapis

The goddess Isis was one of the most important Egyptian deities, sister and wife to the god of the dead, Osiris, and mother to the god Horus. She was mainly worshipped by women, in her role of wife, mother, healer and protector. Through time she came to be syncretised with several goddesses including not only Hathor, from who she borrows many of her features, but also Astarte, Bastet, Nut, Renenutet, and Sothis. The epithet *Myrionyma* that the goddess is sometimes given could reflect this syncretism. Her worship became extremely popular all

¹⁰⁵⁰ Weaver (1963), p.276. The term comes to be used both by equestrians and by freedmen procurators. See for example: *CIL* V 7870 (*vir egregius*); *CIL* III 7901 (*vir egregius*); and *AE* 2007, 1613 (*vir egregius*).

¹⁰⁵¹ Chantaine (1967), p.193.

¹⁰⁵² Kolšek (1968), p.274.

over the Roman Empire, especially in Spain, and continued until the sixth century A.D.¹⁰⁵³ Certain scholars believe that the goddess was changed from her original form once she transitioned into the Graeco-Roman area of worship. Namely, she is viewed as possessing omnipotent powers after her transition. Perhaps the epithet *Myrionyma* also reflects these universal powers, and by extension, her transformation from an Egyptian goddess to a Roman goddess. Some ascribe this change to misinterpretation of her myth and powers during the early period of her Graeco-Roman worship, as a select few were privileged enough in order to spread her myth from the Egyptian hieroglyphics. Therefore, her cult transformed from its original state due to misappropriation and superimposition of Graeco-Roman cultural and religious concepts onto this exotic, foreign goddess.¹⁰⁵⁴

As concerns Poetovio, Isis is attested at *Vicus Fortunae* (Spodnja Hajdina) by two dedicatory inscriptions and two bronze slabs.¹⁰⁵⁵ Three of these (*AIJ* 269-271 = *CIL* III 15184 and 4015) would seem to point to a conclusion that a temple of Isis existed somewhere within the confines of the city of Poetovio. Saria believes that Isis' temple may be located at Spodnja Hajdina.¹⁰⁵⁶ Although this cannot be proven for certain, Selem believes that the building's proximity to the customs offices and the Mithraea make it the most likely candidate.¹⁰⁵⁷ It is quite possible that this temple may have housed joint worship of Isis and Serapis, as this was a common practice in the Empire.¹⁰⁵⁸ If indeed the temple was situated here, then it would have dated to the middle of the second century A.D., when the cult still wasn't at its prime, which would explain its location in Spodnja Hajdina (on the periphery of the ancient city). Whether the temple stayed in use into the third century A. D. is unknown, as again, no evidence remains.¹⁰⁵⁹ It is also quite possible that no official temple existed and that the

¹⁰⁵³ Wilkinson (2003), pp.146-149.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Giunio (2002), p.22.

¹⁰⁵⁵ For a list of Isaic dedications see the "Catalogue of Isis and Serapis dedications from Poetovio". In addition to these four inscriptions, two oil lamps dating from the latter half of the first century A.D. and bearing the image of Isis have been found at Poetovio as well. Selem (1980), p.19, #31 and #32; and p.67.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Abramić (1925), p.31; Saria (1937), pp.20-28; Selem (1980), pp.43-45; and Horvat *et al.* (2003), p.175.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Selem (1980), pp.44-45.

¹⁰⁵⁸ The joint dedication to Isis and Serapis from Poetovio (*AIJ* 269) could be a testament to this.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Selem (1980), p.45.

worship was practised privately, as is the case in several cities across the Empire, including Mursa.¹⁰⁶⁰ Likewise plausible is the notion that Isis could be worshipped in a joint sanctuary, as is the case at Nemi in Italy, where Isis shared Diana's temple.¹⁰⁶¹ In addition to the four inscriptions dedicated solely to Isis mentioned above, two further inscriptions have been found at Poetovio; one dedicated to *Isis Myrionyma*, which is thought to embody several female deities under one name¹⁰⁶²; and the other dedicated jointly to Isis and Serapis¹⁰⁶³.

The god Serapis is an Egyptian hybrid deity created through an amalgamation of several Egyptian and Hellenistic gods such as Osiris, Apis, Zeus, Dionysus, Hades, Asklepius and Helios, in order to bring unity, both political and religious, to the Egyptian people in the Ptolemaic period, when Greek and Egyptian cultures intertwined.¹⁰⁶⁴ Thus, Serapis embodied features of various deities, becoming the god of healing, the underworld, the afterlife, the sun, and fertility. He became paired with the goddess Isis, as her divine consort, which is the reason why the two gods are sometimes worshipped jointly, as in *AIJ* 269 examined above. In his anthropomorphic form Serapis resembles the Graeco-Roman deity Jupiter/Jupiter most closely. From the second century A.D. onwards, Serapis (and Harpokrates) are at times represented with a solar crown, suggesting an association with the god Sol.¹⁰⁶⁵ The cult of Serapis at first gained prominence in the Egyptian cities of Memphis and Alexandria, and then spread throughout the Roman world to Sabratha, Lepcis, Rome, Ephesus, Britain, and along the Danube. While the main cult of Serapis' worship remained in Alexandria (known as the Serapeum Temple), his hybrid form never became popular in Egypt itself, compared

¹⁰⁶⁰ For Mursa see: Pinterović (1967a) and (1967b); for Carnuntum see: Swoboda (1953), p.101; for Rome see: Darsy (1961), p.53, and Darsy (1968); and for Pompeii see: Della Corte (1954), p.431.

¹⁰⁶¹ Malaise (1972) (see in particular the section *Nemus Dianae*); Selem (1980), p.46. In the case of Poetovio, this sanctuary could be shared with Jupiter Culminalis (see the section on Jupiter Culminalis below).

¹⁰⁶² *CIL* III 4017 in "Catalogue of Isis and Serapis dedications from Poetovio".

¹⁰⁶³ *AIJ* 269 in "Catalogue of Isis and Serapis dedications from Poetovio".

¹⁰⁶⁴ Peacock (2000), p.438; and Wilkinson (2003), p.34 and pp.127-128.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Giunio (2002), p.41.

with the popularity of other Egyptian deities. He is attested at Poetovio by two votive inscriptions¹⁰⁶⁶, and several relief fragments.¹⁰⁶⁷

Both Egyptian gods recorded at Poetovio, Isis and Serapis, are invoked in several different manners on the dedications discovered. Overall, Isis is invoked six times. She appears alone five times and once in a joint dedication with Serapis. Serapis, however, appears only once alone¹⁰⁶⁸ and is invoked as Serapis Augustus¹⁰⁶⁹; and he also appears once on the aforementioned shared dedication simply as Serapis. Isis is invoked twice as simply Isis both times on *tabulae ansatae*.¹⁰⁷⁰ She is invoked only once as Isis Myrionyma.¹⁰⁷¹ She is invoked also only once as Isis Victrix, on a shared dedication with Serapis.¹⁰⁷² And finally, she appears twice as Isis Augusta.¹⁰⁷³ Selem sees this preference for Isis over Serapis as reflective of religious trends of the time.¹⁰⁷⁴ According to Selem, the inscriptions dedicated to Isis alone tend to date from the mid-second century A.D., whereas dedications featuring Serapis date from the beginning of the third century A.D. Thus, the cult of Isis, at the height of its

¹⁰⁶⁶ *CIL* III 4044 = *AII* 336; and *AII* 269, the joint dedication to Isis and Serapis, both examined in "Catalogue of Isis and Serapis dedications from Poetovio".

¹⁰⁶⁷ Selem (1980), pp.16-17, #22-26.

¹⁰⁶⁸ *CIL* III 4044.

¹⁰⁶⁹ According to Selem this epithet was very rarely employed in Europe in association with the god Serapis. Apart from this dedication, it only appears two other times, once in Dacia (see: Vidman (1969), # 689) and once in Italy (see: Vidman (1969), #628). However, it is very common in North Africa (see: Vidman (1969), #770, #772, #779, #781, #783, #784, and #791 to name a few). This could perhaps indicate that our dedicant, Epaphroditus, may be of North African origin. Another interesting fact is that this dedication dates from the time of Severus Alexander; when the cult of Serapis was especially favoured by the imperial line. Thus the use of the epithet Augustus could be viewed as a display of loyalty and a connection to the imperial cult, especially since Epaphroditus identifies himself as *Augusti dispensatoris tabularius*. Selem (1980), p.42.

¹⁰⁷⁰ *CIL* III 15184 and *AII* 271.

¹⁰⁷¹ *CIL* III 4017.

¹⁰⁷² *AII* 269. It is interesting to note that on this dedication Isis' name precedes that of Serapis, implying that she was the most powerful god of the two, and Serapis has not been given an epithet.

¹⁰⁷³ *CIL* III 4015 and *CIL* III 4016.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Selem (1980), p.39.

popularity in the second century, gets superseded in the third century by the cult of Serapis,¹⁰⁷⁵ reflecting the religious preferences of the Severan dynasty.¹⁰⁷⁶

What is very interesting to see, however, is that such a small sample from Poetovio (six dedications overall) produces four different ways of addressing the goddess. Presumably, Isis, Isis Myrionyma, Isis Augusta and Isis Victrix all represented different aspects of the same goddess, and according to the needs and preferences of the dedicator, all fulfilled a different purpose. The most frequent epithet, appearing in Poetovio and across the Empire is that of Isis Augusta.¹⁰⁷⁷ Although the epithet Augusta can be interpreted as a virtuous description of the goddess, drawing parallels to her venerable nature and to the royal throne both depicted in her name and her iconography¹⁰⁷⁸, traditionally in Roman dedications from the imperial period the epithet serves to connect the god/goddess to the imperial cult and thus display loyalty to the emperor and the state.¹⁰⁷⁹ This explanation, then, would partly account for Isis Augusta being the most frequent form of addressing the goddess throughout the Empire, and also perhaps partly for the popularity of the cult.

Less frequent, however, both in Poetovio and across the Empire is the invocation of Isis Victrix.¹⁰⁸⁰ The epithet Victrix stems from Isis' mythic victory over Seth, a victory which, according to some scholars, is eternal, thus ensuring the same outcome to her worshippers in whatever situation they find themselves in.¹⁰⁸¹ In addition to this interpretation, the epithet Victrix is also reminiscent of Venus Victrix, and might have appealed again to those who wished to make a display of imperial loyalty and/or who wished to view Isis in a Venus-like

¹⁰⁷⁵ Vidman (1970), pp.105-124; and Selem (1980), p.39 and p.70.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Pinterović (1967b), p.75; and Selem (1980), p.39.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Vidman (1969); and Selem (1980), pp.39-40.

¹⁰⁷⁸ See for example the depiction on the tomb of Tutankhamun: Desroches-Noblecourt (1967), p.247.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Selem (1980), p.40. It is significant perhaps that both of our dedicators who employ this epithet make a donation to the temple of Isis (*CIL* III 4015 and *CIL* III 4016). At least one of them (*CIL* III 4015), could be construed as doing this in an "official" capacity.

¹⁰⁸⁰ While *Isis Augusta* appears on dedications more than thirty times across the Empire according to Vidman, *Isis Victrix* is found only five times (three in Italy, once in Gaul and once in Salona). Vidman (1969), #474, #479, #588 and #743. For Salona see : Cambi (1971), pp.85-97; and Selem (1972), pp.13-14.

¹⁰⁸¹ Bergman (1967), pp.35-51; and Selem (1980), p.40.

role.¹⁰⁸² As our dedication employing this epithet¹⁰⁸³ dates from the Antonine period, when, according to Giunio, the divine pairing of Isis and Serapis is reflective of the imperial couple, this dedication may indeed be seen as honouring not only Isis and Serapis, but through them, the emperor and the empress as well.¹⁰⁸⁴

The last epithet which we come across in Poetovio is that of Isis Myrionyma, or Isis of a thousand names. This epithet is found all over the Empire, both in Latin and Greek dedications.¹⁰⁸⁵ The epithet Myrionyma can be interpreted in several ways. It could signal the extent and versatility of Isis' powers, as one Greek inscription displays¹⁰⁸⁶, where the dedicator goes to extreme lengths to pay proper homage to all the different aspects of the goddess. The epithet could as well signal the identification of Isis with several other goddesses throughout the Empire with similar powers, such as for example Hathor, Baalat, Astarte, the Matres, and perhaps even the Nutrices in the case of Poetovio, just to name a few.¹⁰⁸⁷ In this manner, by invoking Isis Myrionyma a dedicator made sure to pay respect and seek benevolence from several goddesses at the same time, both maximizing the chances of his wish being granted and ensuring that no goddess would be left offended.¹⁰⁸⁸ The uniqueness of the use of the epithet Myrionyma in Poetovio could perhaps signify a lack of identification with autochthonous Poetovian goddesses. While evidence is strong in other parts of the Empire for the identification of Isis with native goddesses¹⁰⁸⁹, such conclusions lack in

¹⁰⁸² Selem (1980), pp.40-41.

¹⁰⁸³ *A/I* 269.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Giunio (2002), p.31.

¹⁰⁸⁵ For Greek examples see: Vidman (1969), #351 (from Cilicia); and #505 (from Italy). For Latin examples see: Vidman (1969), #639 (Gallia Cisalpina); #692 (Dacia); #698 (Dacia); #721 (Germania); and #749 (Gallia Tres).

¹⁰⁸⁶ *CIG* XII 1, p.217.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Nock (1925), p.90; Selem (1972), p.50; Malaise (1972a), p.190; and Selem (1980), p.41. The Nutrices connection could be seen through the iconographic depictions of Isis nursing her infant son Horus, which are extremely popular in Egypt. Wilkinson (2003), p.146.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Tran Tam Tinh (1972), p.204.

¹⁰⁸⁹ See for example the cases of Germany, Gaul, Noricum, Moesia and Dalmatia. Hommel (1974), #596; Fremersdorf (1953), pp.113-118; and Kenner (1989). The neighbouring province of Dalmatia was particularly well-disposed towards Oriental cults and their syncretism with native deities. Selem (1972), pp.48-51. The favoured position of women within certain Illyrian tribes, such as the Liburnians, resulted in the preferred worship of female deities, and especially female agrarian deities; thus facilitating the adoption and

the case of southern Pannonia. Selem argues that perhaps the roots of autochthonous religions in this part of Pannonia were not strong enough to sustain outside influences, thus resulting in an almost-unsyncretised character of Oriental cults found in Poetovio.¹⁰⁹⁰ The present author is reluctant to hastily agree with such a conclusion. While it is possible that Isis may have appeared slightly “foreign” to autochthonous worshippers in terms of her iconographic representation, the fact that she is attested and features a temple in Poetovio indicates that the inhabitants of Poetovio identified with her at least on some level. Since mother, healing and fertility deities, such as the Nutrices, Mater Magna, Matres, the Nymphs and so on, display a great popularity of worship not only in Poetovio but elsewhere in Pannonia, it is possible that Isis may have been perceived as equally embodying such characteristics, inciting worshippers to perceive her as yet another, albeit more foreign-looking, incarnation of a nature and mother goddess. Although iconographic syncretisation may not occur in the case of Isis in Poetovio, the fact that she is attested as Myrionyma implies a certain level of syncretism and identification with other, similar deities. It would be strange to argue that, as her height of popularity coincides with the influx into Pannonia of many “foreign” deities and their widespread syncretisation with various Roman and autochthonous deities, that Isis herself remains in a religious vacuum and is not, at least on some level, influenced by the syncretistic religious phenomenon sweeping through Pannonia at this period.

An examination of Isaic worshippers at Poetovio may indicate that the goddess did succeed in penetrating into various cultural elements of the city. While it is true that certain of our dedicators appear to be of Graeco-Oriental origins (Apollinaris - *CIL* III 15184); the names of others, especially slaves, are ambiguous enough to offer the possibility of any background. Such is the case of Fructus (*CIL* III 4017), who although attached to the customs service, may have originated from anywhere in the Empire. Even more complicated is the case of men who do not offer any social or professional affiliation, such as Victorinus (*CIL* III 4016). The dedicator of *CIL* III 4015, Martialis, identifies himself as *arcari vicarius*, thus perhaps indicating that as an employee of the customs service he may have been of Graeco-Oriental origin, yet his name may point to a Celtic or a North African background as this name is

identification of Isis with autochthonous goddesses. For further reading on the identification of Isis and other Oriental gods with native Illyrian deities see: Suić (1951-1952), p.233; Cambi (1968), pp.131-140; and Selem (1980), pp.74-75.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Selem (1980), p.75.

commonly found in these regions. The dedicator of *AII* 271, VAL(erius?) A(?), may have been of north Italic background or may even have belonged to the Poetovian Valerii. Caius Ulpus Aurelius Gaianus may have been of Italic or autochthonous origin as both his *nomina* and his *cognomen* are commonly found in Pannonia. Lastly, it is likely that Epaphroditus, the dedicator to Serapis Augustus may have been of North African origin as the epithet “Augustus” was commonly attributed to Serapis in North Africa. Thus, it is very likely that the worship of Isis at Poetovio was not restricted solely to worshippers of Graeco-Oriental or African origin, but that it may have transcended cultural boundaries, with the goddess being adopted by Italic, Celtic and autochthonous worshippers and inevitably syncretised.

In addition to such a large variety of epithets within such a small epigraphic sample, the other suprising feature of the Isaic cult at Poetovio stems from the fact that all of the recorded inscriptions of Isis and Serapis date from the middle of the second century A.D. to the beginning of the third century A.D.¹⁰⁹¹ This is odd not only because it is very unlikely for a cult to take root and disappear in such a short amount of time, but also because evidence from the neighbouring province of Dalmatia shows that the cults of these Egyptian divinities were already well established by the middle of the first century A.D.¹⁰⁹² As well, worship of Isis at this same time is even attested in more northern parts of Pannonia, which were less developed than Poetovio.¹⁰⁹³ So how is this phenomenon to be explained? While it is true that the boom in popularity of Mithraism in Poetovio coincides with the last dedication to the Egyptian deities, this does not automatically imply that the cults of Isis and Serapis ceased to be observed in Poetovio. According to some scholars, the worship of these Egyptian deities can be traced from the first century well into the third century through media other than votive inscriptions, such as reliefs, statues, *vota publica* etc...¹⁰⁹⁴ Thus, the period embodied by the votive inscriptions (mid-second century A.D. to the beginning of the third century A.D.) represents only these cults at the height of their popularity; but their worship from the first

¹⁰⁹¹ Selem (1980), p.67.

¹⁰⁹² See for example the statue of Isis from Aenona (Selem (1972), p.10) and the cippus from Bigestae (*ILJ* 117; Sergejevski (1947), p.16; and Selem (1972), p.23).

¹⁰⁹³ *CIL* III 4156; and Selem (1980), p.68.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Alföldy (1937); Chastagnol (1961), pp.744-758; Chastagnol (1969), pp.135-144; and Selem (1980), p.69.

into the third centuries remains continuous.¹⁰⁹⁵ Such a decline of the epigraphic medium of worship of the Egyptian deities at Poetovio is to be explained perhaps by two factors. Firstly, it is believed that by the third century A.D. the practice of syncretism had amalgamated aspects of several Oriental religions, perhaps diminishing the emphasis on individual deities.¹⁰⁹⁶ Secondly, Selem believes that the disappearance of the epigraphic medium in the case of the Egyptian deities of Poetovio may signify the change from a more public and open type of worship to perhaps a more private one.¹⁰⁹⁷ Thus, the use of smaller, more portable media of worship, such as oil lamps or statuettes, may signify worship on a more personal scale.

Jupiter (Jupiter Optimus Maximus)

The cult of the Roman official supreme god Jupiter appears to have been likewise very popular at Poetovio. It is presumed that a temple to Jupiter is dedicated at the ancient *Vicus Fortunae* (Spodnja Hajdina)¹⁰⁹⁸, although this conclusion may be questioned.¹⁰⁹⁹ Since a large majority of dedications to Jupiter were found at Vičava, on the left bank of the Drava, where the old Poetovian city centre used to be, one could suppose that a temple is to be sought there.¹¹⁰⁰ Due to the fact that our votive evidence of the supreme god is quite vast, we have collected the dedications to Jupiter Optimus Maximus and to Jupiter Depulsor in two separate catalogues.¹¹⁰¹ In addition to these deities, Jupiter Culminalis and Jupiter Ammon are also attested at Poetovio.¹¹⁰²

¹⁰⁹⁵ Selem notes that in the case of Isis and Serapis the epigraphic medium is far outnumbered by other types of worship (statues, reliefs, oil lamps...). Selem (1980), pp.68-69.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Cumont (1929), p.181; and Vidman (1965), p.391.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Selem (1980), pp.68-69.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Schmid (1935), pp.135-138 and 151-155.

¹⁰⁹⁹ For a rebuttal of the existence of the temple see: Saria (1937), pp.25-28.

¹¹⁰⁰ Tušek (1986), pp.356-357.

¹¹⁰¹ Please see the "Catalogue of Jupiter Optimus Maximus dedications from Poetovio", the "Catalogue of Jupiter Depulsor dedications from Poetovio", and the "Catalogue of I.O.M.D. dedications from Poetovio".

¹¹⁰² For Jupiter Culminalis dedications please see below. Jupiter Ammon is so far attested at Poetovio only by two statue fragments, and two oil lamps. Selem (1980), pp.17-18, #27-30. No inscriptions have been found. The two statue fragments consist of two heads. The first head was discovered at Spodnja Hajdina near the first

After Mithras and the Nutrices, Jupiter proves to be the most popular deity at Poetovio by the sheer number of dedications. A closer examination of dedications reveals certain trends among the supreme god's worshippers. Firstly, predominant among Jupiter's worshippers are public and military officials. Given that Jupiter was the official state deity, this is not surprising, as both military and public officials often made displays of loyalty towards the emperor and the state, one of which would be to honour the state deity. Through the worship of Jupiter, men holding official posts honoured both the god and the emperor, as the earthly ruler was often identified with the divine ruler. In addition to the implied association with Jupiter, loyalty was also displayed in more overt ways, as the *genius* or the name of the emperor was invoked explicitly alongside Jupiter, mostly by men holding the very highest of positions, such as the procurator of Pannonia Superior Attonius Rufinus.¹¹⁰³ These overt displays of loyalty were even more crucial in uncertain political times, as Rufinus' dedication, set up, it appears, during the Year of the Five Emperors (A.D. 193), displays.

Since the great majority of our dedications to Jupiter date from the late second to the early third century, when, in addition to political instability, barbarian invasions and the Antonine plague descended upon Pannonia, it is no wonder that the supreme god is so often invoked to protect his worshippers. That the crisis of the third century played a role in rendering the worship of Jupiter more popular than ever, in addition to causing a general surge in religiosity, is exemplified by the predominant use of the formula *pro salute* at this time. The rise of this formula reflects general concern, among Jupiter's worshippers of all social, professional and cultural backgrounds, for their and their loved ones' safety. Thus, it would appear, the crisis of the late second and early third centuries results not only in the rise of religiosity and the number of votive dedications, but more importantly, serves to unite inhabitants of Pannonia living through a common ordeal, bridging professional, cultural and social differences.

Mithraeum. It is made of Pohorje marble and depicts a man with curly and abundant hair and beard. In typical Jupiter Ammon fashion he has ram horns on his head. The head is peculiar in the shape of the mouth, which is gaping open, evoking certain water deities. Selem believes that the head displays this syncretism with water cults, especially as it is believed to have formed part of a fountain decoration. The second statue head is likewise made of marble, and depicts a man with abundant hair and beard. The peculiarity of this depiction rests with the horns, which are not the typical ram horns but those of a stag. Selem believes that due to this, there is a possibility of syncretism with Baal-Ammon.

¹¹⁰³ *CIL* III 4031.

This cultural, social and professional integration is well attested among the worshippers of Jupiter. For although we find that our dedications to Jupiter predominantly reflect the administrative nature of Poetovio (among his worshippers we find customs officials, men belonging to the *tabularium*, soldiers, municipal officials and provincial officials), we also find several “private” dedications to the god, where the worshippers do not advertise their professional or social affiliations. Cultural integration can be perceived among both the “official” and the “private” dedications, as we have attested several presumably autochthonous, Celtic, Italic, and Graeco-Oriental names among both groups, indicating the integration of Jupiter’s cult both in the public and private domains of worshipper’s lives. This integration of Jupiter’s cult among worshippers of various cultural origins eventually results in the transformation of the god under various autochthonous and settler influences. Such transformations are to be seen in the creation of “local” variations of the deity. Thus, through most likely autochthonous and Celtic influences specific to the region around Poetovio, we find the creation of deities such as Jupiter Culminalis, whose worship is specific to this city. Furthermore, through syncretisation with various local deities throughout the Empire, Jupiter bridged cultural and religious differences, opening up “local” religions to worshippers throughout the Empire. Thus, he served to integrate various autochthonous and foreign, official and unofficial deities, helping to create a heterogenous religious identity not only in Poetovio (by introducing to the city “exotic” deities such as Jupiter-Ammon for example), but also elsewhere in Pannonia and throughout the Empire.

*Jupiter Depulsor*¹¹⁰⁴

The god Jupiter Depulsor appears to have been a syncretised deity of Norico-Pannonian origin whose main cult base was the town of Poetovio. His cult seems to have been spread by his worshippers throughout the Roman Empire, although it gained particular popularity in

¹¹⁰⁴ It must be noted that four of our dedications invoke the god simply with the ambiguous formula I.O.M.D., making it possible to attribute them likewise to Jupiter Dolichenus. Although scholars are divided on the subject of which deity these four dedications should be attributed to, the present author believes that it is only logical to attribute them to Jupiter Depulsor, as Depulsor’s name occurs on dedications at Poetovio unabbreviated, while Dolichenus’ name does not occur at all in its full form. Thus, we have no definite proof that Dolichenus’ cult was indeed observed in this city, and with the lack of such proof it is only logical to attribute the dedications to Depulsor. Kolendo supports this idea by stating that where Dolichenus is previously attested, I.O.M.D. is interpreted as a dedication to Dolichenus; but where Depulsor is previously attested, the same abbreviation is attributed to Depulsor. Kolendo (1989), pp.1066-1067. Thus, Kolendo is as well inclined to count all Poetovian I.O.M.D. inscriptions as belonging to Depulsor.

Pannonia.¹¹⁰⁵ There is no evidence for claiming that the worship of Depulsor existed in pre-Roman times; although he is considered as a local god.¹¹⁰⁶ Instead, Kolendo believes that Jupiter Depulsor was a creation of the Roman period in response to hostile attacks on the provinces of Noricum and Pannonia by the Germanic tribes of the Marcomannic Wars. He argues that the deity would have been favoured by the inhabitants perhaps due to its connection with certain symbolic elements, such as lightening, which would have connected it to deities such as Jupiter Fulgurator and Jupiter Culminalis.¹¹⁰⁷ Šašel Kos, however, rejects this thesis, noting that even though we have no dedicatory evidence from the pre-Roman period, it is quite possible that Jupiter Depulsor is a “Romanised” version of a native deity. She points to the fact that most of the altars dedicated to Jupiter Depulsor originate from the territory of the Taurisci tribe, thus it is quite likely that this was a native Tauriscan deity. As well, she notes that while some autochthonous deities integrate well in the Roman period and are preserved in the epigraphic record, such as Latobius and Noreia; others are virtually unknown – this is the case of Anigemius, Carvonius and Vibes.¹¹⁰⁸ The fact that Depulsor survived Roman colonisation and became so popular is perhaps a testament to his association with Jupiter – Šašel Kos claims that he was probably a chief Tauriscan deity and that is why he was equated with a chief Roman deity. His survival, according to Šašel Kos, can also be explained by the renewed interest in autochthonous deities in the Antonine and Severan periods.¹¹⁰⁹ Thus, this may explain the popularity of the cult in the second century A.D. While both Kolendo and Šašel Kos offer valid theories, one needs to be cautious when making claims from a lack of evidence. If indeed Jupiter Depulsor was an autochthonous pre-Roman Tauriscan deity, it seems highly unlikely to this author that he would have survived for nearly two centuries unrecorded (the first recorded dedication to Depulsor from Pannonia is from A.D. 154). Additionally, even if it is possible for him to have been worshipped for

¹¹⁰⁵ Pflaum (1955), pp.445-460; Kolendo (1989), p.1068; and Šašel Kos (1999), p.123 and pp. 153-154.

¹¹⁰⁶ Pflaum (1955), pp.450-454; and Kolendo (1989), pp.1068-1069. Kolendo believes that if Depulsor was a native, pre-Roman deity he would have borne a native name, such as the gods Noreia and Latobius. Since he does not bear a native name, he is to be considered a creation of the Roman times.

¹¹⁰⁷ Kolendo (1989), pp.1072-1073; and 1075-1076.

¹¹⁰⁸ Alföldy (1974), pp.239-241; Kenner (1989), pp.876-894; 905-922 and 945-959; and Šašel Kos (1999), pp.125-127.

¹¹⁰⁹ Alföldy (1989), p.82; and Šašel Kos (1999), pp.126.

two centuries of Roman rule in the traditional manner, why would his worshippers, all of a sudden, switch to a Roman style of worship in A.D. 154? And if he wasn't worshipped continuously in the traditional manner during Roman rule (i.e. if he was worshipped in pre-Roman times, then ceased to be worshipped during the first 150 years of Roman rule, then started to be worshipped again in the Roman manner in A.D. 154), is it really plausible to think that he could have survived in memory and oral history of the autochthonous peoples for that long in order to be dredged up again in A.D. 154 when they needed his protection from the Germanic hordes? Therefore, Kolendo's theory seems more plausible to this author.

According to several scholars, Jupiter Depulsor possessed a multitude of powers, although he was mainly invoked for protection. Egger believes that Depulsor was invoked for the protection of health.¹¹¹⁰ Pflaum and Kolendo, on the other hand, see Depulsor in a more martial light. By pointing to the associations of Jupiter Depulsor with Jupiter Stator and Jupiter Victor,¹¹¹¹ Pflaum highlights Depulsor's qualities as protector and defender of the Empire, as well as the god who wards off hostile insurgences.¹¹¹² Although the cult of Jupiter Depulsor appears to have been popular in Pannonia, its period of popularity was short-lived: the recorded inscriptions date from A.D. 154 to A.D. 233.¹¹¹³ Depulsor's worshippers within Pannonia and Noricum were very varied: soldiers, local aristocrats, slaves, freedmen... Outside of Pannonia, however, Depulsor's main worshippers appear to have been soldiers who were either native to Pannonia and Noricum, or who served in the Danubian legions.¹¹¹⁴

¹¹¹⁰ According to Egger this is demonstrated by the use of such *formulae* as *pro salute sua*, as well as by Depulsor's association with the Nymphs (*CIL* III 4786). Egger (1929), pp.201-203. It is also to be remembered that at the time of the erection of the first dedications to Jupiter Depulsor, an epidemic had spread throughout the Empire brought by the Roman troops from the East. Gilliam (1961), pp.225-251; and Kolendo (1989), p.1073.

¹¹¹¹ *CIL* III 895=*ILS* 3023 and *AE* 1944, 28 (all originating from Dacia). Pflaum (1955), pp.445-460, #22 and #23. See also the inscription from Lugdunum (*CIL* XIII 1673 = *ILS* 1152) dedicated to Jupiter Depulsor which features the phrase *redhibita et suscepta provincia*; indicating again the martial nature of the god. Kolendo (1989), p.1070.

¹¹¹² Pflaum (1955), p.454. Kolendo notes that during the time of Marcus Aurelius (when dedications to Jupiter Depulsor become prominent), there was a resurgence of religiosity, most likely due to the combination of catastrophies (plague and barbarian invasions). This historical context fits in with the theory that the deity Jupiter Depulsor may have appeared during this time. Kolendo (1989), p.1073.

¹¹¹³ Kolendo (1989), p.1068; and Šašel Kos (1999), p.123.

¹¹¹⁴ Such as, for example, the native Poetovian M. Valerius Maximianus, general and consul of A.D. 184, who made a dedication to Jupiter Depulsor in Lambaesis (*CIL* VIII 2621 = *ILS* 3024); or the Celeian *primus pilus* G.

The cult would have thus been spread throughout the Empire by the Roman army. In addition to the theory that the cult formed and spread organically throughout the Empire, a theory of official endorsement has also been proposed. Eric Birley believes that the Pannonian *concilium* may have chosen Jupiter Depulsor as a sort of an “official” deity in light of the catastrophes faced.¹¹¹⁵ This theory could explain the large concentration of dedications to Jupiter Depulsor within the city of Poetovio. We have seven known dedications to Jupiter Depulsor from Poetovio.¹¹¹⁶ In addition to these dedications, four further dedications bearing the invocation I.O.M.D. originate from Poetovio.¹¹¹⁷

A closer examination of dedications to Jupiter Depulsor and I.O.M.D. from Poetovio may shed some light on the dilemmas discussed above. A survey of the seven Jupiter Depulsor dedications reveals that the god is worshipped almost exclusively using the invocatory formula “*Iovi Optimo Maximo Depulsori*”, by worshippers who, by and large, hold either public or military posts, and who appear to be of varying cultural backgrounds. Thus, we have two decurions attested (*CIL* III 4033 and *CIL* III 4111), and one *tabularius* (*AIJ* 122). Additionally, although several dedications are damaged and we are not able to confirm it, we may have one worshipper who was a *beneficiarius* (*CIL* III 19871 (p.2187)), and at least one other worshipper who may have held a public post (*AIJ* 286). Our two last dedicators (*CIL* III 4018 and *CIL* III 4034) appear to have erected private dedications, one of them does not specify a professional affiliation, while the other declares herself a daughter of a man whose name does not survive. Our worshippers’ cultural background is equally diversified. We have three worshippers who appear to be of autochthonous origin (*CIL* III 4033; *CIL* III 4034 and *CIL* III 4111), two worshippers who appear to be of Graeco-Oriental background (*AIJ* 122 and *CIL* III 4018), as well as two worshippers whose names do not survive and whose background we are not able to determine (*CIL* III 10871 (p.2187) and *AIJ* 186).

As concerns our four dedications addressed to I.O.M.D., evidence shows that they closely resemble the dedications made to Depulsor both in terms of the nature of worshippers and in

Baienius Ianuarius who set up a dedication at Novae (*AE* 1972, 526). See also *AIJ* 157 from Emona. Kolendo (1989), p.1069; and Šašel Kos (1999), pp.123-124.

¹¹¹⁵ Pflaum (1955), p.452; and Kolendo (1989), p.1075.

¹¹¹⁶ Please consult the “Catalogue of Jupiter Depulsor dedications from Poetovio”.

¹¹¹⁷ Please consult the “Catalogue of I.O.M.D. dedications from Poetovio”.

terms of the *formulae* employed. Firstly, it must be remarked that I.O.M.D. worshippers, like Depulsor worshippers, predominantly consist of men holding public or military posts, who appear to be of varying cultural backgrounds. Thus, we find one city decurion (*CIL* III 4028), one military decurion (*ILJug* 1963, 339), one administrative official (*CIL* III 4035), and one apparently private dedicator who does not specify his professional affiliation (*CIL* III 4036). Their cultural backgrounds are equally diversified. Thus, we find two dedicators who appear to be of Graeco-Oriental descent (*CIL* III 4036 and *CIL* III 4035), one dedicator who appears to be of autochthonous descent (*ILJug* 1963, 339) and one who is perhaps of mixed north Italian and autochthonous descents (*CIL* III 4028).

Having thus examined the evidence, few conclusions can be drawn on the nature of the deity worshipped and on his worshippers. Firstly, it is to be noted that both the Depulsor evidence as well as the I.O.M.D. evidence show striking similarities in the cultural and professional background of the worshippers. This fact, combined with the fact that among both groups, the preferred formula for addressing the deity is *Iovi Optimo Maximo*, in addition to the fact that the formula “*pro salute*” predominates as well among both groups, would lead us to conclude that the I.O.M.D. dedications should be interpreted as belonging to Depulsor and not to Dolichenus, since they show a striking similarity with respect to *formulae* employed and with respect to the nature of the worshippers.

Secondly, the great variety of worshippers encountered, as well as the predominance of the formula “*pro salute*” would lead us to conclude that Jupiter Depulsor was most likely a product of the political and social instability of the late second and early third centuries, and not a pre-Roman autochthonous deity which has been “revived”. The fact that his worship appears abruptly around the mid-second century and likewise ends abruptly towards the middle of the third century would seem to suggest that he was a deity who arose as a response to a combination of calamities which affected Pannonia at the same time, such as the barbarian invasions, and the Antonine plague, forcing worshippers to turn to syncretisation, or in Depulsor’s case, creation of new deities, in order to satisfy needs which the old gods seem to have failed to address. Syncretisation in itself, by combining deities on a single dedication, sought to combine their powers, multiplying the chances of worshippers’ prayers being heard and answered. The creation of Jupiter Depulsor appears to have served the same needs. By creating a protector deity in the guise of the most powerful god, the worshippers most likely hoped that the supreme deity would be the best suited to resolve such a major

crisis. The choice of Jupiter as a vessel for this new deity also illustrated the importance of the crisis that the inhabitants of Pannonia faced.

It is probably because of this crisis that the deity gained such great popularity among the worshippers of Poetovio, permeating through cultural, social and professional barriers as our evidence indicates. Whether the deity was created by the Pannonian *concilium* or whether it arose organically, the predominance of worshippers holding public or military posts in our evidence displays that the spread of Depulsor seems to have been at least encouraged by officials such as city decurions. Thus, Depulsor may have been invoked in an “official” capacity, to protect the city and its citizens. The use of the formula “*pro salute sua et suorum*”, however, also indicates that the god was adopted in the private capacity, something which is also suggested by those worshippers who do not hold public posts. Thus, the unstable political environment of the late second and early third centuries pushes Pannonians of different cultural, social and professional backgrounds to bond, integrate and participate together in creating new cultural and religious elements, such as the deity Jupiter Depulsor, which reshape and redefine their collective cultural and religious identities as a response to the new circumstances that they find themselves in. Therefore, Jupiter Depulsor was most likely not a pre-Roman autochthonous deity; but a creation of the Roman period in response to the calamities that the province and the region suffered. He thus may have combined both autochthonous and settler elements, which were adapted to suit his new purpose as a protector at this particularly difficult time.

Jupiter Optimus Maximus Culminalis

Another version of the god Jupiter, Jupiter Optimus Maximus Culminalis, was worshipped in the region of Poetovio. Due to Culminalis’ extremely limited geographical area of attested worship little is known about this god, except that he appears to have been a local Pannonian-Norican deity. Since his earliest dedications originate from Noricum, certain scholars believe that his worship seems to have spread from Noricum into Pannonia.¹¹¹⁸ Poetovio features six dedications to the deity.

The first dedication is an altar found at Spodnja Hajdina, in the vicinity of the customs offices and the *tabulae ansatae* dedicated to Isis. The altar was discovered in 1935 in a room

¹¹¹⁸ Šašel Kos (1999), p. 154.

measuring 10 metres by 5.75 metres. The dedication is simply made to *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) CVLMINALI*;¹¹¹⁹ giving rise to the notion that this may have been a temple of Jupiter.¹¹²⁰ This idea was challenged by B. Saria, who claims that the building was a temple of Isis.¹¹²¹ It is not completely ridiculous, however, to claim that this may have been a joint sanctuary, as is the case with other cults at Spodnja Hajdina.¹¹²²

The second dedication to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Culminalis is a small, very badly damaged, fragment of a marble altar. The inscription reads¹¹²³:

[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo) C(ulminali?) / [I]VL(ius) EVTY / [CHES?-----

Although the dedication is damaged, we can suppose that our dedicator may have been of Greek or Oriental origin. The dedicator may have possibly been a freedman, judging by his Greek/Oriental name and his lack of a *praenomen*. Nothing further can be deduced due to the damage to the stone.

The third dedication is a joint dedication to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Culminalis, Juno Regina and the *genius* of the place. It reads¹¹²⁴:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) CVL(minalis) / IVN(oni) REG(inae) ET / GEN(io) LOCI / PHILADESPOTVS / AVGG(ustorum) NN(ostrorum) VER[N(a)] / CVS(tos) TABVL(arii) / PRO S(alute) SVA SV[O] / RVMQ(ue) OM(nium) / EX VOT[O] / [-----

This dedication dates most likely from between the years A.D. 198 and 210, judging by the mention of the two emperors (*AVGG NN* – Septimius Severus and Caracalla), and by the fact that the cult of Jupiter Optimus Maximus experienced a surge of popularity in Pannonia in

¹¹¹⁹ *AJ* 284.

¹¹²⁰ Schmid (1935), p.150; and Selem (1980), p.44.

¹¹²¹ Saria (1937), p.28; Tran Tam Tinh (1964), pp.275-278; Malaise (1972a), pp.239-242; and Selem (1980), p.44.

¹¹²² See above. One indication that this may have been a joint sanctuary stems from Selem's idea that if indeed this building was a temple of Isis, then it is likely that Serapis would have been worshipped in the same place. This is perhaps embodied by a joint dedication to Isis and Serapis (*AJ* 269), which was found not far from this site. Selem (1980), pp.44-45.

¹¹²³ *AJ* 283.

¹¹²⁴ *CIL* III 4032.

the late second and early third centuries A.D. Our dedicator is an imperial slave of Greek or Oriental origin, judging by his name. He identifies himself as a *custos tabularii*, a keeper of records, in this case, most likely belonging to the provincial *tabularium* at Poetovio. The men who exercised these duties were usually either slaves¹¹²⁵ or freedmen.¹¹²⁶ Philadespotus dedicates to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Culminalis, Juno Regina and the *genius* of the place as a vow fulfilled for the well-being of himself and his family. That he includes all three deities is significant here since the emperor and the empress were known to be identified with the supreme deity and his consort. Thus we find this association especially popular in the East due to the long tradition of a ruler cult, as on *AE* 1949, 109 which invokes [*Iovi Optimo Maximo L(ucio) Septimio Seve]ro Aug(usto) Iunoni Reginae Iuliae Domn[ae Aug(ustae)*]. Since our dedicator appears to have been of Greek or Oriental origin, this association of the imperial couple with the divine couple may have been natural for him. Moreover, as an imperial slave, the invocation of the divine couple and its association with the imperial couple would have been even more potent as an expression of loyalty to his masters. That along these two deities he invokes the *genius* of the place and the local deity Culminalis is likewise significant. As a member of the *tabularium* at Poetovio it is likely that he spent a significant amount of time in this city and became familiar with the local and autochthonous deities. The fact that he includes these deities in his dedication shows that he has not only become familiar with south Pannonian provincial culture, but that he has integrated and adopted the local deities and spirits, worshipping them alongside official Roman gods. Thus, Philadespotus, as a man of presumably Oriental or Greek origin, who participates in the worship of local Pannonian and Roman deities side-by-side, while at the same time continuing to cultivate his Graeco-Oriental religious identity is a perfect example of the flexibility of religious and cultural identities in the Roman Empire, and the multiculturalism and cultural integration that is encountered in southern Pannonia, especially in large administrative centres such as Poetovio.

¹¹²⁵ *CIL* VIII 12597.

¹¹²⁶ *CIL* VI 8431.

The fourth dedication originates from Križovljani, near Vinica, belonging to the *ager* of Poetovio. It consists of a damaged marble altar. It is dated to late second or early third century A.D. The inscription reads¹¹²⁷:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) CVLM(inali) AVRE[L(ius)] / MAXIMINVS DE[C(urio)] / COL(oniae) POET(ovionensis) HO[N] / ORE IIVIR(i) Q(uin)[Q(uennalis)] / EX CVRA(ore) SACE[R] / [D]OS PROVINC[I] / [A]E PANNONIAE SUPERI(or)s) / PRO SALVTE SVA ET / AVREL(iae) MARCELL[I] / NAE CONIVGIS SV / ORVMQVE OMNIVM V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

This dedication was set up by Aurelius Maximinus, a decurion of Poetovio, and a high priest of the province of Pannonia Superior, for his own well-being and the well-being of his wife, Aurelia Marcellina, and that of his family.¹¹²⁸ Maximinus, judging by his *nomen*, most likely received citizenship under *constitutio Antoniniana*, and appears to have been one of the autochthonous inhabitants who, along with dedicators of *CIL* III 4033 and *CIL* III 4053, rose to prominence in the third century A.D., and supplanted the old north Italian families such as the Valerii in the holding of distinguished public posts.

Two further dedications to the deity Jupiter Culminalis originate from Petrijanec, which belonged to the *ager* of Poetovio. The first altar is dated to late second or early third century A.D. The inscription reads¹¹²⁹:

[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo) CV[L(minali)] / [----SP----IIME] / [----VS II V----] / IV / [C]VM SVI[S] / VM[----]

The second altar is also dated to late second or early third century A.D. The inscription reads¹¹³⁰:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / CVLMINALI AVG(usto) / ET GENIO / DOMIN(orum) S(acrum) / IVLI(i) IVLI / ANI VLP(iae) MAXI / MIANAE VIL(icus) SCI / TICVS SER(vus) / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

¹¹²⁷ *CIL* III 4108 = *AII* 449; and Šašel Kos (1998), p.20.

¹¹²⁸ Sinobad (2010), pp.159-160.

¹¹²⁹ *CIL* III 4115.

¹¹³⁰ *ILJug* 1165; and Vikić and Gorenc (1969), p.5.

The dedicator is a self-identified slave Sciticus, whose name points us to suspect that he may have been of Scythian origin. He is the *vilicus* of Julius Julianus and Ulpia Maximiana. In this case, the role of *vilicus* pertains not to the supervisor of a customs post, as is the case in the Mithraic dedications examined earlier, but in fact pertains to a manager of a private estate, in this case belonging to Julius Julianus and Ulpia Maximiana.¹¹³¹ Sciticus invokes the deity Jupiter Optimus Maximus Culminalis alongside the *genius* of his masters; thereby displaying his loyalty to both.

Culminalis seems to have been an autochthonous Pannonian-Norican deity, as he is only attested on eleven dedications¹¹³², eight of which were discovered in Pannonia and three of which originate from Noricum. Out of these, Poetovio holds the largest number of dedications to Culminalis, namely six in total. It is interesting to note that all the other dedications, except one, were found within close proximity of Poetovio. Two have been found at nearby Celeia¹¹³³ and one at Atrans¹¹³⁴, just across the Norican border. One further dedication was found in the river Sava¹¹³⁵ at an undetermined place in southern Pannonia, still reasonably close to Poetovio. The last dedication was found in Rácalmás, near Budapest.¹¹³⁶ It is dedicated by a *cornicularius*, thus we can perhaps presume that he may have originated from our part of southern Pannonia where the Culminalis dedications are concentrated, and has brought the god with him to Budapest, as it was not unusual for members of the army to dedicate to their own deities in foreign lands. This is further supported by the fact that his name, Publius Aelius Antoninus, is very frequently found in southern Pannonia.

Considering the extremely limited geographical concentration of the dedications to Culminalis, we can safely presume that he was a local Pannonian-Norican deity. Although little is known and little has been written about Culminalis, a few conclusions on his possible

¹¹³¹ Sanader (1995a), pp.97-109; and Sinobad (2010), p.153.

¹¹³² AE 1934, 70; AE 2009, 1084; AIJ 283; AIJ 284; CIL III 4032; CIL III 4108 = AIJ 449; CIL III 4115; CIL III 5186; CIL III 11673; ILJug 2, 1165; and AIJ 20.

¹¹³³ CIL III 5186; and AIJ 20.

¹¹³⁴ CIL III 11673.

¹¹³⁵ AE 1934, 70.

¹¹³⁶ AE 2009, 1084.

nature and character can be drawn. Judging by his name, which could mean “of heights” or “of a high place”, his worship at Poetovio and in its vicinity seems utterly appropriate. Poetovio itself is situated atop a steep hill, in addition to resting in the shadow of the Alps. It seems perfectly conceivable that the autochthonous peoples worshipped a deity they perhaps believed inhabited the mountains, as several deities are mythologically conceived of inhabiting high places (one needs only think of the Olympian gods). Culminalis may have taken shape under the Celtic influence in the region in the third century B.C. Since in all of his recorded dedications in the Roman period Culminalis is associated with Jupiter Optimus Maximus, always and without exception being referred to as Jupiter Optimus Maximus Culminalis, we can presume that at least in this region of Pannonia where he is worshipped, he was regarded by the autochthonous tribes as a supreme deity, perhaps even possessing some of the same powers as Jupiter. Thus, his name may not only imply that he was a god of a high place, but also that he was the high god, *id est* a supreme deity.

As we have seen, Jupiter Optimus Maximus Culminalis is worshipped by people of predominantly Greek/Oriental background who occupied the lower social order (slaves or freedmen). Thus, out of our eleven dedications in which Culminalis is attested, five were set up by men who, judging by their names, are of Greek or Oriental origin.¹¹³⁷ There are two dedications which are either too damaged or do not record the name of the dedicator, thus it is impossible to ascertain anything from the nature of the worshippers.¹¹³⁸ Three further dedications seem to indicate that the dedicators were of Pannonian origin, although this cannot be proven absolutely.¹¹³⁹ The names Valerius, Aurelius and Aelius were all very common in Pannonia, so that it is possible that the dedicators were native to this province. However, again, the same names are found all over the Empire, and thus a native origin for these dedicants cannot be proven. In terms of occupations, only four of our dedicators identify themselves by their profession. These are the *vilicus* Sciticus, the *custos tabularii* Philadespotus, the decurion of Poetovio Aurelius Maximinus, and the *cornicularius* Publius Aelius Antoninus. All exercise vastly different duties and evidence shows that all are of

¹¹³⁷ Sciticus (*ILJug* 02, 1165); Chresimus (*CIL* III 11673); Titus Mattius Hecato (*CIL* III 5186) Philadespotus (*CIL* III 4032); and Iulius Eutyches (*AII* 283).

¹¹³⁸ *AII* 284 and *CIL* III 4115.

¹¹³⁹ Valerius Ingenus (*AE* 1934, 70 and *AII* 20); Publius Aelius Antoninus (*AE* 2009, 1084); and Aurelius Maximinus (*CIL* III 4108).

different social standing. Namely, among our eleven dedications, two imperial slaves and one private slave are attested; one freedman, and five Roman citizens. These include men of such high standing as the decurion of the city of Poetovio, as well as slaves such as the *vilicus* Sciticus. Due to the varied backgrounds, professional and social standing of the dedicators it is hard to determine the nature of the deity Culminalis. As evidence indicates, he seems to have been worshipped across the social and professional spectrum; with perhaps, it could be argued, a larger proportion of worshippers of lower social standing such as slaves. It must be considered, however, that a much larger proportion of the population occupied the lower social stratum than the higher. Thus, we are not able to say that Culminalis was particularly favoured by the lower classes. Similarly, it appears that a large proportion of those who worshipped Culminalis were of Oriental or Greek origin. However, again, as we have seen in the case of other dedications in this chapter, a large percentage of those slaves and freedmen who were both in the public or private service bore Greek and Oriental names, and thus again, this is not unusual for a large administrative centre like Poetovio. Therefore, all one can conclude with certainty concerning Culminalis is that due to his geographically-limited worship he seems to have been a local deity who integrated himself successfully among worshippers of different social standings and (presumably) backgrounds. The fact that this local deity is not worshipped solely by locals of autochthonous origins signifies that inhabitants of Pannonia, whether foreign settlers or native-born, experienced cultural integration, rather than separation or assimilation. The best example of this integration are perhaps men like Sciticus and Philadespotus, who, although of (presumably) Eastern origin, integrated Roman and local deities into their daily lives, themselves reflecting the multicultural fabric of the Empire. Thus, it is not surprising that a large number of inscriptions bear Roman or Oriental names, since as new settlers, these were the people who needed the protection and benevolence of the local gods the most when living and conducting business in this area. It is probably because of this integration and association with the deity Jupiter Optimus Maximus, that the worship of Culminalis survived well into the Roman period, and that his name has not been lost to us.

Victory

Only one altar from Poetovio has been dedicated to the goddess Victoria, in addition to the joint dedication made to Jupiter Optimus Maximus and Victoria examined in the “Catalogue

of Jupiter Optimus Maximus dedications from Poetovio”.¹¹⁴⁰ The Victoria dedication from Poetovio is an altar in the shape of a demi-column. The top part of the column has sustained considerable damage, as well as the bottom half, which is now missing, thus rendering our inscription incomplete. The side of the monument depicts a naked Victory. The monument was discovered in Panorama in 1952. It is made out of marble and measures 39cm x 50cm x 19cm. The inscription reads¹¹⁴¹:

*VICTO / RIAE / AVG(ustae) SAC(rum) / C(aius) CASSI / VS / SILVESTER VET(eranus)
LEG(ionis) IIII / F[L(aviae) FEL]ICIS / [PRO SALVT]E / [----*

Our dedicator, Cassius Silvester, identifies himself as a veteran of the *legio IV Flavia Felix*. The legion was raised in A.D. 70 from soldiers of the *IV Macedonica* and new recruits from southern Gaul and northern Italy. It spent most of its time stationed in Dalmatia (Burnum) and Moesia (Singidunum), with brief reassignments to Viminacium, Sarmizegetusa, Aquincum, Mauretania, Germany and possibly Syria. Due to its significant presence in the Danubian provinces, it could be claimed that our dedicator was recruited locally and was of autochthonous origin. He appears to be the same person as mentioned on *CIL* III 4056 from Poetovio, where he is recorded as a veteran *signifier*. Since he is recorded on both Poetovian dedications as a veteran it can be safely assumed that he chose to settle at Poetovio after his discharge from the legion. It is possible that he may have been from the region and was thus returning home. However, given the significant number of northern Italic settlers at Poetovio in the first century, and considering that upon the constitution of the *legio IV Flavia Felix* men of northern Italian and southern Gaulish descent were recruited, it is also likely possible that Silvester may have been one of these recruits, who, discharged towards the final years of the first century, came to settle at Poetovio. Although dating this dedication is difficult as the legion received its title “Felix” early in its existence, if our theory is true, then this dedication could perhaps be dated to late first or early second century A.D.¹¹⁴² That our army veteran dedicates to Victory is unsurprising, as the goddess was worshipped primarily by soldiers.¹¹⁴³ Since he was no longer in active service, and dedicates on behalf of another person whose

¹¹⁴⁰ *CIL* III 4020 (p.1746) = *AII* 272.

¹¹⁴¹ *IJug* 01, 340.

¹¹⁴² Bratanić (1953), p.285; and Le Bohec, Y. and Wolff, C. (2000), pp.239-245.

¹¹⁴³ Kolšek (1968), p.278.

name has not been preserved, it is possible that this dedication was erected for the benefit of another soldier, perhaps a comrade or a family member.

Fortuna

Only one dedication to the goddess Fortuna originates from Poetovio. The dedication reads¹¹⁴⁴:

FO[RTVNAE PRO] / SVO REDIT[V DEDIT] / T(itus) FL(avius) EXSVP[ERATVS? CVM] / VICTORIN[O FILIO] / ARRIANO [ET PAPO CO(n)S(ulibus)]

The dedication can be dated according to the consuls to A.D. 243. Our dedicator's family gained citizenship fairly early, under the Flavian dynasty, and judging by his *cognomen*, our dedicator appears to have been either of Greek/Oriental or autochthonous background. His *cognomen* occurs frequently in the Danubian provinces, mainly in Pannonia, and to a lesser extent in Dacia and Moesia. Due to the fact that Pannonia had a significant percentage of population of Greco-Oriental descent, we must not automatically assume that a high frequency of this name occurrence in Pannonia signifies autochthonous descent. Dedications bearing this name from the Danubian provinces give equal support to possible Graeco-Oriental (see, among others: *RHP* 319; and *ILJug* 03, 1341) and possible Celtic-autochthonous (see, among others: *CIL* III 1096; and *AE* 2003, 1406) origins of the name; and in the case of one dedication, a possible mixed background (*CIL* III 3350). Determining the origin of our dedicator and his son thus proves hard. Since Exsuperatus sets up the dedication to Fortuna for his safe return, we can assume that he dedicates with Fortuna Redux in mind, although he does not invoke her with this title. Fortuna Redux was especially popular among those whose professions took them far from home or put them in harm's way, like soldiers or traders. Although Exsuperatus does not state his professional affiliation, we may presume that he exercised one such profession, which prompted him to invoke the goddess of safe return.

Mercury

Only two dedications to the deity Mercury originate from Poetovio. The first dedication is a large well-executed marble altar, 65cm high, which has been cut in half, so that only the

¹¹⁴⁴ *ILJug* 02, 1135.

right-hand side is preserved. It was discovered in 1897 at Zgornji Breg. The inscription reads¹¹⁴⁵:

[MERC]VRIO / [AVG(usto)? S]ACR(um) / [PROVIN]CIALIS(?) / [----]VMMI / [----
V]ICAR(ius?) / [V(otum S(olvit))] L(ibens) M(erito)

Our dedicator whose name appears to be Provincialis, identifies himself as a *vicarius*. Due to the damage on the dedication we are not able to ascertain whether Provincialis may have been a slave of an Illyrian customs official, or whether he was an ordinary personal slave of a slave; however, considering the importance of Poetovio within the Illyrian customs service, it is very likely that Provincialis may have been the former. His name, Provincialis, is very common in Pannonia (*AE* 2005, 1208; *CIL* III 14354/1; *CIL* III 3556; *CIL* III 3401; and *CIL* III 3527), and to a lesser extent in the neighbouring provinces of Noricum (*AE* 1982, 751; *AE* 1940, 46; *CIL* III 5338; and *CIL* III 4735), Dalmatia (*ILJug* 03, 1504) and Dacia (*AE* 1960, 223; and *AE* 1972, 492). It is also found in northern Italy (*AE* 1999, 710), Gallia Narbonensis (*AE* 1005, 1041) and Raetia (*AE* 1978, 585; and *CIL* III 5881), prompting us to think that the name may have Celtic/northern Italian origins, although the slave bearing it, may not necessarily share this background. If indeed Provincialis was tied to the customs service, then his dedication to Mercury, as a deity of commerce and finance, seems entirely appropriate. Additionally, the size and the quality of execution of Provincialis' dedication would tend to indicate that he was a man of some means. This is consistent with the higher financial and social status observed among slaves within official administrative services.¹¹⁴⁶ Thus, it is likely that Provincialis occupied an official post.

Our second dedication originates from Zgornja Hajdina and simply reads *MERCVR*[----].¹¹⁴⁷

Vulcan and Venus

The divine pair Vulcan and Venus were worshipped in a joint sanctuary at Poetovio. We have four dedications from this city, two which attest the pair jointly, and two dedicated solely to Vulcan. Our first dedication to Vulcan consists of a large, well-preserved altar, slightly

¹¹⁴⁵ *CIL* III 14355/1.

¹¹⁴⁶ Weaver (1972), pp.204-206.

¹¹⁴⁷ *CIL* III 13559.

weathered. The altar was discovered in 1886 near the second Mithraeum, where Vulcan and Venus' temple was located. The altar measures 76cm x 115cm x 52cm. The inscription reads¹¹⁴⁸:

VOLCANO / AVG(usto) SACR(um) / EX IMP(erio) VICVS / FORTVN(ae) A TEMPL(o) / FORTVNAE AD HORR(ea) / M(ille?) P(edes?)

This dedication to Vulcan was erected on behalf of the inhabitants of the *vicus* Fortuna neighbourhood of ancient Poetovio, which is located in present-day Spodnja Hajdina part of Ptuj. Schmid believes that the inhabitants erected the dedication in gratitude to Vulcan for saving them from a fire, although the dedication does not mention such an event.¹¹⁴⁹ This dedication is important in that it gives us valuable information about the nature of ancient *vicus* Fortuna. The neighbourhood, according to the inscription would have extended a thousand Roman feet from the temple of Fortuna to the stores. The *vicus* Fortuna thus would have incorporated the first and second Mithraea as well as the temples of Fortuna, and Vulcan and Venus, all located in close proximity of each other. Additionally, this neighbourhood was also home to the stores (*horrea*), and to blacksmith and possibly, glassmaker workshops.¹¹⁵⁰ These men most likely composed the core of Vulcan's worshippers, thus it is no wonder that his temple is located in close proximity to their workshops.

The second dedication was discovered in the year 1899 near the first Mithraeum. It consists of a marble receptacle (only a third of which has been preserved) bearing an inscription along the rim. The inscription to the god reads¹¹⁵¹:

---- *RJ VOLC(ano) SACR(um) IANI*----

Due to the damage to the inscription there is not much that we can infer from this dedication. It is possible that this receptacle served for cult purposes.

The third dedication is a joint dedication to Venus and Vulcan. It consists of a large marble slab which has been partially damaged on the top right-hand corner and along the left side

¹¹⁴⁸ *CIL* III 10875 (p.2328,29) = *ILS* 3302 = *AII* 340.

¹¹⁴⁹ Schmid (1935), p.129.

¹¹⁵⁰ Lamut (1992), p.165.

¹¹⁵¹ *CIL* III 14354/35 = *AII* 339.

and front of the inscription. The slab was discovered in 1899 near the first Mithraeum. It measures 85cm x 60cm x 11cm. The inscription reads¹¹⁵²:

*VOLCANO ET / VENERI AVG(ustae) / SACRVM / SIGNA ET AEDEM / C(aius) AVILLIVS
CHRYSAN / [TH(?)]VS MAGISTRATV SVO / D(e) P(ecunia) S(ua) D(edit)*

This joint dedication was erected by Chrysanthus, who boasts that he constructed the temple to Vulcan and Venera from his own money. This dedication thus would have stood most likely outside the temple, and denoted Chrysanthus as a man of means and importance to his community. Chrysanthus' *nomen* Avillius is found most commonly in Italy, particularly in Rome, where it is often paired with a Greek-sounding *cognomen*, like in the case of Chrysanthus, implying perhaps Greek or Oriental origins. The name Avillius is also found commonly in coastal cities of Spain (*AE* 2003, 922; *AE* 1992, 1106; *AE* 1983, 538; and *CIL* II 6257/72), and Gaul (*CAG*-13-02-p.385), which were originally colonised by the Greeks, lending further support that our dedicator may have been of Greek origin. The name is further found in Achaea (*AE* 2009, 1286b-c) and Crete (*AE* 2009, 1657c). Thus it is possible that Chrysanthus may have been an Oriental or a Greek inhabiting Poetovio, who constructed the temple to Vulcan on behalf of blacksmiths and other craftsmen of Poetovio who worked with fire, like glassmakers, among whom the god was especially favoured.

The fourth dedication is also a joint dedication to the two gods which simply reads¹¹⁵³:

---- *VOLCAN (?)]O E[T VENERI (?)* ----

Due to the extensive damage to this dedication we cannot even confirm with certainty that the two gods are indeed invoked, although one such conclusion may be drawn from the proximity of the findspot to the other Vulcan dedications.

Nemesis

The Graeco-Roman goddess *Nemesis*, the goddess of games in amphitheatres, is attested at Poetovio on only one inscription. The fact that she is worshipped at Poetovio signifies that

¹¹⁵² *CIL* III 14354/36 (p.2328, 189).

¹¹⁵³ *CIL* III 14354/37.

the city possessed at least one amphitheatre.¹¹⁵⁴ The votive altar attesting Nemesis measures 38 x 26 x 19cm, and was discovered in the year 1923. It is badly damaged and only a part of the inscription is preserved. The dedication reads¹¹⁵⁵:

[NE]MESI A[VG(ustae)] / [S]ACRV[M] / [PR]O SAL(ute) [SVA] / [----]ONIVS[----]

Selem notes that the altar was reused, and that this is the reason why it may be so badly damaged. Due to the damage it is impossible to ascertain who the dedicator is, or to make any inference as to his social status or his ethnic origins. Selem suspects that he may have been of low birth, as the worship of *Nemesis* was especially popular among the lower classes of the Empire.¹¹⁵⁶ If the letters in the last line “ONIVS” are indicative of his name, then they may indicate Celtic/autochthonous or northern Italian origins, such as the dedicator to Jupiter Depulsor, Aurelius Ceionius on *CIL* III 4033.

Mars

The Roman god of war, Mars, is attested at Poetovio on one *tabula ansata*. The *tabula* is made of marble and measures 83cm x 71cm x 18cm. It forms part of a sarcophagus and was discovered in 1893. Although the relief depiction of the god has been preserved on the side of the *tabula*, the funerary inscription is severely damaged.¹¹⁵⁷ The god is depicted standing naked on what appears to be a podium. He sports a military helmet on his head. Due to the depiction of Mars it is likely that the deceased may have been a soldier.

Mars Marimogius

Marimogius appears to have been a local Pannonian/Norican deity of Celtic origin who came to be equated with the god Mars after the Roman conquest.¹¹⁵⁸ He appears at Poetovio on three inscriptions,¹¹⁵⁹ however, his worship was not exclusive to Poetovio; he can be attested

¹¹⁵⁴ Kolšek (1968), p.278; and Schejbal (2003a), p.111.

¹¹⁵⁵ *AII* 323.

¹¹⁵⁶ Selem (1980), pp.264-265.

¹¹⁵⁷ *CIL* III 13410.

¹¹⁵⁸ Tušek (1985), p.113.

¹¹⁵⁹ *AE* 1977, 628; *AE* 1987, 825 and *CIL* III 4014.

at Cetium¹¹⁶⁰, Flavia Solva¹¹⁶¹, Andautonia and Siscia¹¹⁶². He was thus a popular deity in the provinces of Noricum and Pannonia, particularly towards the end of the first century A.D., when most of his dedications were erected, but it is believed that his worship may have survived into the third century A.D.¹¹⁶³

The first Marimogius dedication from Poetovio was discovered in December 1985, at the Spodnja Hajdina neighbourhood of Poetovio, approximately 150 metres to the north of the first Mithraeum.¹¹⁶⁴ Archaeologists stumbled upon three altars buried in a ditch along with some small finds (fragments of pottery, *tegulae*, brick slabs etc...). Out of the three altars, one was severely damaged so that the inscription could not be read. The other, a dedication to the Nymphs, will be examined in the appropriate section below. The third altar was the dedication to Marimogius. It is made of white marble and measures 65cm x 35cm x 27.5cm. Due to the fact that the altar dedicated to the Nymphs is dated to A.D. 207, it is very likely that this dedication takes a similar dating, having been erected perhaps in the late second or early third century A.D. The dedication reads¹¹⁶⁵:

MARIMO / GIO SACR(um) / PISTVS ET / PHILETE PRO / SALVTE / PHILETI FILI(i) / V(otum) S(oluerunt)

Ivan Tušek is of the opinion that this dedication dates to the second century A.D. on the basis of the lettering and its execution. He notes that the names of the dedicators are highly unusual, and suspects them to originate either from Italy or Dalmatia. Indeed the names do occur with a high frequency in these provinces, with Pistus' name occurring often in northern Italy and Philete's name occurring often both in northern Italy and in Dalmatia. The single

¹¹⁶⁰ *CIL* III 11815 = *ILS* 4575.

¹¹⁶¹ *AE* 2006, 986.

¹¹⁶² *CIL* III 10844 = *ILS* 4574; and Šašel Kos (1999), p. 154.

¹¹⁶³ Tušek (1985), p.113.

¹¹⁶⁴ The discovery of this Marimogius dedication and of the Nymphs dedication in the same place adds further support to the idea that Spodnja Hajdina may have been home to a cultic and/or temple complex, with several deities worshipped conjointly, or at least in very close proximity to each other. The discovery of building foundations by the archaeologists along with the altars and other small finds lends even more weight to this theory. Tušek (1985), p.114.

¹¹⁶⁵ *AE* 1988, 933 = *AE* 1987, 825.

names of the dedicators also lead Tušek to conclude that they belonged to the lower classes.¹¹⁶⁶

The second dedication to Marimogius is a well-preserved and well-executed altar with an ivy leaf vine decoration at the top. The left side appears to be decorated by a slightly odd-shaped *urceus*, whereas the right side features a lightening/arrows symbol. It was discovered in 1975 at Vičava. It measures 31.5cm x 77cm x 17.5cm and is made out of marble. The inscription reads¹¹⁶⁷:

MARIMOG(io) / HEVTYCHVS / LAMYRI / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

Judging by his name our dedicator is possibly of Greek or Oriental origin. His name appears to be a *hapax*; however, the name of the individual on behalf of whom Heutychus makes the dedication is found primarily in Rome, with a lesser amount of attestations in Asia (*AE* 1898, 135), Gallia (*CIL* XII 5804) and Baetica (*CIL* II 1495, p.869). It is a shame that our dedicator does not offer us a professional or social affiliation, nor the nature of his relationship to the other individual, as this may have helped us ascertain more about their backgrounds. Due to a lack of noted achievements, as well as to the fact that both persons on this dedication bear a single name, we may presume that they were of humble, likely servile, backgrounds. The skilled execution of the altar, however, would seem to suggest that Heutychus was of some financial means. Moreover, the fact that Heutychus dedicates to an autochthonous Pannonian/Norican deity shows not only that he was most likely well-acquainted with the region and its spiritual life, having lived in southern Pannonia and perhaps Poetovio for a while; but also that he appears to have integrated among the locals sufficiently in order to adopt their deities.

The third dedication to Marimogius consists of a small, very worn altar. It was discovered on the east side of the city. The altar is made out of marble and measures 68cm high. The inscription reads¹¹⁶⁸:

¹¹⁶⁶ Tušek (1985), p.113.

¹¹⁶⁷ *AE* 1977, 628.

¹¹⁶⁸ *CIL* III 4014 = *ILS* 4568.

[MARI or possibly HAR]MOGIO / [A]VG(usto) SAC(rum) / C(aius) MARIVS / SEROTINVS / EX IVSSV / V(otum) S(olvit)

Our dedicator Serotinus is likely of Celtic or northern Italic origin, as his name appears almost exclusively in provinces with a significant Celtic element. Thus, apart from this dedication, his *cognomen* is attested on twelve other inscriptions: three from Belgica (*CIL* XIII 4211; *CIL* XIII 10016.006 and *AE* 2007, 985), two from Pannonia (*AE* 1969/1970, 468 and *CIL* III 13460), two from Noricum (*CIL* III 5481 and *CIL* III 11761), two from northern Italy (*CIL* V 6545 and *CIL* XI 870), one from Germany (*AE* 2001, 1451), one from Raetia and one from Rome. Our dedicator states that he has been prompted to erect the altar to the god, most likely by the deity himself. Although the dedicator does not offer us a social or professional affiliation, his attribution of the epithet “Augustus” to the god Marimogius, so rare among our evidence¹¹⁶⁹, may point to the “official” nature of this dedication.

Although little is known about the deity Marimogius, certain conclusions can be drawn from our evidence which may reveal to us his nature. Firstly, the extremely limited distribution of his worship would tend to suggest that he was a local deity of likely Celtic-autochthonous descent whose worship appears to have predominated among the lower classes, and especially, among the Graeco-Oriental and Celtic autochthonous native elements of population. The early date of his dedications (late first-early second century A.D.) combined with his restricted area of worship to the settlements in proximity of the Norican/Pannonian border, would lead us to suggest that, unlike perhaps Jupiter Depulsor, and Jupiter Culminalis, Marimogius may not have been a creation of the post-conquest period, but that his worship may have predated Roman arrival to the region. He thus, was most likely specific to the peoples living along the Pannonian/Norican border (who, judging by the higher frequency of Celtic names encountered than in the rest of southern Pannonia, appear to have been composed of a substantial Celtic element) which may explain why his worship did not spread further throughout southern Pannonia (which appears to have been more Pannonian-Illyrian in origin) in Roman times.

It is at this early time, when he encounters “foreign” settlers, that he becomes equated with the Roman deity Mars. This association may reflect how at least some worshippers saw him.

¹¹⁶⁹ He is invoked only once with the epithet “Augustus” at Siscia, by two worshippers of Oriental origin, who may have occupied public offices. *CIL* III 10844 = *ILS* 4574 = *AII* 542.

Our entire *corpus* of Marimogius evidence, scant as it is, indicates that not all worshippers identified Marimogius with the Roman deity. In fact, he is associated on only two dedications with Mars (*AII* 542 = *CIL* III 10844 and *CIL* III 11721), who both appear to have been set up by “foreign settlers”. *AII* 542 records two men of presumably Greek or Oriental origin, Iunius Philocrates and Iulius Crispinus, whose names may betray ancestors of servile origins who may have been freed during late Republican times, who dedicated an altar to Mars Marimogius Augustus at Siscia. They appear to have held public posts, and thus their invocation of Marimogius as “Augustus” and their association of the deity with Mars may betray the “official” character of the dedication. One further dedicator pairs Marimogius with Mars. This is Caius Valerius Valerinus of *CIL* III 11721. The early dating of this dedication would seem to suggest that Valerinus may have been related to the Poetovian Valerii, and that he may also have emigrated with them from northern Italy, taking up residence in neighbouring Solva. Thus, our two dedicators, who equate Marimogius with Mars appear to have been early foreign settlers to this region. They, most likely upon their arrival, encountered the worship of Marimogius among the local populace, and eager to obtain the goodwill of the local deity, erected an altar to him in their respective towns. That this indeed may be the case is indicated by Valerinus’ dedication, as he, alongside Mars and Marimogius, invokes a number of other local Norican deities, such as Latobius. Thus, Valerinus, as a newly-arrived settler from northern Italy, must have been anxious not to offend any local deity.

It is possible that Valerinus, Philocrates and Crispinus identified Marimogius with Mars because *they* understood him as the closest autochthonous incarnation of the Roman deity. That such an association was made on their part, was reflected possibly by their perception of Marimogius’ sphere of power, and possibly as well, by the fact that the name Marimogius may have evoked phonetic similarities with Mars, and thus a connection was formed. That not everyone made this same equation between Marimogius and Mars, and may not have interpreted the deity in the same manner, may perhaps be suggested by our evidence specific to Poetovio. None of our dedications examined above form the connection between Mars and Marimogius, at least not by evoking them together explicitly on dedications. Although, if our interpretation is correct, and our worshippers consist of possibly one Graeco-Oriental, possibly one Celtic or northern Italian, and possibly two northern Italian/autochthonous worshippers, then this would mean that even though some of our Poetovian worshippers are

clearly foreign settlers, none of them make the explicit connection of Mars with Marimogius. Several factors may explain this lack of connection. Firstly, it is possible that the dedications which do not feature an identification with Mars date to the earlier period than the dedications which do, or at least, date to the same period. Thus, the identification with Mars could be explained as the gradual syncretisation of autochthonous and settler, in this case, Roman, religions. Secondly, it is possible that the syncretisation of Mars with Marimogius, or lack thereof, may be a local variant. Thus, in certain places Marimogius may have been identified with Mars, representing one possible variant perception of the deity, and in other places with other deities, representing, other, various perceptions and interpretations of the deity. Other places, like Poetovio, may likewise have had their distinct way of perceiving the god which they exhibited through a lack of syncretism or association with another god. That Marimogius may have been perceived differently in different localities may perhaps be exemplified by our dedication from Solva (AE 2006, 986) where the worshipper invokes Marimogius alongside a slew of other autochthonous deities in addition to Mars (Latobius, Toutatus, Sinatus and Mogetius). Thus, the fact that our evidence displays only one uniform invocation of Marimogius may not necessarily signify that the god was perceived homogeneously, but may signify only one local variant of the representation of the god. Marimogius was most likely a local Poetovian autochthonous deity, since the greatest number of his dedications in a single city are to be found at Poetovio, who may have been syncretised with other gods on the fringes of the territory of the Poetovian autochthonous religious influence, such as at nearby Siscia and Solva, thereby creating other local variations and other ways of perceiving the deity.

Diana

Only one dedication to the goddess Diana originates from Poetovio. The dedication is inscribed on a marble altar which measures 91cm x 54cm x 44cm. It was discovered in the year 1960. The altar is badly damaged, especially across the middle part of the inscription. The dedication can be dated to the years A.D. 45-100 due to the mention of the *legio XIII Gemina*. The inscription reads¹¹⁷⁰:

DEANAE(!) / [AVG(ustae)] S[A]C(rum) / [D]OM[ITIVS?] / MARTIALI[S] (centurio)
LEG(ionis) XIII GEM(inae) / PRO SALVTE SVA / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

¹¹⁷⁰ AE 1966, 295 = AE 1968, 424 = ILJug 1134.

Our dedicator Martialis, may likely be of Celtic/northern Italic origin as Forni notes that up until the reign of Hadrian the recruits of the *XIII Gemina* originated primarily from northern Italy.¹¹⁷¹ He identifies himself as centurion of the *XIII Gemina*, a legion which took up permanent camp at Poetovio during the reign of Claudius (A.D. 45 or 46) until Domitian's reign when it was transferred to the Pannonian *limes*. It is thus likely that our dedicator erected this dedication while stationed at Poetovio, although we must not exclude the possibility either, that he may have travelled from Vindobona, where the legion was transferred, back to Poetovio on some official business. Martialis states that he erects a dedication to Diana for his well-being. Although this was a standard formula commonly employed on dedications to various deities, the connection with Diana here may imply that the formula was used in a more literal manner. Namely Diana in her role as protector goddess of women, fertility and motherhood would have little to appeal to Martialis; however, in her wider role as a goddess of nature and wilderness Martialis' dedication would be entirely appropriate. As a goddess of wilderness she was often associated in Pannonia and Dalmatia with similarly-inclined Silvanus and the Nymphs.¹¹⁷² These last deities were particularly popular in our region among soldiers, as dedications from nearby Aquae Iasae and Iovia-Botivo indicate. In conjunction with the Nymphs she was worshipped at the spa resort Aquae Iasae as a healing goddess. Due to the proximity of Aquae Iasae to Poetovio, and to the fact that at Poetovio healing deities such as the Nutrices also prove immensely popular, we cannot discount the possibility that through these influences Diana may have been invoked by Martialis in her healing capacity. Additionally plausible is the notion that Diana, in her role as goddess of nature and wilderness, was invoked by Martialis to protect him in dangerous terrain, perhaps while crossing through wilderness. Our distribution of epigraphic attestations of Diana in Pannonia, shows that she was invoked predominantly by soldiers stationed on the *limes*.¹¹⁷³ These men stationed on the edge of wilderness itself, *Barbaricum*, most likely invoked Diana for protection in this dangerous terrain. It thus may not be inconceivable to think that our dedicator Martialis, may perhaps have erected this dedication shortly before his legion was moved to Vindobona, for protection while travelling

¹¹⁷¹ Forni (1953), pp.230-231. This is especially true of the officers.

¹¹⁷² See: *CIL* III 8483; *CIL* III 9754; *CIL* III 13368; and *ILJug* 02, 760.

¹¹⁷³ See: *AE* 1992, 1424; and *AE* 2007, 71 (Carnuntum); *CIL* III 3365; *CIL* III 3455; and *CIL* III 3632 (Aquincum); *CIL* III 10304; and *AE* 1910, 140 (Intercisa).

there but also for his safe-keeping once having arrived. If this theory is true, then perhaps the lack of the formula “*PRO REDITV*” here is another indication that the dedication may have been erected towards the year A.D. 89, when the legion was transferred.

Nymphs

Only two altars dedicated to the versatile female nature deities, the Nymphs, originate from Poetovio. The first altar dedicated to the Nymphs was discovered at Spodnja Hajdina, buried next to the first Marimogius dedication (see above). The altar is made of white marble and measures 110cm x 51cm x 27cm. The mention of consuls Aper and Maximus dates this altar to the year A.D. 207. The dedication reads¹¹⁷⁴:

*FONTI ET NYM / PHIS PRO SALVTE / GAETVLICI ET / GAETVLICIAN(i) / ET
VENERANDAE / ET LAETAE DOM / INORVM MEORVM / HILARVS VIK / RIVS V(otum)
S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito) / (ante diem) X KAL(endas) MAIAS / APRO ET MAXIMO /
CO(n)S(ulibus)*

The dedication bears an invocation to the Nymphs and the sacred spring. This invocation of “*FONTI*” is reminiscent of a similar Mithraic dedication to “*FONTI PERENNI*” examined above. This, however, is not a Mithraic dedication and the Nymphs in their own right were known to be connected to water springs and healing properties. Thus, a similarity could be drawn with the dedications to the Nymphs found at *Aquae Iasae*.¹¹⁷⁵ The Nymphic dedications at *Aquae Iasae* were all set up for the well-being of the dedicator, usually employing the formula “*PRO SALVTE*” as in this case. Additionally, the geographic proximity of the sites of Poetovio and *Aquae Iasae* cannot be ignored; even if we do not accept the theory that *Aquae Iasae* may have belonged to the *ager* of Poetovio, the similarities between the Nymphic dedications would lead us to conclude that the cults at Poetovio and *Aquae Iasae* may have been connected.

Our dedicator Hilarus erects an altar to the Nymphs for the well-being of his masters. The names of the recipients of this dedication are fairly unusual. Tušek supposes that Gaetulicus is a derivation from Gaetuli (modern Tuaregs), a tribe which inhabited lands just to the south

¹¹⁷⁴ Tušek (1985), pp.113-114.

¹¹⁷⁵ *AII* 460, *AII* 461, *AII* 462, *AII* 463, *AII* 464, *AII* 465 and *AII* 470. Tušek (1985), p.114. For a more detailed analysis of the *Aquae Iasae* dedications see the appropriate chapter in this work.

of Numidia.¹¹⁷⁶ A similar name, Geatulus is found at Mursa.¹¹⁷⁷ The name Veneranda, except in this case, is unknown. Laeta, a common slave name, can be found most frequently in Italy and Spain. Hilarus' name, however, according to Tušek, is common. It is possible that Hilarus may be of Graeco-Oriental origin, and the fact that his post, vicarius, is spelled with a "K" instead of the usual "C" may betray this fact. While we are used to seeing the title "vicarius" in Poetovio in connection with the Illyrian customs service, in this case it can be interpreted as a deputy of a land-owner.¹¹⁷⁸ Considering that Roman Spodnja Hajdina was located on the outskirts of the city centre, Hilarus' identification as a deputy of a country estate is even more plausible.

The second dedication to the Nymphs consists of a well-preserved altar from Vičava, made of marble and measuring 53cm high.¹¹⁷⁹ The dedication is dated possibly to the late second or early third century.¹¹⁸⁰ The inscription reads:

NYMPHIS / AVG(ustis) / SACR(um) / EVCARPVS / AVG(usti) LIB(ertus) / TAB(ularius) P(rovinciae) P(annoniae) S(uperioris)

Our dedicator's name, Eucarpus, is recorded as a well-known slave and freedman name¹¹⁸¹, found primarily in Italy, but also occurring on several dedications in Pannonia and Dalmatia.¹¹⁸² He is likely of Greek or Oriental origin, although we should be careful when attributing ethnicity on the basis of slave names, as these may not necessarily reflect their bearer.¹¹⁸³ Eucarpus identifies himself as an imperial freedman, occupying the function of *tabularius provinciae Pannoniae Superioris*. Since we know that Poetovio was the chief

¹¹⁷⁶ Tušek (1985), p.114.

¹¹⁷⁷ *ILJug* 292.

¹¹⁷⁸ Tušek (1985), p.114.

¹¹⁷⁹ *CIL* III 4043; and Abramić (1925), p.161.

¹¹⁸⁰ Weaver (1972), p.247.

¹¹⁸¹ *AE* 1974, 178 (*servus*); *CIL* XV 8459 (*vicarius*); and *CIL* III 10781 (*vilicus*), among others.

¹¹⁸² *CIL* III 10781; *CIL* III 10191; and *CIL* III 3184c, among others.

¹¹⁸³ Varro (*De Lingua Latina*, 8.21) notes that a man may name his slave, for example, after the slavetrader from whom the slave was acquired, or after the place in which he bought him, or even after any defining characteristic, physical or otherwise.

administrative centre of Pannonia Superior, and that the *tabularium* was located here, there is no doubt that Eucarpus was settled permanently at Poetovio due to the requirements of his post. That he differentiates himself as a *tabularius provinciae Pannoniae Superioris* indicates that he was the senior clerical official in charge of the provincial *tabularium*. Since the post of *tabularius* was already a senior clerical post, the emphasis on the fact that he was a *tabularius provinciae Pannoniae Superioris* served to distinguish him further among the clerical hierarchy.¹¹⁸⁴ It was also undoubtedly, a mark of honour and prestige, and one can see why Eucarpus would flaunt this status. Although he does not offer us a reason for his dedication, the fact that he dedicates to the Nymphs may indicate that his dedication is health-related. As we have seen in the case of the Nutrices above, these protector and healing deities were invoked primarily for the health of children. Since both the Nutrices and the Nymphs were closely connected with the fresh-water spring at Poetovio, as our other dedication to the Nymphs implies, it is possible that both were viewed as healing deities, the Nutrices as protectors of health for the children, and the Nymphs, as protectors of health for adults. Certainly the majority of our dedications to the Nymphs at Aquae Iasae are erected for the health and well-being of adults. It is thus possible that the two cults complemented each other, as the Nutrices were predominant at Poetovio and the Nymphs at nearby Aquae Iasae.¹¹⁸⁵

Liber and Libera

Three dedications from Poetovio invoke the deity Liber and his consort Libera. The two ancient Italic deities embodied male and female aspects of fertility, becoming associated with agriculture and especially viticulture. As fertility and nature deities, Liber and Libera came to be associated with other gods in the same sphere, such as Ceres and Dionysus, although we have no epigraphic attestation of such associations at Poetovio. Our first dedication is a small, very worn altar dating to the second or perhaps early third century A.D. The dedication reads¹¹⁸⁶:

LIBERO PA / TRI ET LIBE / R(a)E SEXTIA / [----] / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

¹¹⁸⁴ Weaver (1972), pp.245-246.

¹¹⁸⁵ For a more in-depth analysis of the relationship between the Nymphs, the Nutrices and the Silvanae as healing deities please see the Aquae Iasae chapter.

¹¹⁸⁶ AE 1978, 640 = *ILJug* 02, 1142.

Our dedicator Sextia has a very common name, thus it is hard for us determine her origin. It is a shame that the middle part of the dedication is not preserved, as it may have possibly revealed to us the reason for her dedication. Since the majority of Liber's dedicators tended to be of lower socio-economic status, we can perhaps presume that Sextia belonged to this group.

Our second joint dedication to Liber and Libera is inscribed on a well-preserved altar which features Norico-Pannonian volutes. The altar was discovered in 1931 or 1932 on Slomškova street, not far from the Drava river. The monument measures 71cm x 103cm x 37cm and is made of marble. The inscription reads¹¹⁸⁷:

*LIBERO ET LIBERAE / SACRVM / L(ucius) VALERIVS VERVS / DEC(urio) COL(oniae)
POET(ovionensis) / PRAEF(ectus) FABR(um) QVAEST(or) / AEDIL(is) PONTIF(ex) / IIVIR
I(ure) D(icundo)*

Alföldy dates this dedication to the first half of the second century A.D.¹¹⁸⁸ Our dedicator appears to belong to the famous Valerii of Poetovio, who emigrated to the city from northern Italy in the first century. That the family rose to prominence and retained that status within Poetovio for several generations is illustrated by *CIL* III 4069, which is a funerary inscription of one Marcus Valerius Verus, father of our present dedicator, who also held the decurionate in Poetovio, most likely during Trajan's reign. According to Alföldy this would make him the first decurion recorded at Poetovio.¹¹⁸⁹ Given his father's prominent achievement, it is thus no wonder that our dedicator takes great care to list his *cursus honorum* on his dedication, continuing his family's legacy.

Our third and final dedication to Liber records the god on his own as Liber Pater. The dedication is inscribed on a severely-damaged altar, of which only a fragment remains. The dedication reads¹¹⁹⁰:

LIB(ero) P(atri) A[----] / VITAL[IS V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)?]

¹¹⁸⁷ *AJ* 288.

¹¹⁸⁸ Alföldy (1964), p.138.

¹¹⁸⁹ Alföldy (1964), p.140.

¹¹⁹⁰ *AJ* 289.

Our dedicator Vitalis may have been of autochthonous or Celtic/northern Italic origin, although his name is very common throughout the Empire. His single name would tend to indicate that he may have been a slave or a freeborn of humble origins, although again, due to the severe damage of the inscription, we are unable to offer any firm conclusion. If indeed he was of humble origins, his status then would prove consistent with his worship of Liber, who was popular among the lower classes. The dedication is too damaged in order to make any other inference, although it is possible that the sole letter “A” in the first line could stand for Ariadne, who came to be associated with the cult of Liber through Bacchus. Likewise possible, and perhaps more plausible, is that the letter “A” may have formed the beginning of “Augusto”, as this invocation was much more common.¹¹⁹¹

Silvanus

The deity Silvanus is often viewed either as a native Illyrian-Pannonian deity¹¹⁹², or as an Italic deity¹¹⁹³, although dedications to this god can be found all over the Empire.¹¹⁹⁴ By a sheer number of dedications, Silvanus appears to be the most popular deity in Pannonia after Jupiter Optimus Maximus. Most of Silvanus’ dedications in Pannonia date from the Severan times¹¹⁹⁵; and have been erected by individuals of lower social standing, mostly of Italic or

¹¹⁹¹ See for example: *AE* 1903, 109 (Africa Proconsularis); *AE* 1980, 695 (Dalmatia); and *CIL* III 13408 (Pannonia).

¹¹⁹² Von Domaszewski (1895), p.21; Rendić Miočević (1955), pp.5-40; Maršić (1997), pp.45-69; and Cambi (1998-2000), pp.99-112. These scholars believe that Silvanus originated as an autochthonous Illyrian-Pannonian deity but was adopted by the Romans as an Italic god. They substantiate their claim that Silvanus was an Illyrian-Pannonian deity solely on the large number of dedications erected to this god in the provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia.

¹¹⁹³ Mócsy (1974a), pp.250-252; and Dorsey (1992), p.71. In contrast, these scholars believe that since the cult of Silvanus does not seem to display any Pannonian-Illyrian “autochthonous” elements, his cult should be considered of Italic origin. The fact that most dedications to Silvanus in Pannonia originate from the Danubian *limes* and are not spread out evenly throughout the province seems to suggest that the cult of Silvanus was brought to Pannonia by Italic soldiers or settlers, and is not an autochthonous remnant. Moreover, the fact that the earliest incarnation of Silvanus attested epigraphically in Pannonia is Silvanus Augustus has also led scholars to believe that the cult reached the province from Italy, perhaps via Aquileia, where it is also attested. Perinić Muratović, Lj. and Vulić, H. (2009), pp.173-174; and p.178.

¹¹⁹⁴ In addition to the Pannonian provinces, Silvanus enjoys great popularity in Dalmatia and to a lesser extent, in the Moesian provinces and other western provinces. He is seldom worshipped in the Roman east. Perinić Muratović, Lj. and Vulić, H. (2009), pp.166-167.

¹¹⁹⁵ Perinić Muratović, Lj. and Vulić, H. (2009), p.172.

autochthonous origins.¹¹⁹⁶ While some scholars believe that Septimius Severus may have promoted the cult of Silvanus as an emblem of the Pannonian provinces¹¹⁹⁷, this may not necessarily reflect the rise in popularity of the cult during this time, as there was a general increase in the number of monuments in stone throughout the Empire during the Severan period.¹¹⁹⁸ Although he is worshipped throughout the province, Silvanus is very popular in southern Pannonia, and his dedications can be found in almost every city along the Sava and the Drava rivers. Certain scholars believe that the worship and popularity of Silvanus in Pannonia originated from a local Pannonian deity called Vidasus. According to Mayer, the root of Vidasus' name stems from an ancient word for "wood" or "woodland".¹¹⁹⁹ He is thus, like Silvanus, seen as a nature deity, specifically connected to the wilderness of the forests, who also may have possessed healing powers.¹²⁰⁰ The present author, however, cautions against identifying Silvanus with the deity Vidasus. Firstly, we do not, as of yet, have epigraphic proof mentioning or equating these two deities on the same dedication. Secondly, only three dedications to the deity Vidasus survive. All three originate from Ad Fines (Topusko, Croatia).¹²⁰¹ Since Vidasus is not mentioned elsewhere, it would perhaps be more appropriate to consider him as a local Ad Fines deity. Moreover, the fact that Silvanus is also worshipped at Ad Fines¹²⁰² gives support to the notion that these are two separate deities, since they are worshipped separately, although their divine powers may both be associated with forests and the natural world. Thirdly, all three dedications invoke Vidasus with his female companion Thana. Scholars who support the idea that Vidasus and Silvanus may be the same deity likewise believe that Thana is a local incarnation of the goddess Diana. Since these two deities in all three instances appear together, we are to assume that they are divine consorts. Although the deity Silvanus does appear in iconography and epigraphy in

¹¹⁹⁶ Pinterović (1978), p.131.

¹¹⁹⁷ Mócsy (1974), pp.251-252; and Fitz (1980a), p.163.

¹¹⁹⁸ MacMullen (1982), p.244.

¹¹⁹⁹ Mayer (1942), pp.187-192; Mayer (1957), pp.125-126; Mayer (1959), pp.359-360; Rendić Miočević (1980), pp.112-113; Muzić (2001), pp.227-247; Schejbal (2003b), pp.403-404; and Muzić (2007), p.477.

¹²⁰⁰ Marić (1933), p.116; and Muzić (2007), pp.477-478.

¹²⁰¹ *AII* 516; *AII* 517 and *CIL* III 3941 = *CIL* III 10819 = *CIL* III 14354.23 = *AII* 518 = *AE* 1901, 216.

¹²⁰² *AII* 506; *CIL* III 14043 = *AII* 507; *CIL* III 14044 = *AII* 508; *CIL* III 14045 = *AII* 509; and *CIL* III 14046 = *AII* 510, among others.

association with female deities such as the Silvanae/Nymphs (see below), it must be noted that in most cases he is invoked alone, without a female companion, and that in our region at least he does not appear associated with Diana.¹²⁰³ If he is invoked with a female deity, in most cases these are his attendants the Silvanae; thus he appears with several female deities not just one. Therefore, it is hard to explain, if indeed Vidasus was Silvanus, why he would be worshipped in only one place, with always the same companion. Furthermore, the fact that we have no iconographic representations of Vidasus and Thana makes it hard to connect them to Silvanus and Diana.¹²⁰⁴ It is due to these reasons that the present author is reluctant to support the idea that Vidasus and Silvanus may be the same deity. It is possible instead to argue that the widespread popularity of Silvanus throughout Pannonia, as well as the attestation of other “woodland” deities such as Vidasus, are testaments to the fact that the population of Pannonia showed strong ties to the natural world around it. Pannonia itself was described by Roman writers as densely wooded, rich in natural resources and fertile land. Its inhabitants, especially those whose daily life and work was tied to the land, would have thus naturally been drawn to the worship of a deity like Silvanus.¹²⁰⁵ It is possible thus that Silvanus absorbed and embodied in certain places one (or several) pre-Roman, autochthonous deities of the natural world; while in other places, like at Ad Fines, these duties were redoubled due to the preservation of an autochthonous deity and the adoption of Silvanus.¹²⁰⁶ The inhabitants of Pannonia thus integrated and moulded both autochthonous and foreign deities into their religious lives as best suited them.

Although some scholars question whether the god would have enjoyed worship in Graeco-Roman style temples, due to the fact that Silvanus’ dedications tend to be found freestanding in natural environments such as forests, urban dedications to the god are also frequent, and

¹²⁰³ While the association of Silvanus and Diana is common in the province of Dalmatia, it is not to be found in the Drava cities examined here. Rendić Miočević (1980), p.109.

¹²⁰⁴ Perinić Muratović, Lj. and Vulić, H. (2009), p.171.

¹²⁰⁵ Aurelius Victor, *Liber de Caesaribus*, 40.9; Appian, 3.4.22; and Herodian, *History of the Roman Empire*, 8.1.1. See also : Rendić Miočević (1980), p.105; and Perinić Muratović, Lj. and Vulić, H. (2009), pp.165-166.

¹²⁰⁶ Certain scholars like Rendić Miočević are of the opinion that deities who performed similar functions, like Silvanus, Silvanae, Vidasus, Thana, Nymphs, and Quadriviae, for example, were grouped together and perceived as members of the same “nature” cult. While this theory is tempting, there is little epigraphic or iconographic proof to support it. Rendić Miočević (1980), pp.107-108; and p.113.

temples to the deity have been found at several places in southern Pannonia.¹²⁰⁷ Thus, even though Silvanus was a deity of agriculture and the natural world¹²⁰⁸, his dedications appear to have been erected freestanding in rural and natural environments, but seem to have been associated with temples in urban environments. In Pannonia, Silvanus is worshipped in a “standard” Roman manner, with dedications recorded on stone altars and written in Latin, usually following the epigraphic conventions of the period.¹²⁰⁹ On relief dedications in Pannonia Silvanus is most often depicted as a young man dressed in a short tunic with boots, standing upright and accompanied by one or two dogs, alluding to his role as a guardian/protector, and as a shepherd and a pastoral deity, such as on *CIL* III 10912 from Savaria. He is often set in a natural environment, as the background of the relief can depict him standing in a forest, or alongside a tree, such as on *CIL* III 1155 from Apulum. Almost always he is depicted holding a sickle or a curved blade in his right hand, alluding to his agricultural powers; and a pinetree branch in his left hand, alluding to his connection with the natural world, namely the forest.¹²¹⁰ His connection to the natural world is at times emphasised by depicting him as an elderly bearded half-man half-goat with horns, such as on *CIL* III 3499 from Aquincum, where he is depicted naked from the waist up and sports furry

¹²⁰⁷ Ancient writers believed that Silvanus resided in the wilderness, thus the erection of altars in the woods and countryside would not be surprising. See: Cato, *De Agri Cultura*, 83; Livy, 2.7.2; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 1.193; Pliny, *Natural History*, 12.2; Servius, *Georgics*, 1.20; and Servius, *Eclogues*, 10.24, among others. Most of the time, Silvanus’ temples consisted of private sanctuaries, located outside the public area of a city. Thus, his cult tended to be unofficial in character. Perinić Muratović, Lj. and Vulić, H. (2009), p.173. The temple of Silvanus at Aquae Balissae, however, was located adjacently to the thermal complex of the city and the forum. According to Schejbal these, along with temple buildings to other gods, would have been constructed in the same place where the autochthonous, pre-Roman worship centre was situated. This seems to suggest a certain continuity of worship, with certain autochthonous gods perhaps being absorbed, adopted and adapted by the newcomer Roman settlers into the new religious complex. Rendić Miočević (1980), p.106; and p.112; and Schejbal (2003a), p.115.

¹²⁰⁸ Virgil, *Aeneid*, 8.600.

¹²⁰⁹ Perinić Muratović, Lj. and Vulić, H. (2009), p.177.

¹²¹⁰ Rendić Miočević (1980), pp.113-114; Dorsey (1992), p.17; and Schejbal (2003a), p.110. While in Pannonia and Dacia Silvanus most often appears dressed, in Italy he is depicted equally dressed and naked. Apart from the curved blade and the tree branch, which are his standard symbols, he is also sometimes depicted in Italy as wearing a cloak and sporting fruit or acorns. Perinić Muratović, Lj. and Vulić, H. (2009), pp.166-167.

goat's legs and hooves.¹²¹¹ Silvanus thus represents the duality of nature: animal and man, wilderness and civilisation.

Sometimes, such as on *CIL* III 10460 from Aquincum, he is accompanied by two or three female attendants, the *Silvanae*, who are believed to assist him in his duties, but who also may perform additional duties associated with health and nurture when depicted on their own.¹²¹² Considering the fact that Silvanus' temple at *Aquae Balissae* was directly adjacent to the thermal spring, and the fact that the god is here associated with his Nymph-like attendants, may suggest that Silvanus himself was not only a god of nature and agriculture, but that he could have possessed some healing or regenerative powers as well. It is also possible that the god may have been worshipped in a similar healing capacity at other balneo-rehabilitative sites.¹²¹³

Silvanus is most often invoked in Pannonia simply as "Silvano"¹²¹⁴; however, he often also bears the epithets "Augustus", "Domesticus", "Magnus", or "Silvestris".¹²¹⁵ Out of these, "Augustus" and "Domesticus" are most frequently found in southern Pannonia. The epithet "Domesticus" seems to imply a particular function as a guardian of a household, including

¹²¹¹ Horace describes him as "hairy" (*Odes*, 3.23). See also: Rendić Miočević (1980), p.114; and Perinić Muratović, Lj. and Vulić, H. (2009), p.166. According to Zotović, a similar representation of Silvanus, which she calls *Silvanus Aegypan* is to be found in Dalmatia, especially on the territory of the *Delmatae* and in the settlements along the coast. An example of *Silvanus Aegypan* from Užice (Dalmatia) depicts him with a pronounced left breast, alluding perhaps to the fact that the god may have been viewed as possessing powers of fertility. Likewise noteworthy is the fact that *Silvanus Aegypan* shows at times syncretistic traits in iconography with deities such as *Dionysus*, *Hercules* and *Priapus* on the territory of the province of Dalmatia. These syncretistic traits, however, are not apparent on our territory. Thus, it could be concluded that representations of Silvanus in Dalmatia are much more varied and heterogeneous than in Pannonia, perhaps reflecting the ethnic composition of the coastal population itself. See: Rendić Miočević (1955), p.13; and p.15; Paškvalin (1985-1986), p.75; and Zotović (1992-1993), pp.177-178.

¹²¹² This and other aspects of Silvanus' female attendants will be discussed in more detail in the *Aquae Iasae* chapter when their dedications are examined.

¹²¹³ Schejbal (2003a), p.122; and Schejbal (2003b), p.404.

¹²¹⁴ Rendić Miočević (1980), p.111.

¹²¹⁵ Other, less frequent epithets, appearing only once or twice in Pannonia are also attested; such as "Magnus", "Deus Sanctus", "Erbarius" and "Bellator", although these are not encountered in our region. Rendić Miočević (1980), p.111. It is possible that these different aspects of Silvanus were organised along a hierarchy. If we are to judge by sheer number of dedications, then *Silvanus Domesticus* would have held the highest rank in Pannonia. Perinić Muratović, Lj. and Vulić, H. (2009), p.171.

the house itself as well as the garden and property attached to the house.¹²¹⁶ If erected and found within household boundaries such a dedication may render Silvanus Domesticus a household god; as it would be natural to invoke the deity of household protection within the household itself. Thus, certain dedications which do not bear the dedicator's name could be taken to imply that they were viewed as household dedications. However, when this dedication occurs outside of the household context, and especially within a temple context, the present author is inclined to believe that the meaning of "Domesticus" in this case is taken more broadly, as protector of a larger "household" such as a city or a territory. Namely, since individuals tended to identify themselves by their association to a particular city; stating, for example, that their home is Mursa (*domo Mursa*)¹²¹⁷, a dedication to Silvanus Domesticus set up in a public place such as a temple could potentially signify that the protection sought is for the collective home, *id est* the city and its inhabitants.¹²¹⁸ This type of dedication would especially be pertinent in times of crisis, such as during barbarian invasions, and even more so if it was erected by city or military officials.¹²¹⁹ Perhaps the general rise in the number of

¹²¹⁶ Rendić Miočević (1980), pp.112-113; and Schejbal (2003a), p.110.

¹²¹⁷ See for example : *AE* 1965, 47; *AE* 2008, 1139; *CIL* III 13374; *CIL* III 3560; *CIL* VII 341; *CIL* VI 32561; and *CIL* VI 32563 among others.

¹²¹⁸ Although no example of a dedication to Silvanus Domesticus explicitly asking for the protection of a city has come to light so far, it must not be discounted that this *may* be one potential reason why worshippers invoked Silvanus Domesticus. It is to be noted that on a large number of dedications to Silvanus Domesticus the worshippers do not specify the cause of their votive, but simply state the god's name and their own name. Thus it is possible that individuals dedicated for a variety of different reasons, some of which may have been private and thus not explicitly stated; or some which may not have been stated because they were self-evident at the time of the erection of the dedication, such as for example an unstable political situation or a barbarian invasion. The dedications which do provide us with the cause of the votive include asking the deity for one's own and one's family safety (*pro salute sua suorumque/ pro se et suis* – *AE* 1977, 692; *AE* 1978, 657; *CIL* III 1149; *CIL* III 1150; *CIL* III 4165; *CIL* III 4166 and so on), the safety of the imperial house (*in honorem domus divinae* – *AE* 1947, 34), or even due to a vision received (*ex viso* - *AE* 1986, 608; and *CIL* III 7841).

¹²¹⁹ Dedications to Silvanus Domesticus erected on behalf of prominent military personnel or city officials are not uncommon. These most often include high civilian posts such as *duoviri* (*CIL* III 7773; and *CIL* III 1150), and decurions (*AE* 1971, 387; *AE* 1934, 13; *CIL* III 12578; *CIL* III 4410; *CIL* III 3497; and *AE* 1977, 692); as well as prominent military posts such as *beneficarii consularis* (*CIL* III 15192.2; *CIL* III 15192.3; *CIL* III 10456; *CIL* III 7859; and *CIL* III 3957) and prefects (*CIL* III 1149). Other military personnel such as ordinary soldiers are also well attested. The fact that dedications to Silvanus Domesticus predominantly originate from frontier provinces such as Dacia (Sarmizegetusa, Apulum etc...) and the two Pannonias (Savaria, Brigetio, Aquincum, etc...), combined with the fact that these dedications date either to the Marcomannic Wars, or in most cases to the crisis of the third century, when barbarian peoples such as the Goths frequently invaded across the Danube, gives further support to the notion that Silvanus Domesticus may have been worshipped as a protector of a collective *domus*, including the city and its inhabitants, and not only as a protector of a specific

religious dedications in Pannonia in the third century could thus be explained by the barbarian threat and the unstable political situation, as people tend to be more religious in times of crisis.

While Silvanus Domesticus is almost always iconographically depicted as a standing young man dressed in a tunic, in contrast Silvanus Silvestris (sometimes referred to as Aegypan or Agrestis¹²²⁰) is depicted as an elderly half-goat half-man, prompting some scholars to speculate that Silvanus Silvestris may have been equated with the Graeco-Roman divinity Pan.¹²²¹ Although so far there is no epigraphic proof to confirm the equation of these two deities, it is easy to see how Silvanus Domesticus, as a young man dressed in a tunic would have embodied a cultivated and civilised (perhaps urban) aspect of the deity; while Silvanus Silvestris, as a half-man half-goat would have been a wilder, more rural personification of the god. Perinić Muratović and Vulić speculate that the manifestation of Silvanus Domesticus as a tame, civilised deity came about due to the fact that his worshippers, abandoning their rural homesteads for urban living, now needed a deity suited for their new conditions. Thus, removed from a rural environment, Silvanus now evolved from a protector of agriculture and livestock to a protector of domestic and family life in an urban setting.¹²²² Silvanus Silvestris, however, remained a deity of nature, a protector of forests and wilderness, as his name indicates, but also perhaps a protector of livestock and other aspects of rural life, sharing iconographic features with Pan.¹²²³ That Silvanus is a deity of multiple aspects is perhaps best exemplified on a votive relief from Jajce (Bosnia and Herzegovina), which depicts two incarnations of Silvanus, Silvanus Domesticus and Silvanus Silvestris, accompanied by his female attendants, the Silvanae. The fact that both aspects of Silvanus are depicted on the same relief indicates that the worshipper saw these as individual and separate incarnations of

household. For more on barbarian invasions and the Danubian *limes* see: Petrović (1986), pp.91-98. Silvanus' popularity in frontier provinces and especially along the Danubian *limes* may likewise be connected to his role as protector of boundaries (see Horace, *Epodes*, 1.22; and *Scriptores Gromatici Veteres*, 1.302). He thus may have been invoked to protect cities on the frontiers during times of barbarian threat.

¹²²⁰ *Scriptores Gromatici Veteres*, 1.302.

¹²²¹ Silvanus Silvestris is recorded as the most frequently-occurring aspect of the deity Silvanus among worshippers in the province of Dalmatia. Rendić Miočević (1980), p.112; and Schejbal (2003b), p.403.

¹²²² Perinić Muratović, Lj. and Vulić, H. (2009), pp.171-172.

¹²²³ Rendić Miočević (1980), p.113.

the god, and perhaps even as two separate gods; one a protector of urban and domestic life and another a protector of rural life.¹²²⁴

Two dedications to the deity Silvanus survive from Poetovio. The first inscription is dated between the mid-first and late second centuries A.D. It is a small, badly damaged altar. One side of the altar depicts the god in anthropomorphic form, fully dressed and holding a tree branch. The other side depicts a tree branch on its own. The inscription reads¹²²⁵:

*SIL(vano) AVG(usto) / SAC(rum) C(aius) AVIV[S] / VOLTILIVS / [----]ITVM / [----]RVS[----]
] / [----]*

Our dedicator Avius Voltilius appears to be of Celtic/northern Italic origin. Although the name “Avius” can be found throughout the Empire, “Voltilius”, on the other hand, seems to predominate in northern Italy and Gallia Narbonensis.¹²²⁶ Our dedicator may thus have been one of the early northern Italian settlers to Pannonia, and may have even perhaps occupied a prominent post in the city, such as that of decurion. We must not exclude the possibility either that he may have been a member of the *legio XIII Gemina*, whose recruits originated from northern Italy and Gaul. Although due to the damage on the inscription we cannot confirm the following theory, it is possible that the early dating of this altar, combined with Voltilius’ status of citizen and his use of the epithet “Augustus”, may point to the fact that he occupied some official post, whether military or civilian.

The second dedication features a very badly damaged relief accompanied by an equally damaged inscription. Only the bottom part of the relief has been preserved. It depicts, from the right, a standing woman dressed in a long robe, whose left hand rests on what looks like a small tree. Next to her, occupying the middle position of the relief, a standing man can be seen, presumably the god Silvanus. It would appear that the left-hand side of the relief is occupied by a standing woman as well, although this cannot be confirmed due to the damage. This kind of symmetry, however, would be appropriate. There is an object placed on the ground between Silvanus and (supposedly) the woman on the left side of the relief. Although it is hard to discern, it appears to be an altar. The two women flanking Silvanus can be

¹²²⁴ Rendić Miočević (1980), pp.116-119.

¹²²⁵ *AE* 1978, 645.

¹²²⁶ See for example : *CIL* V 1466; *CIL* XII 4516 (p.847); *CIL* XII 5253 (p.855); *CIL* XII 5255; and *CIL* XII 5256.

interpreted as his female attendants, the Silvanae. Although relief depictions of the god are rare, compared to the sheer number of written dedications, Silvanus is often represented accompanied by his female attendants, often two or three in number, especially when the inscribed dedication is made out jointly to Silvanus and Silvanae. It can thus be presumed with a fair amount of certainty that this dedication may have featured the name of the Silvanae in the damaged second line.¹²²⁷ As is, the inscription reads¹²²⁸:

[SILV]ANO / [---- CO]NVENIVNT V(oto) S(uscepto) SAC(rarium?) SA(craverunt)

This dedication is highly unusual not only in the formula that it uses, but also in its semi-official nature. Traditionally, worshippers of Silvanus tended to hail from the lower socio-economic class, and included men and women of freedman and servile status and those who exercised low-class professions, such as lumberjacks and hunters.¹²²⁹ Moreover, since the cult of Silvanus was a private cult, worshippers tended to dedicate individually, and not as a collective. The fact that this monument is dedicated by a group combined with the fact that it mentions a consecration of a temple renders its character somewhat “official” and unusual. Namely, the dedication not only implies that a temple of Silvanus may have existed within the confines of the city of Poetovio, but also that there may have been a group of worshippers of perhaps significant size worshipping Silvanus in Poetovio. It is a shame that a large part of the dedication has been damaged, as it may have shed some new light on the manner of worship of Silvanus and the nature of his worshippers.

Dravus

It is not surprising to find that the river god Dravus was one of the local deities of Poetovio. His cult was especially important when we consider the fact that Poetovio was a major commercial center of Pannonia, thus making the river Drava a crucial aspect of this economic activity. Merchants and travellers alike would have sought the protection and benevolence of the god Dravus, especially since the river was known to flood and change its course

¹²²⁷ See for example joint dedications such as *CIL* III 10460 from Aquincum; and a dedication from Aquae Balissae recorded in: Schejbal (2003a), p.108, fig.7. For a further analysis of the Silvanae please consult the *Aquae lasae* chapter.

¹²²⁸ *AII* 337.

¹²²⁹ Perinić Muratović, Lj. and Vulić, H. (2009), p.167; and p.169.

throughout history.¹²³⁰ One altar erected to the river god Dravus was discovered close to the right bank, at modern-day Zgornji Breg part of Ptuj, and is believed to date from the third century A.D.¹²³¹ The base of the altar and the inscription are very badly eroded. In the middle of the inscription field a large hole has been drilled, suggesting that the altar may have been reused as building material. The top right-hand side of the altar is missing, and may have been stricken off perhaps during the reuse of the stone. The barely-legible inscription reads:

*DRAVO / AVG(usto) [S]ACR(um) / [E]T G[E]NIO / LEG(ionis) [----] / P[RO S]ALVTE / [---
-] / [----] / [----] / [----] / [----] / [----] / [V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens)] M(erito)*

Although we do not know the name(s) of the dedicator(s) nor the name(s) of the person(s) on behalf of whom the plea for well-being is made, we can suppose with some certainty that either the dedicator or the recipient of the vow, or most likely both, were Roman soldiers due to the fact that the *genius* of the legion is invoked. Considering that this is a third century dedication, we can safely suppose that the persons mentioned on this dedication would have been part of Gallienus' legions, either the *V Macedonica* or the *XIII Gemina*, who are also recorded on the dedications from the third Mithraeum. It is a shame that no names are recorded on this dedication, as it would have been interesting to see if the worshipper matches any of the worshippers from the third Mithraeum. The combination of official and unofficial elements in this dedication, however, is interesting. Most of the time, when the *genius* of the legion is invoked, it is either by itself¹²³² or in combination with an "official" deity such as a Capitoline deity.¹²³³ This invocation in combination with the river Dravus is unique. The fact that these two deities are twinned leads us to believe that the whole legion, or perhaps a unit of the legion, may have been sent on some official mission which involved either crossing the river, sailing down the river, or even participating in some building works on the river. They thus may have invoked the river god for their well-being and success. The fact that the river god is given the epithet "Augustus" also leads us to believe that this dedication had some official purpose. This epithet is often awarded to deities in order to forge

¹²³⁰ Šašel Kos (1999), p. 154.

¹²³¹ *AJL* 267; Saria and Klemenc (1939), p.50; and Horvat *et al.* (2003), p. 178.

¹²³² See for example: *CIL* II 5083; *CIL* III 1012; *CIL* III 15208; *CIL* VIII 18039; *AE* 1968, 391; and *AE* 1974, 411, among others.

¹²³³ See for example: *AE* 1998, 803 (with I.O.M. and Fortuna); and *CIL* III 13443 (with I.O.M., Juno and Minerva).

a connection with the imperial cult, thereby “legitimising” an unofficial deity and expressing one’s loyalty to the emperor. That the god Dravus would be given the epithet “Augustus” on an undoubtedly military dedication seems perfectly natural, as the soldiers would have wanted not only to display their loyalty to the emperor, but would have curried favour with the god Dravus by linking him to the emperor, and by association, to the supreme god Jupiter.¹²³⁴

Genius

In addition to the joint dedications examined above which invoke the various *genii* (*AIJ* 267 - Dravus and the *genius* of the legion; *CIL* III 4031 – I.O.M. and the *genius* of the emperor; *CIL* III 4032 – I.O.M. Culminalis, Juno Regina and the *genius* of the place; and *CIL* III 15184,01 – I.O.M. and the *genius* of the place), two further dedications from Poetovio attest unspecified *genii* invoked on their own. The first dedication may be dated to the second or the early third centuries A.D. It consists of a large marble slab, badly damaged, measuring 89cm x 45cm x 47cm. It was discovered in the year 1969 at Vičava. It reads¹²³⁵:

GENIO [----] / *C(aius)* *CALPVR[NIVS]* ----] / [----

Our dedicator’s *nomen*, Calpurnius, is widespread throughout the Empire, and due to the damage on the stone, we are not able to ascertain with certainty his origins or his professional affiliation. Considering the large nature of the stone on which the dedication is inscribed, it is possible that the *genius* of the emperor is invoked, thus rendering this dedication an official display of loyalty. Kolšek notes that dedications to the *genii* are usually of official nature, invoking a legion or an emperor, and are usually erected by Roman citizens.¹²³⁶ If this dedication is indeed of official nature, Calpurnius then may have occupied an important public office, such as that of city decurion, or even procurator; as such official displays of

¹²³⁴ “It is entirely certain that the epithet Augustus pertains directly to the ruler or brings him into connection with the deity who bears the epithet.” Sinobad, M. “Kapitolijski hramovi u Hrvatskoj”, *Opuscula Archaeologica* 31, 2008, p.233. For more detail on the connection between the epithet Augustus, the emperor, and the supreme god Jupiter/Jupiter see: Green (1927), p.92; Fears (1981), p.68, and p.97; and Santosuosso (2004), p.83.

¹²³⁵ *AE* 1978, 639.

¹²³⁶ Kolšek (1968), p.275.

devotion to the imperial house were commonly found among men holding public office,¹²³⁷ whose personal and professional advancement depended on the goodwill of the emperor.

The second dedication simply reads¹²³⁸: *GEN(io) [----*

Inscriptions in Greek/Bilingual Inscriptions

Unknown deity

Only one bilingual votive inscription is known from Poetovio.¹²³⁹ The dedication is inscribed on an altar which measures 53 x 41 x 24cm. The altar is slightly damaged at the top, and thus the name of the deity to whom the inscription is dedicated is unknown. The dedication, however, dates from the third century A.D. and reads:

[----]Σ[---- / ἐ]πίτρο / πος / Σεβ(αστοῦ) / [PR]O SALVTE SVA / [FIL]IAEQVE ET / [C]ONIVGIS

Due to the damage on our dedication it is hard to divine the nature of our worshipper, although he appears to have been of Greek origin. His bilingual dedication may indicate that he was a recent settler to Pannonia. He certainly exhibited a multi-cultural identity, and the fact that he dedicates, at least partially, in Greek indicates that there was an audience for such a dedication. Poetovio most likely had a significant Greek-speaking community, if we are only to judge from the amount of Greek-sounding names in our dedications. According to Kovács, bilingual inscriptions also would tend to indicate the higher status of the dedicator; although it most likely also signified that the stonecutter was bilingual.¹²⁴⁰

¹²³⁷ See for example the case of the provincial procurator Rufinus (*CIL* III 4031) from this chapter who dedicates jointly to I.O.M. and the *genius* of the emperor.

¹²³⁸ *ILJug* 02, 1136.

¹²³⁹ *AII* 346; *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum Pannonicarum* 47; Abramić (1925), p.155; Dobó (1940), 176; and Jevremov (1988), #110.

¹²⁴⁰ Kovács (2001), pp.106-107. For further analysis of Greek and bilingual dedications in Pannonia please see the appropriate section of the Mursa chapter.

CONCLUSIONS

Historical Overview

The epigraphic evidence of Poetovio has shown us that this Pannonian city boasted a very vibrant and varied religious background. The general distribution of dedications points to the fact they were most abundant during the second century A.D., with a slow rise in the first century and an equally steady decline in the third century. This bell-shaped distribution much resembles the votive evidence from Mursa, which reached its peak in the late second-early third century A.D.¹²⁴¹ While both cities were large, important administrative centres, whose officials accounted for a significant number of dedications; the high frequency of public dedications in Poetovio is attributed to its own particular administrative role, as a customs centre and the seat of the procurator of Pannonia Superior. Due to this reason, men of servile origin attached to the *portorium* and the *tabularium* are extremely abundant among our dedicators; however, citizens and freedmen still predominate in our evidence, with the soldiers being the least well-represented group. In terms of the distribution of cults, we find that Roman deities are quite popular in the first and second centuries A.D. Their popularity declines in the late second-early third century, just as the Oriental deities become predominant. This can be attributed both to imperial favour towards Oriental cults as of mid-second century A.D., as well as perhaps to the loss of faith in traditional Roman deities during the crisis of the late second century. More specifically to Poetovio, the eclipsing of the Roman deities can be attributed to the significant influx of Oriental settlers, some of which are customs officials, whose profession appears to be tied to Mithraic worship, resulting in the predominance of Mithras at Poetovio. As for the autochthonous and local cults, these are equally popular in the first and second centuries, but become superseded by the Oriental cults in the third century. It must be remarked, however, that out of all of our Drava cities Poetovio exhibits the highest concentration of local deities (*id est* deities worshipped exclusively in Poetovio and the surrounding region), and autochthonous/Celtic deities. This phenomenon may be attributed to Poetovio's close geographic and cultural proximity to Noricum, where autochthonous/Celtic deities are particularly well-recorded.

Predominant among the various cults at Poetovio were the cult of Mithras and the cult of the *Nutrices Augustae*, followed closely by the cult of the supreme deity himself, Jupiter

¹²⁴¹ Mlekuz and Županek (2001), pp.336-338. For a more detailed analysis please consult the Mursa chapter.

Optimus Maximus. The popularity of these cults was directly reflected in the metropolitan identity of Poetovio, as a large administrative and customs centre, attracting immigrants from across the Empire. Among Oriental cults, Mithraism and the worship of Isis and Serapis predominated especially among the customs officials,¹²⁴² who appear to have been, by and large, of Graeco-Oriental origin, and who seem to have brought these cults with them into Poetovio.¹²⁴³ This is not to say that there was no integration among worshippers, as our evidence displays that Graeco-Oriental customs officials are also found worshipping both local autochthonous¹²⁴⁴ and Roman deities¹²⁴⁵. Likewise, Italian and autochthonous worshippers are attested with respect to the cult of Isis¹²⁴⁶ and the cult of Mithras¹²⁴⁷. Evidence would seem to suggest that Oriental cults, in particular, arrived at Poetovio via Aquileia.¹²⁴⁸ We have already seen that a large number of Poetovian settlers came from northern Italy, and especially Aquileia. These included merchants such as the Valerii family, who greatly prospered at Poetovio, holding the highest municipal offices for over a century and becoming the leading family in the city, as is attested by numerous votive dedications that its members have left behind at Poetovio. It would appear that the Valerii were one of the early north Italian immigrants who introduced several Roman deities to the city.¹²⁴⁹ In addition to merchant settlers such as the Valerii, early immigrants to Poetovio also included north Italian soldiers and veterans, especially members of the *legio XIII Gemina*. Oddly enough, unlike at neighbouring Aquae Iasae, the legionaries are not widely attested at Poetovio in this early period. Evidence would seem to indicate that as of the Hadrianic period an influx of Greek and Oriental settlers, primarily connected with the establishment of the customs service at Poetovio, enters Pannonia, most likely also via Aquileia. By this period

¹²⁴² Selem (1972), pp.71-79.

¹²⁴³ Selem (1980), pp.35-36.

¹²⁴⁴ *AII* 283; *CIL* III 4032; and *AE* 1977, 628.

¹²⁴⁵ *CIL* III 14354/36 (p.2328, 189).

¹²⁴⁶ *AII* 269.

¹²⁴⁷ *AE* 1991, 1301.

¹²⁴⁸ Leclant (1958), p.100; Malaise (1972a), p.72; Budischovsky (1977a), pp.99-123; Budischovsky (1977b); and Selem (1980), p.36, and pp.70-71.

¹²⁴⁹ *AII* 288, for example.

Aquileia already had a prominent number of Graeco-Oriental inhabitants and worshippers among its Oriental cults, strong economic ties to Poetovio, and a tradition of customs services¹²⁵⁰, so it is not far-fetched to think that its religious trends would have been reflected to some extent among Poetovian cults once the customs service spread to Poetovio.¹²⁵¹

Official vs. Unofficial Cults

The supreme deity Jupiter is the third most popular deity at Poetovio by the sheer number of epigraphic dedications. He is worshipped in multiple forms, as Jupiter Optimus Maximus most frequently, but also as a syncretisation with the local god Culminalis, and as the mid-second century protector deity Jupiter Depulsor. His worship predominates in the second century, and especially during the unstable times of the barbarian invasions and the subsequent Marcomannic Wars. Perhaps the fact that he is most often worshipped in his original official form, as the supreme god Jupiter Optimus Maximus, attests to the potency of his power and the belief in his fatherly protection.¹²⁵² For it is natural that in a time of severe crisis worshippers would call upon the most powerful deity to protect them. Like the earthly ruler with whom he was identified, the emperor, Jupiter Optimus Maximus was the father of the state and protector of the people. Perhaps in appealing to Jupiter, worshippers at the same time also symbolically appealed to the emperor and the state for protection. That an invocation of Jupiter was equally an expression of loyalty to the emperor and the imperial house is testified by the large proportion of his worshippers who hold public posts.

¹²⁵⁰ Aquileia acquired a *portorium* in the 70's B.C. and already there is evidence of men bearing Graeco-Oriental names in its service. See, for example, *CIL* V 1666.

¹²⁵¹ Such a connection is perhaps best illustrated by the case of the *conductor* of the *vectigal Illyrici* Q. Sabinus Veranus, who was in charge of slaves both in Poetovio and Aquileia. See: Abramić (1933), p.139; De Laet (1949), p.179 and p.386; and Selem (1980), p.36 and p.72. Interestingly, at the customs station at Sublavio, on the Aquileia-Tridentum road, there is evidence of dedications made to *Isis Augusta* and *Isis Myrionyma* by a slave of T. Iulius Saturninus; the same epithets are recorded in Poetovio, showing not only that cults spread from Aquileia into Pannonia, but also that their spread was fuelled by the men in the customs services. Selem (1980), p.36 and p.72. One example of close cultic ties between Aquileia and Poetovio can be seen through the Mithraic reliefs found at Poetovio, which resemble in style those of Aquileia and not those of the Pannonian Danubian settlements. Although evidence predominantly points to a conclusion that Oriental cults by and large were brought to Poetovio by the men connected to the customs service, it cannot also be denied that the army played a role in their spread into Pannonia. We need only take as an example the Dacian campaigns, where the marching route consisted of departing from Aquileia, and marching via Sirmium to the east. Pinterović (1967b), pp.75-76; and Selem (1980), p.72.

¹²⁵² Kolšek (1968), p.276.

Predominant among public worshippers are decurions¹²⁵³ and procurators¹²⁵⁴. A significant proportion of military worshippers¹²⁵⁵ and *servi* and *liberti Augusti* is also to be found.¹²⁵⁶ All these individuals stood to gain much from an expression of loyalty to the emperor, as their personal and professional advancement depended on his goodwill.

In addition to public and military worshippers of Jupiter at Poetovio, we also find a number of dedications erected by private individuals who do not specify social or professional affiliation. While it is possible to assume that these worshippers likewise wished to make a display of loyalty to the emperor, it seems more plausible to the present author to believe that they appealed to Jupiter for personal protection, as he was the supreme and most powerful deity. Justifying “official” expressions of loyalty on behalf of private worshippers becomes particularly tricky in the case of female dedicators, such as Livia Genetiva,¹²⁵⁷ or in the case of spousal(?) dedicators, such as Firminus and Saturnina.¹²⁵⁸ Since women did not hold municipal or military posts, they had no incentive or obligation to make official displays of loyalty to the emperor. Although Genetiva declares that she sets up her dedication “*ex voto*”, Firminus and Saturnina, along with certain other “private” dedicators such as Nymphodotus and his son¹²⁵⁹ do employ the formula “*pro salute sua*”, indicating indeed that they invoked Jupiter for personal purposes, perhaps as an all-powerful protector against the calamities that the late second-early third century brought.

In addition to Jupiter and his various forms, the goddess Juno is also attested at Poetovio, although only twice: once as Dea Juno in a joint dedication with Magna Mater/Cybele (*AE* 1966, 298), and the other time as Juno Regina in conjunction with Jupiter Culminalis and a *genius loci* (*CIL* III 4032). Most unusual, however, among our dedications is the complete lack of attestation of the goddess Minerva. Since Minerva was popularly worshipped among

¹²⁵³ *AIJ* 279; and *CIL* III 4022.

¹²⁵⁴ *AE* 1978, 647; and *CIL* III 4031.

¹²⁵⁵ *AIJ* 273; *CIL* III 4025; *CIL* III 4030; *AE* 1950, 40; *CIL* III 15187; and *CIL* III 15188.

¹²⁵⁶ *AIJ* 278; *CIL* III 4020; *CIL* III 4023; and *CIL* III 4024.

¹²⁵⁷ *CIL* III 4026.

¹²⁵⁸ *AIJ* 276.

¹²⁵⁹ *CIL* III 4029.

soldiers it is extremely odd that her worship is not attested at Poetovio, a city which was garrisoned, at different times, by the *legio XIII Gemina*, the *legio VIII Augusta* and the *legio V Macedonica*. That she is not attested in the very early period of Roman occupation, in the first century A.D. is consistent (although puzzling!) with the general scarcity of dedications to Roman deities set up by soldiers at this time. However, that she still lacks attestation by Gallienus' reign, when the *XIII Gemina* relocates back to Poetovio, is all the more strange. An absence of her attestation, in addition to a lack of association on dedications with Jupiter and Juno, would lead the present author to conclude that although Poetovio appears to have been a large multicultural administrative centre, it did not feature a Capitoline Temple.

In addition to Jupiter and Juno, several other official and unofficial deities are attested at Poetovio. Thus, we find Magna Mater/Cybele worshipped in conjunction with Juno by two persons who appear to be of northern Italian and/or Celtic origin, Aesculapius is worshipped by a procurator of presumably Graeco-Oriental origin, Victory by an army veteran of presumably Gaulish or northern Italian descent, Fortuna by a worshipper of presumably autochthonous or Graeco-Oriental descent, Mercury by a *vicarius* of possible Celtic/northern Italian descent, Vulcan and Venus by a worshipper of possible Graeco-Oriental descent, Nemesis by a worshipper whose name has not survived, Mars and Marimogius by worshippers of Graeco-Oriental, Celtic and northern Italian descents, Diana by a soldier of possibly Celtic/northern Italian descent, the Nymphs by a slave and a freedman of possibly Graeco-Oriental descents, Liber by worshippers of Celtic, northern Italic and possibly autochthonous origins, and Silvanus by a worshipper of possibly Celtic/northern Italic origin. In addition to these, the vast evidence that we have available from the cults of the Nutrices, Mithras, Isis and Serapis, Jupiter Culminalis and Jupiter Depulsor all indicate that worshippers of autochthonous, Graeco-Oriental, Celtic, northern Italic and other creeds participated in the worship of these deities.¹²⁶⁰ Our evidence thus displays the integrative nature of these cults. Although it must be noted that several of our deities are recorded on only one or two dedications, they nevertheless display that they appeal to a variety of worshippers who, often through the act of syncretisation, tailor their dedications to their

¹²⁶⁰ While proportions of worshippers of a given cultural background varied from deity to deity (thus for example Mithras had a greater number of Graeco-Oriental worshippers, and the Nutrices a greater proportion of worshippers of northern Italic and autochthonous origins), however, evidence indicates that no cult was culturally-exclusive and that worshippers of different backgrounds (cultural, social and professional) integrated harmoniously.

specific needs and, one presumes, personalities. Perhaps one of the best examples of this type of integration and personalisation is the *custos tabularii* Philadespotus.¹²⁶¹ Philadespotus dedicates jointly to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Culminalis, Juno Regina and the *genius loci*. He identifies himself as a *verna* of the two emperors, in this case, Septimius Severus and Caracalla. Given his connection to the imperial family it is no wonder that he invokes the divine king and queen, who he most likely identified with the emperor and the empress, Julia Domna. This is suggested perhaps by the fact that he chooses to worship Juno Regina, the consort of the Syrian god Jupiter Dolichenus, the most popular export from the empress' homeland during the Severan period. Due to his choice of Juno Regina and his possible Graeco-Oriental background indicated by his name (he may even have been Syrian himself!), it is surprising that Philadespotus here does not choose to dedicate to Jupiter Dolichenus¹²⁶², or even Jupiter Optimus Maximus, but instead favours the local Jupiter Culminalis, associating him with the *genius loci*. This particular choice of a syncretised Pannonian autochthonous deity may reflect Philadespotus' cultural and religious integration among the native inhabitants of the region as a result of his extended stay at Poetovio due to his occupation. Thus, Philadespotus, while continuing to cultivate his (presumed) Graeco-Oriental origins through his worship of Juno Regina and her and Jupiter's association with the imperial couple (the custom of ruler worship was well established in the Greek East), he, at the same time, participates in the worship of local Pannonian deities, displaying a malleable dual, if not multiple, cultural and religious identity by worshipping an amalgamation of Roman, Oriental and autochthonous deities.

Among epithets awarded to unofficial deities, the most frequent epithet in use at Poetovio proves to be "Augustus/Augusta", which is employed for not only autochthonous and Oriental deities, but also for Graeco-Roman deities; indicating that it may not necessarily have been meant as a device for "Romanising" the deity, but instead seems to have been primarily meant for displaying loyalty towards the emperor and the imperial cult, as it is often

¹²⁶¹ *CIL* III 4032.

¹²⁶² It is possible that a temple of Dolichenus may not have existed at Poetovio. Although certain scholars believe that the abbreviated I.O.M.D. dedications found at Poetovio could be attributed to Dolichenus, the fact that nowhere in Poetovio is the god's unabbreviated name to be found inclines the author of this work to attribute them to Jupiter Depulsor, who indeed was widely attested in his unabbreviated form (for further discussion see the section on Jupiter Depulsor above). The fact that Philadespotus does not dedicate to Dolichenus here may be indicative of the fact that a temple of Dolichenus did not exist at Poetovio.

used on official or public dedications (*ILS* 3302; and *AIJ* 267, among others), or by worshippers connected to the imperial family (*CIL* III 4043, among others); and those holding public (*CIL* III 14355/1, among others) or military offices (*AE* 1966, 295; and *ILJug* 01, 340, among others) – men who stood to benefit professionally and personally from a public display of loyalty to the emperor. This epithet is most predominant among the cult of the Nutrices, who are always and without exception invoked in this manner, regardless of the identity of the dedicator. In this case, the epithet does not appear to reflect necessarily (although in some cases it might be interpreted in this manner) an individual's display of loyalty towards the emperor and the imperial house, but is used as a standard motif of the Nutrices cult, most likely acknowledging the great importance of the cult in the city, and thus awarding it some semi-official standing. A similar occurrence may be found with respect to the worship of Mithras in Poetovio. Since Mithras appears to have been the most popular deity in the city, at least among administrative officials and soldiers, he may have been awarded some semi-official standing in Poetovio due to his epithet “Invictus”, which came to be associated with certain reigning emperors as of Commodus' time. Thus, again, like the epithet “Augustus/Augusta”, the epithet “Invictus” in Mithras' case may have referred both to an expression of loyalty towards the emperor on behalf of the worshipper, and, by association, to the cult's semi-official standing.

Autochthonous Cults

Poetovio boasts a variety of local and (presumably) autochthonous cults which have been preserved in our epigraphic record, such as the Nutrices Augustae, Jupiter Culminalis and Mars Marimogius, among others. Although no irrefutable proof of their worship in the pre-Roman period can be offered, as we know very little about the religious life of the pre-Roman Poetovian autochthonous inhabitants¹²⁶³, certain features of these deities could lead us to conclude that they are remnants of pre-Roman Celtic divinities. Such is the case especially for the Nutrices, whose accompanying dedicatory reliefs give us an insight into pre-Roman cultic elements. Thus, these deities share certain cultic features with the Celtic Matres/Matronae, such as their invocation in multiple form (most likely in numbers of three), as well as their motherly/nurturing role, which would lead us to conclude that these may have been separate but connected deities. Moreover, the great popularity of nature and fertility

¹²⁶³ Kolšek (1968), p.281.

deities in Poetovio, both among the autochthonous (Matronae, Nutrices, Dravus, Silvanus, Epona...) and among the “foreign” cults (Isis, Diana, Nymphs, Juno, Cybele/Magna Mater...), may indicate a continuation of similar pre-Roman religious inclinations, which under Roman and other foreign cultural and religious influences have transformed, forming new religious identities.

Chief among the autochthonous cults, by the sheer number of dedications, is that of the Nutrices Augustae, a Romano-Celtic incarnation of autochthonous female nature and fertility deities. Among male deities, those of martial character predominate: both Jupiter Depulsor and Mars Marimogius appear as a response to the uncertain times of the Marcomannic Wars. Although Marimogius appears to be a local Poetovian deity, it is a wonder that Jupiter Depulsor, attested both in Pannonia and elsewhere around the Empire, does not appear on the *limes* at Mursa, which displays its own particular mix of protector deities (see the Mursa chapter). In general a great number of autochthonous deities become very popular during the reign of the Severans and the unstable times of the third century.¹²⁶⁴ This period experiences a veritable religious revolution both in Pannonia and elsewhere around the Empire, as the number of epigraphic dedications to Oriental and various local deities booms. Thus we see the rise in popularity of the Nutrices, Silvanus and the deity Dravus. The god Dravus is paired with the *genius* of the legion, attesting renewed military presence in Poetovio due to the unstable political climate.

Geography played one of the key roles in the definition of both autochthonous and local religious identities on the territory of Poetovio. Several of our “autochthonous” cults, such as the cult of the Nutrices, Marimogius and Culminalis, appear to be restricted to the Poetovio region, indicating a lively local, perhaps pre-Roman, religious identity which has continued to develop and syncretise under Roman rule. It is to be remarked that out of all the Drava cities examined in this thesis, Poetovio displays the largest evidence for local and autochthonous deities. This phenomenon may be due to its geographical proximity to Noricum, where autochthonous deities such as Uxellimus and Latobius enjoy great popularity. Certain scholars have suggested that the Norican Uxellimus is to be identified with the Pannonian Culminalis, and that the Norican Latobius is perhaps to be identified with

¹²⁶⁴ Lamut (1992), p.166.

the Poetovian Marimogius.¹²⁶⁵ If these are indeed variant aspects of identical deities, then they may display an attempt on the part of neighbouring settlements to forge their own distinct religious identities.

Oriental Cults

Oriental cults prove extremely popular at Poetovio, primarily due to the large percentage of Greek and Oriental settlers connected to the customs and administrative services in this city. Oriental settlers start being attested as of the mid-second century A.D., and introduce into Poetovio cults such as that of Isis and her companion Serapis, who quickly gain a substantial number of followers. It is possible, due to the fact that Isis and Serapis are among the first Oriental cults attested, that among the first Oriental settlers of Poetovio we find Egyptian settlers. Although a possibility, this however, may not necessarily be the case, as the cult of Isis gains popularity throughout the Empire in the first century and thus may have possibly been brought to Poetovio by settlers of other origins as well. With the founding of Illyrian customs services offices at Poetovio under Hadrian, we begin to see an immense influx of slave and freedman administrative officials of Greek and Oriental origins, who make their presence in the city abundantly clear by their overwhelming tendency to erect votive dedications. It is these men, and not the legions stationed earlier in Poetovio's history, who bring the cult of Mithras to Poetovio, and supplant the previous popularity of the cult of Isis. Their predominant presence in the early Mithraea, combined with their pedantic tendency to stress their associations with the *portorium*, leads us to conclude that their religious and professional lives were inextricably connected, and that their profession and belonging to the *portorium* played a large role in defining their (at least public) religious identity. Their dedications show a display of loyalty both to their *conductores*, and through them, to the emperor. It is true that, living in a polytheistic world, their devotion to Mithras may have been extended only so far as their professional connections and advancement required, and that they may have exhibited entirely different religious identity(ies) in their personal lives. This idea may be supported by the fact that we find several customs officials attested on non-Mithraic dedications, indicating that although the worship of Mithras predominated among the customs officials, it needn't have formed their entire religious identity, as other cults may

¹²⁶⁵ *CIL* III 5145; Marić (1933), p.25; and Kolšek (1968), pp.281-283.

have been observed in their private lives. Thus, like other observers of polytheism, they most likely nurtured a flexible, integrative and versatile religious identity.

Another factor which may have contributed to the large popularity of Oriental cults, and especially to the popularity of Mithraism is the fact that in addition to bearing presumably Greek or Oriental ethnicities¹²⁶⁶, evidence examined above shows that a large number of men connected to the customs service in Poetovio were either of servile or freedman status. It is well documented throughout the Empire that Oriental religions particularly appealed to slaves and freedmen.¹²⁶⁷ Worshippers of Oriental cults in Spain and Italy, for example, tend to come as well predominantly from the servile and plebeian classes.¹²⁶⁸ Perhaps one way of explaining the overwhelming tendency of slaves and freedmen to erect epigraphic monuments, apart from professional affiliation found in Poetovio in the case of the customs officers, is the need to legitimise their existence in the eyes of their descendents and in the eyes of non-servile inhabitants of the Empire. In essence slaves were the “invisible” class. By virtue of being a slave, they had no rights and their life was not their own. Erecting a lasting monument in stone may have been a conscious or a subconscious desire to make themselves known to the world; to express their wishes and individuality. Thus, as votive and funerary dedications were displayed in public, where everyone could see them, members of the servile classes had a chance to make themselves be seen as well.

Given the large proportion of inhabitants of Graeco-Oriental origin attested at Poetovio (at least according to the abundance of seemingly Greek *cognomina* encountered), it is surprising to discover that the variety of Oriental deities encountered seems to have been relatively limited. In addition to Mithras and the cults of Isis and Serapis, we have very few other “Oriental” deities attested epigraphically. Iconographic representations, such as the head of Jupiter-Ammon for example, or the votive statuettes of Isis, may have been more common; although these lead us to conclude that outside the highly-structured and *portorium*-

¹²⁶⁶ According to Selem, up to a third of worshippers of Oriental cults in this part of Pannonia were of either Greek or Oriental origin. Selem (1980), pp.36-37.

¹²⁶⁷ Bomer (1960), pp.5-207; and Selem (1980), p.35.

¹²⁶⁸ For further reading see: Balil (1956), pp.215-224; and Malaise (1972a), pp.75-100.

predominant “official”¹²⁶⁹ displays of devotion to Mithras, Isis and Serapis, the worship of Oriental deities may have been largely carried out in private. This may explain, why, at the height of popularity of Oriental deities and their syncretisations (late second-early third centuries A.D.) certain Oriental deities, which are very popular in other Pannonian cities, such as Sabazios or Jupiter Dolichenus, do not appear to be attested at Poetovio. This phenomenon is in stark contrast with “Roman” deities who are very numerous at Poetovio but are often attested only on one or two dedications each (see for example Victory, Fortuna, Mercury...). It could perhaps be argued that the great variety of these deities stems from the fact that although Poetovio was a large multicultural city, attracting inhabitants from all corners of the Empire who brought their preferred deities with them, there may not have been enough worshippers for each of these deities to warrant a separate temple (unlike the cult of Mithras which, due to special favouritism on the part of *portorium* officials and Gallienus’ legions, overspilled into numerous Mithraea). Thus, as evidence indicates in the case of joint and adjacent sanctuaries to Vulcan/Venus and Fortuna, these deities may have been worshipped in a sanctuary complex.

As we have seen throughout this chapter, Poetovio, as a large multicultural city, displayed a great variety of religious life. The religious identity of Poetovio was forged as a consequence of several factors. Firstly, the religious identity of the city was reflected through the composition of its population. As we have seen, as new settlers from different corners of the Empire arrived at Poetovio they introduced their own deities to the city. These deities, upon interaction with autochthonous pre-Roman religious beliefs integrated to form local syncretised variations such as Jupiter Culminalis or Mars Marimogius, giving Poetovio its distinct identity. The elevation of Poetovio to a colony and its subsequent role as a large administrative centre likewise played a large role in forming the city’s religious identity. We may attribute the arrival of certain cults, such as Mithraism and the cult of Isis and Serapis, to customs officials stationed in the city. These men, likely of Graeco-Oriental origins, played an immense role in shaping Poetovio’s religious identity, as they were very fond of epigraphic worship, and as such, their dedications are some of the best attested. The arrival of customs officials displayed a very strong link between professional affiliation and religious worship, as the majority of men dedicating from these professional classes tended to worship

¹²⁶⁹ The term “official” refers here to displays of devotion and loyalty to the emperor and the imperial house through the worship of Mithras, Isis and Serapis (for a further discussion, see their respective sections above).

Mithras or Jupiter Optimus Maximus. In addition to these factors, the geographic proximity of Poetovio to cities like the north Italian Aquileia and the Norican Celeia resulted in more prominent cultural and religious connections to these cities than to comparable administrative settlements further down the Drava, such as Mursa.

**CATALOGUE OF MITHRAIC DEDICATIONS FROM POETOVIO: FIRST
MITHRAEUM (VICUS FORTUNAE – SPODNJA HAJDINA, circa A.D. 140-180)**

1. Votive altar (*CIL* III 14354/25 = *ILS* 4242) made of white marble, dated to the second half of the second century A.D., and measuring 94 x 45 x 22cm. The inscription reads:

INVICTO / MITHRAE / FESTVS / PRIMI P(ublici) P(ortorii) VIL(ici) / VIC(arius) / V(otum) S(olvit)

The Festus mentioned here was a *vicarius* in the service of Primus; who according to an inscription studied below (*CIL* III 14354/29 = *AIJ* 293 = *ILS* 4245) was a *vilicus* in the employ of *conductor* Antonius Rufus. See: Abramić (1925), p.166, #230; Dobó (1940), p.174, #38; Mócsy (1959), p.215, #64-56; Vermaseren (1960), p.178, #1488; and Selem (1980), p.102.

2. Votive altar (*CIL* III 14354/26 = *ILS* 4243) made of white marble and measuring 82 x 35 x 42cm. The inscription reads:

D(eo) I(nvicto) M(ithrae) / OPTIMVS / VITALIS / SABINI VERANI / P(ublici) P(ortorii) VIL(ici) VIC(arius) / V(otum) S(olvit)

According to Zotović and Selem, the *vicarius* Optimus was in the employ of the slave and customs officer (*vilicus*) Vitalis, who in his turn was in the employ of *conductor* Sabinius Veranus. Veranus is known to us from two dedications to Isis from Poetovio (see the section on Isis in the Poetovio supplement), and also from *CIL* III 5146 from Balnea. Due to the mention of Veranus, this inscription can be dated between A.D. 146 and 157 See: Abramić (1925), p.166, #228; Dobó (1940), p.174, #39; Mócsy (1959), p.215, #64-57; Vermaseren (1960), p.178, #1491; Zotović (1973), p.45; and Selem (1980), pp.101-102. For further reading on Veranus see: Leber, P. "Quintus Sabinius Veranus, Zolpachter in Poetovio", *Carnintia* I, 1955.

3. Votive altar (*CIL* III 14354/27 = *AIJ* 291 = *ILS* 4247) made of white marble and measuring 84 x 38 x 30cm. The inscription reads:

INVICT(o) MITHRAE / ET TRANSITV DEI / THEODORVS P(ublici) P(ortorii) / SCRVT(ator) STAT(ionis) POET(ovionensis) / EX VISU

According to Zotović, Pape, and Selem, Theodorus, judging by his name, is of Greek origin. See: Pape (1884); Zotović (1973), p.45; and Selem (1980), pp.102-103. Theodorus likely performed his duties of *scrutator* at a *statio* on the river Drava, along the Ad Publicanos - Aquileia road. Selem (1980), pp.102-103. See also: Gurlitt (1899), p.93, #6; Abramić (1925), p.167, #232; Ferri (1933), p.200, figs. 219-220; Dobó (1940), p.174, #40; Mócsy (1959), p.215, #64/58; Vermaseren (1960), pp.179-180, #1496-1497; Campbell (1968), plate #29; and Curk (1972), p.2.

4. Votive altar (*CIL* III 14354/28 = *AIJ* 292) made of white marble and measuring 159 x 48 x 42cm. This altar is exceptional in that it is designed as a base for the statue of Mithras. The statue represents Mithras in eastern dress with a Phrygian cap, carrying a bull by its hind legs over his back. Zotović (1973), p.45; and Selem (1980), pp.104-105. The inscription reads:

TRANSITV / C(aius) CAECINA / CALPVRNIVS / TEMP(lum) REDEMI(t) / ET RESTITV[I(t)]

According to Abramić, this kind of representation of Mithras is rare; and apart from the case of Poetovio, the representation of Mithras carrying a bull in this manner can only be found in two other places: Aquileia and Phoenicia. The occurrence of this type of imagery in Aquileia has led Abramić to conclude that certainly this example, if not many other dedications from the first Poetovian Mithraeum, originate from an Aquileian workshop, due to both its type of imagery, as well as to its superior quality of production. Gurlitt (1899), p.93, #5; Abramić (1925), p.166, #231; Abramić (1933), p.137; Ferri (1933), p.157 and p.179; Vermaseren (1960), p.179, #1494-1495; Curk (1972), p.1; and Selem (1980), pp.104-105. Mócsy believes that Calpurnius is of Dalmatian descent. Mócsy (1959), p.215, #64-59.

5. Marble relief representing the birth of Mithras (*CIL* III 14354/29 = *AIJ* 293 = *ILS* 4245) measuring 97 x 46 x 31cm. The relief represents the birth of Mithras out of a rock, around which a large snake coils. The relief has sustained some damage: Mithras' head and the objects which he is meant to be holding are missing. A *tabula ansata* with the following inscription is placed at the base of the relief:

NATVRAE DEI / PRVDENS PRIMI / ANTONI RUFII P(ublici) P(ortorii) / VIL(ici) VIC(arius)

The dedication to the divine birth (*Naturae Dei*) in the context of Poetovio is unusual. For other examples see: Vermaseren (1960a), p.63; and Campbell (1968), p.272. On the inscription, the *vicarius* Prudens names his *vilicus* Primus, and his *conductor* Antonius Rufus. According to Zotović, it is likely that the *vilicus* Primus referred to on this inscription is the same as the one on *CIL* III 14354/25 from the same Mithraeum. Zotović (1973), pp.45-46. Prudens' patron, Antonius Rufus, is famous for being one of the three *conductores* in charge of the customs service during the years A.D. 138-161. He held this post with T. Iulius Saturninus and Q. Sabinus Veranus, who are mentioned as patrons on several other Mithraic inscriptions from Poetovio. Rufus is also attested as *conductor* on an inscription from Senia (*CIL* III 13283 = *ILS* 4225); in addition to being attested as *praefectus vehiculorum* on the same monument. Moreover, he is attested as well on *CIL* III 5487 and *CIL* III 5117 as *procurator*. See: Gurlitt (1899), p.93, #4; Abramić (1925), p.166, #229; Abramić (1933), p.129; Mócsy (1959), p.215, #64/60; Vermaseren (1960), p.179, #1492-1493; Curk (1972), fig.#9; and Selem (1980), p.99.

6. Votive altar (*CIL* III 14354/30 = *AIJ* 294) made of white marble and measuring 62 x 37 x 27cm. The altar features an image of Sol on the left side with a crown of rays and a whip, and an image of Luna on the right side with the crescent moon. A depiction of the birth of Mithras is thought to have been included, although it is no longer present. The altar does feature, however, a depiction of *Petra*. Selem (1980), p.101. According to Zotović the inscription reads:

PETRAE / GENETRICI / FELIX / PRVDENTIS ANTONI / RUFII P(ublici) P(ortorii) VIL(ici) VIC(arius) / EX VISO

Selem offers an alternative reading:

PETRE / FELIX / PRVDENTIS ANTONI / RVFI / P(ublici) P(ortorii) VIL(ici) VIC(arius) / EX VISU

By considering this inscription in relation to *CIL* III 14354/29 = *AIJ* 293 = *ILS* 4245 one can see the progression of Prudens from *vicarius* to *vilicus*. The new *vicarius* Felix thus falls under Prudens' charge, who in his turn, falls under the still-serving *conductor* Rufus. See: Campbell (1954-1955), p.33; and Selem (1980), p.101. It is interesting to note that the

Antonius Rufus mentioned on this inscription is the same as in *CIL* III 1568, which would date this inscription to the middle of the second century A.D. See: Cumont (1896-1899), p.159; Gurlitt (1899), p.93, #2; Abramić (1925), p.164, #227; Ferri (1933), p.200, figs.216-217; Mócsy (1959), p.215, #64/61; Vermaseren (1960), p.178, #1489-1490; Curk (1972), fig.#9; and Zotović (1973), pp.45-46.

7. Votive altar (*CIL* III 14354/31 = *AIJ* 295) made of white marble and measuring 95 x 36 x 36cm. The altar features a depiction of *Cautes*. The inscription reads:

CAVTI / SACR(um) / VENVLVS / APONI(i) ING(enui) (servus) / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

According to Abramić, the altar dates from Hadrian's reign. Abramić (1933), p.138. Selem notes that the altar displays superior workmanship, leading him and Abramić to the conclusion that it may have been produced either in Aquileia or by one of the Aquileian masters. Selem (1980), p.103. Campbell pushes this argument even further by claiming that the altar may have been brought to this Mithraeum from another Mithraeum (presumably an Aquileian one). Campbell (1954-1955), p.33. Selem remains unconvinced noting that Ingenuus appears to have been unconnected to the customs service, thus making this altar unusual in the context of this Mithraeum. Selem (1980), p.103. See also: Abramić (1925), p.168, #233; Mócsy (1959), p.215, #64-62; Vermaseren (1960), p.180, #1498-1499; and Curk (1972), p.11.

8. Votive altar (*CIL* III 14354/32 = *AIJ* 296) made of white marble and measuring 90 x 37 x 28cm. Zotović believes that this altar complements *CIL* III 14354/31, although it is in a much worse condition. Zotović (1973), p.46. The altar features a bust of Mithras wearing a Phrygian cap. The bust is placed on the birth rock above which is a palm leaf. The altar also features a bust of *Cautopates*. Selem (1980), p.104. The inscription reads:

CAVTOPA / TI SACR(um) / CRESCES / GABINI ANTONI / SER(vus) V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

Due to the damaged state of the altar *CRESCES* can also be interpreted as *CRESCENS*; and *GABINVS* can be substituted for *SABINVS*. Zotović believes that substituting *GABINVS* for *SABINVS* makes more sense since Sabinius, along with Antonius Rufus and Julius

Saturninus, was in charge of the customs service from A.D. 146 to 157. Zotović (1973), pp.46-47. Selem likewise believes that Sabinius Veranus may be in question here. Selem (1980), p.104. See also: Abramić (1925), p.169, #234; Ferri (1933), p.200, fig.218; Mócsy (1959), p.216, #64-63; Vermaseren (1960), p.181, #1504-1505; and Curk (1972), p.11.

9. Two statue bases (*CIL* III 14354/33 = *AIJ* 297 and *CIL* III 14354/34 = *AIJ* 298) made of white marble and measuring 55 x 29 x 26cm and 47 x 26 x 26cm. The inscription on both is identical and it reads:

*PRIMITIVOS / C(aii) ANTONI RVFI / PROC(uratoris) AVG(usti) (servus) P(ublici)
P(ortorii) C(ontra)SCR(iptor) / IN / MEMORIAM / HYACINTHI*

Hoffiller and Saria believe that in line 3, after *AVG(usti)*, *servus* should be included, while Vermaseren disputes this. See: Hoffiller-Saria, *AIJ* #297 and Vermaseren (1960), p.180 #1501. The reliefs on both bases are partially damaged, however, Zotović believes that the two bases complement each other and may each depict *Cautes* and *Cautopates*. Zotović (1973), p.47. Concerning Hyacinthus, Abramić believes that he may have founded the Mithraic cult at Poetovio sometime around the year A.D. 150. Abramić (1925), p.169, #235 and #236. See also: Selem (1980), pp.99-100.

**CATALOGUE OF MITHRAIC DEDICATIONS FROM POETOVIO: SECOND
MITHRAEUM (VICUS FORTUNAE – SPODNJA HAJDINA, 6 circa A.D. 193-337)**

1. Votive altar (*CIL* III 15184/2) which measures 28 x 34 x 0,8cm, very badly preserved.
The inscription reads:

D(eo) I(nvicto) M(ithrae)

See: Abramić (1925), p.74, #59; Vermaseren (1960), p.185, #1525; and Zotović (1973), p.48.

2. Fragment of a votive relief (*CIL* III 15184/3 = *AIJ* 307) made of white marble and measuring 22 x 31 x 0,7cm. The relief is badly damaged, but an image of Luna can be made out. Selem believes that the relief would have depicted a tauroctony scene. Selem (1980), p.115. The inscription reads:

[D(eo) S(oli)] I(nvicto) M(ithrae)

See: Abramić (1925), p.74, #59; Vermaseren (1960), p.185, #1526-1527; and Zotović (1973), p.48.

3. Statue base in the shape of a column (*CIL* III 15184/4 = *AIJ* 299) made of white marble and measuring 120 x 31 x 32 cm. The monument features a cantharus flanked by two panthers. Selem (1980), p.108. The base is damaged but part of an inscription can be made out:

*D(eo) [S(oli) I(nvicto) M(ithrae)] / PRO SALV / TE DOMI / NORVM NOSTRO / RVM AVGV
/ STORVM ET / [GETAE] [----] CAE / SARIS SAL / VIANVS / EORVNDEM / SER(vus)
C(ontra)SC(ripor) / STATIONIS / ATRANTINAE / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)*

According to Zotović the missing characters on the inscription are that of Geta's name. This would date the inscription to the first ten years of the third century, and no later than A.D. 208. Zotović (1973), pp.48-49. This inscription is thus the oldest one in the second Mithraeum. According to Selem, Salvianus was a slave in the employ of the customs service, however, the lack of a mention of a *conductor* on the inscription supports its late date as by this point *conductores* were rendered obsolete. Thus, Salvianus worked for the *statio* of

Atrans. See also: Abramić (1925), p.73, #58; Dobó (1940), p.175, #45; Vermaseren (1960), pp.185-186, #1528-1529; and Selem (1980), p.108.

4. Statue base (*CIL* III 15184/5 = *AIJ* 300) made of white marble and measuring 128 x 31 x 26cm. The base is badly damaged and broken in several places. An image of the birth of Mithras out of a rock can be made out, with the fragmented snake coiling around. According to Zotović, the inscription reads:

[D(eo)] S(oli) I(nvicto) M(ithrae) / [P]RO SALVTE / FL(avii) IOVINI / QVOT VOTVM / SVSCEPERAT / IT SVPER / NASCE[N]TEM / DEVM / POSVIT / PEREGRINO / ET AEMILIANO / CO(n)S(ulibus) P(atribus) VIR(i)D(io?) FIR / MO ET ANT(onio) CELERI[----

In line 6 Selem reads *SVPER* as *NVPER*. Selem (1980), pp.108-109. Due to the mention of the names of the consuls Peregrinus and Aemilianus this inscription can be dated to the year A.D. 244. We can also ascertain from the inscription that at this time Firmus and Celer were in charge of the Mithraic cult. Interestingly Celer is also mentioned on the inscription *CIL* III 15184/7 = *AIJ* 302 from the same Mithraeum, although according to Zotović he bears no title on this inscription. This could, perhaps, lead us to conclude that *CIL* III 15184/7 = *AIJ* 302 predates this inscription. Zotović (1973), pp.49-50. According to Vermaseren, it is possible that the Flavius Iovinus mentioned on this inscription is the same as Flavius Aurelius Iovinus, mentioned on a dedication to the *Nutrices* (*CIL* III 15184/26). Vermaseren (1960), p.186, #1530-1531. See also: Abramić (1925), p.75, #61.

5. Votive relief plaque(*CIL* III 15184/6 = *AIJ* 301) made of white marble and measuring 38 x 44 x 5cm. The relief depicts a tauroctony scene featuring the standard accompaniment of a dog, snake, scorpion and a raven. According to Zotović, the body of Mithras is disproportionate and executed in a clumsy manner. Zotović (1973), p.49. Mithras is flanked on either side by *Cautes* and *Cautopates*. In addition to these, the relief also features depictions of Sol and Luna; and in the background of the relief an outline of a cave can be seen. The inscription below the relief reads:

D(eo) I(nvicto) M(ithrae) LICI(nius?) MAXIMINVS / MIL(es) L(egionis) II ITA(licae) / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

Campbell believes that this dedication may have been originally placed in the first Mithraeum. Campbell (1954-1955), p.52. However, according to Selem, this dedication

displays mediocre workmanship compared to the superior craftsmanship recorded in the first Mithraeum; in addition to the fact that the first Mithraeum does not feature any relief plaques. Selem (1980), pp.112-113. See also: Abramić (1925), p.80, #72, fig.17; and Vermaseren (1960), p.183, #1512-1513.

6. Votive altar (*CIL* III 15184/7 = *AIJ* 302) made of white marble and measuring 75 x 43 x 21cm. The altar is slightly damaged around the edges. The inscription reads:

D(eo) I(nvicto) [M(ithrae)] / PRO SALVTE / CHARIDEMI / AVG(usti) N(ostri) VIL(ici) STA(tionis) / ENENSIS / MARCVS ANTONIVS / CELER V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

Selem believes that in line 6 *MARCVS* does not appear in its full form but rather as an abbreviated version *M(arcus)*. Selem (1980), pp.109-110. According to Zotović, Charidemus is an imperial slave employed for the customs office of Enensis (on the border of Noricum and Raetia). Zotović (1973), pp.49-50. Charidemus may have been on official business in Poetovio, or he may have received a transfer according to Abramić. Abramić (1925), p.74-75, #60. Selem finds this inscription very interesting because it is set up by a priest on behalf of one of his religious members. See also: Dobó (1940), p.175, #46; and Vermaseren (1960), p.186, #1532.

7. Votive altar (*CIL* III 15184/8) made of white marble and measuring 19 x 52 x 16cm. The altar is badly damaged and only a part of the inscription can be made out:

----] / TABVL(arius) ET VIL(icus) STAT(ionis) / CONFL[V]JENT(es) EX VOT(o) / POSVIT ET SIGNVM / [----] C. AELI EX / [VISV POSVIT?]

While Zotović believes that the inscription stops after *SIGNVM*, Selem believes he can make out two additional lines. Selem (1980), p.110. Zotović believes that the dedication was set up by imperial customs officers from Confluentes. Zotović (1973), p.50. On the other hand, Selem believes that it was set up by probably one individual who performed both the tasks of *tabularius* and *vilicus*. Confluentes was located between Singidunum and Taurunum, on the frontier between Pannonia Inferior and Moesia Superior. Dušanić (1965), p.101. As in the previous inscription, Abramić believes that the presence of the officers from Confluentes in Poetovio may be explained by official business. Abramić (1925), p.76, #65. See also: Vermaseren (1960), p.187, #1536.

8. Dedicatory slab (*CIL* III 15184/9) which is very badly damaged. According to Vermaseren the inscription reads:

[D(eo) I(nvicto)] M(ithrae) / T(itus) FL(avius) RESTVTVS IIII V[ir AVG(ustalis) CO] L(oniae) / P(oetoviensis) PR(o) SE [E]T SVIS OM(nibus)

It is to be noted that Selem reads *IIII vir Augustalis* as *III vir Augustalis*. He notes that the *Augustales*, were recruited among the rich freedmen. Selem (1980), pp.111-112. Clauss argues that by virtue of being an *Augustalis*, Titus Flavius must have been of Italian origin, since he points out that so far, every recorded case of a priest from Pannonia Superior has been deemed to be Italian. Clauss (2000), pp.38-39. See also: Vermaseren (1960), p.187, #1537; and Zotović (1973), p.50.

9. Votive altar (*CIL* III 15184/10) badly preserved. The inscription reads:

D(eo) S(oli) I(nvicto) M(ithrae) / PRO SALVT(e) / AVREL(ius)

Zotović and Hoffiler and Saria read the third line as *AVREL(ius)*, while according to Vermaseren and Selem the third line should be read as *AVREL(i)*. It is possible that the dedicator may have been of autochthonous origin, as the name Aurelius is the most-commonly found name in Pannonia after *constitutio Antoniniana*, indicating a mass receipt of citizenship by most autochthonous inhabitants. See also: Abramić (1925), p.74, #59; Vermaseren (1960), p.187, #1538; Zotović (1973), p.50; and Selem (1980), p.111.

10. Votive relief (*CIL* III 15184/10a = *AIJ* 303) made of white marble and measuring 45 x 52 x 0,6cm. The relief depicts the theme of tauroctony. The scene is similar to the one depicted on *CIL* III 15184/6 = *AIJ* 301, although not the same: the dog, snake and scorpion are present, although there is no sign of a raven. Likewise, Sol, *Cautes* and *Cautopates* are present while Luna is missing. The inscription reads:

D(e)O SOLI I(n)V(i)CTO MIT(h)R(a)E AVR(elius) VALENTINVS / P(r)O SA(lute) (sua) ET AVR(elius) VALE(n)S FILIVS EIVS / V(o)TO P(o)S(uerun)T L(i)B(ente)S

According to Zotović the artistic style of this relief resembles *CIL* III 15184/6 = *AIJ* 301 in that the execution is clumsy. This relief is particular, however, in the unusual way the inscription is abbreviated. Both of these facts have led Zotović to conclude that this inscription and *CIL* III 15184/6 = *AIJ* 301 may have been executed by the same unskilled

stonecutter. Zotović (1973), p.50. Selem takes this idea further by claiming that this inscription, along with *CIL* III 15184/12 = *AIJ* 305, *CIL* III 15184/13 = *AIJ* 306 and even possibly *CIL* III 15184/6 = *AIJ* 301 may have come from a mass-producing workshop. Selem (1980), pp.114-115. Campbell believes that this monument may have formed part of the original cult altar, although one doubts that such an ill-carved inscription would have been used. Campbell (1954-1955), p.52, #652. Considering the names of the dedicators it is possible that they may have been of autochthonous origin and that they received citizenship under Caracalla. See also: Abramić (1925), p.81, #73; and Vermaseren (1960), p.185, #1523-1524.

11. Small votive altar (*CIL* III 15184/11 = *AIJ* 304) made of white marble and measuring 34 x 17 x 13cm. The inscription reads:

D(eo) I(nvicto) M(ithrae) / SECVN / DVS AC / VTI (servus) V(otum) S(olvit) / L(ibens) L(aetus) M(erito)

It is to be noted that while Zotović and Selem include (*servus*), Vermaseren leaves it out of his reading. Vermaseren (1960), p.187, #1539. According to Selem, the altar shows very poor workmanship. Selem (1980), p.110. Judging by their names, the two men recorded here may have been of autochthonous origin, although divining ethnicity from slave names proves tricky. See also: Abramić (1925), p.76, #67; and Zotović (1973), pp. 50-51.

12. Fragment of a votive relief (*CIL* III 15184/12 = *AIJ* 305) made of white marble and measuring 37 x 15 x 0,6cm. The relief is badly damaged, but traces of a tauroctony scene can be made out. The inscription, also damaged, reads:

D(eo) S(oli) M(ithrae) VLP[IVS] LVP[VS] ---- PRO] / SALVTE [SVA-----

Selem notes that while the relief is well-executed, the inscription is very clumsy; leading him to suspect the existence of a mass-producing lettering atelier. He also suspects that, due to the quality of the inscriptions and the use of the name Ulpius, this monument and *CIL* III 15184/13 = *AIJ* 306 are likely to have complemented each other. Selem (1980), pp.113-114. See also: Schober (1923), pp.184-187; Abramić (1925), p.77, #70; Campbell (1954-1955), p.9; and Vermaseren (1960), p.188, #1540-1541.

13. Fragment of a votive relief (*CIL* III 15184/13 = *AIJ* 306) made of white marble and measuring 24 x 36 x 0,5cm. Although the relief is only partial, a scene of tauroctony can be made out. Elements of a *Cautopates* and parts of Mithras, the bull, snake and the scorpion are preserved. The inscription reads:

D(eo) S(oli) I(nvicto) M(ithrae) V(otum) S(olvit) VLPIVS VET [----] / POSVIT PRO SE ET SV(is) PRO(que salute?) / S[V]ORVM

Zotović, Hoffiler and Saria believe that in the first line *VET* should be read as *VE*. Zotović (1973), p. 51. Vermaseren, however, believes that the *VE* after *VLPIVS* may be short for *VET(eranus)*. Vermaseren (1960), p.188, #1542-1543. Selem is unconvinced that one would have a profession (*veteranus*) as a *cognomen*. He remarks that although *cognomina* beginning in *VET* are unusual, it is possible that Ulpus could hold a *cognomen* such as Vettidianus, Veturianus or Veturius. Selem (1980), p.113. See also: Alföldy, G. *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia*. Heidelberg, 1969. If, however, this monument complements *CIL* III 15184/12 = *AIJ* 305 then *VET* may indeed be interpreted as *veteranus*, since *CIL* III 15184/12 = *AIJ* 305 provides us with the name Lupus. According to Abramić the relief was made by an unskilled hand. Abramić (1925), p.77, #69.

14. Very badly preserved relief (*CIL* III 15184/14 = *AIJ* 308) measuring 19 x 14 x 0,4cm which depicts a tauroctony scene. Elements preserved include parts of the bull, the dog, the snake and *Cautes*. The inscription reads:

----]CIANO / [----] V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

See: Abramić (1925), p.76, #87; Vermaseren (1960), p.188, #1544-1545; Zotović (1973), p.51; and Selem (1980), p.115.

15. Very badly damaged votive slab (*CIL* III 15184/15) made of marble, where only certain letters can be made out. The inscription possibly reads:

[D(eo) I(nvicto)] M(ithrae) / [PRO SALVTE DD(ominorum)] NN(ostrorum duorum) / TEM(plum) [----] / [CVRAN]TE [----]

Selem believes that *DD(ominorum) NN(ostrorum)* should be in singular and that (*duorum*) should be omitted. According to Selem, if indeed this inscription is to be read as *dominorum*

nostrorum, then it could be one of the oldest originating from this particular Mithraeum. See: Vermaseren (1960), p.189, #1546; and Selem (1980), p.111.

16. A *tessera* (*CIL* III 15184/16 = *AIJ* 363) made of bone and measuring 36 x 48 x 7mm.

Found in the proximity of the second Mithraeum. The inscription reads:

IVSTVS / OPTIO / COHORTIS II / AVR(eliae) DACOR / VM

Selem notes that while this is not a direct dedication to Mithras, the place of origin of the *tessera* could lead to a conclusion that Iustus was a Mithraic worshipper. Selem (1980), p.112. See also: Abramić (1925), p.127, fig.88; and Zotović (1973), p.51.

17. Altar dedicated to the eternal spring (*CIL* III 15184/24) measuring 65 x 20 x 15cm.

According to Zotović, the inscription reads:

FONTI / PERENNI / EPICTETVS / ET VIATOR / SERVANDI / Q. SABINI VERANI / T(ertiae?) P(artis?) C(onductor) P(ublici) P(ortorii) VILICI / VICARI(us)

Selem believes that *C(onductor)* should be *C(onductoris)*; and that *VICARI(us)* should be *VICARI*. Selem (1980), p.107. Thus, Epictetus and Viator were slaves in the service of the *vilicus* Servandus, who himself was Sabinius Veranus' slave. Zotović believes that due to the shape of the altar and the nature of the letters, this altar is most probably the oldest one on site. Zotović (1973), pp. 51-52. Abramić is likeminded, believing that the altar may have been moved from the first Mithraeum to this second Mithraeum. Abramić (1925), p.72, #56. Selem as well believes that the altar does not originate from this Mithraeum as Veranus was in service 50 years before this temple was built; thus the inscription must have come from the first Mithraeum. Selem (1980), p.107. See also: Vermaseren (1960), #1533.

It is to be noted that in addition to these inscriptions, several very fragmented pieces were found, where only a few letters survive and/or are hard to decipher. These are:

1. Slab (*AIJ* 309) made of white marble and measuring 18 x 14 x 0,7cm. The letters that can be made out are:

A(ulus?) PO [----

See: Vermaseren (1960), #1550; Zotović (1973), p. 52; and Selem (1980), p.111.

2. Three slabs recorded under *AIJ* 310 = *CIL* III 15184/18. The inscriptions read:

----] *P SER(vus)*

----] *VL* [----

----] *RIV(s?)* [----

Selem believes that the fragments come from an altar. Selem (1980), p.111. See also: Zotović (1973), p. 52.

3. Fragment (*CIL* III 15184/17) made of white marble measuring 19 x 15 x 0,8cm. The fragment is very badly damaged and only a few characters can be made out:

----] *CL* / ----*VM* / [----*VS*] / [----*IIS*]

See: Vermaseren (1960), #1551; and Selem (1980), p.111.

In addition to these, a number of relief fragments without inscriptions were found depicting scenes from the Mithraic legend. One of these stands out, as it does not depict Mithras at all; but rather Jupiter, engaged in a battle with the Titans. Zotović believes that this may be a side scene of one of the larger Mithras reliefs. Zotović (1973), p. 52. While this may be, one cannot ignore the possibility that Jupiter may have been worshipped here as well, making this a temple complex, like the first Mithraeum.

CATALOGUE OF MITHRAIC DEDICATIONS FROM POETOVIO: THIRD MITHRAEUM (ZGORNJI BREG, *circa* third century A.D.)

1. Votive altar (*AIJ* 311) made of stone and measuring 62 x 30 x 24cm. The inscription reads:

*INVICTO / AVG(usto) / SACR(um) / E[----] AVG(usti) SER(vus) / H(ereditatum?)
TAB(ularius) / V(otum) S(olvit)*

Zotović notes that according to Hoffiler and Saria an alternative reading for *H(ereditatum) TAB(ularius)* could be *H(ac) TAB(ula)*. Selem opts for the *H(ereditatum) TAB(ularius)* reading as he notes that the dedicant is likely to have been a collector of inheritance tax seeing how Poetovio was a customs centre. Selem (1980), p.127. Nothing can be made out of the dedicant's name, but the inscription does tell us that he was an imperial slave. Zotović (1973), p. 54. Clauss notes that from Commodus' time onwards slaves working for the customs service gained the designation of imperial slaves due to administrative reforms within the customs service. Clauss (2000), p.38. Although this is a Mithraic dedication, the invocatory formula is ambiguous enough to suit an alternative, or better yet additional, interpretation of display of loyalty to the emperor and the imperial house. In the case of our dedicant this is evermore likely, as he was an imperial slave. Kolšek (1968), p.273; Abramić believes that this inscription is one of the oldest from this Mithraeum due to the shape of the letters, thus placing it within the first building phase (early third century A.D.). Abramić (1925), p. 174, #238; and Vermaseren (1960), p.194, #1582-1583.

2. Votive altar (*AIJ* 313 = Vermaseren, *Corpus*, 1584) made of white marble and measuring 112 x 63 x 54cm. The central relief scene features Mithras and Sol shaking hands over an altar. According to Clauss, this handshake scene refers to the sacrifice of the bull. It is to be noted that a part of the bull can be seen at the bottom of the relief scene. Above the altar a raven appears to be holding a piece of meat in his beak. Side-scenes include the "water-miracle" scene, where Mithras is shown shooting arrows onto a face of a rock with attendants (torch-bearers) readying themselves to gather the water; and a depiction of Mithras' weapons (dagger – referencing the bull

killing, and bows and arrows – referencing the “water-miracle”). Clauss (2000), p.35 and p.72. The inscription reads:

D(eo) S(oli) I(nvicto) M(ithrae) / PRO SAL(ute) D(omini) N(ostri) GALLIENI P(ii) F(elicis) / INVICTI AVG(usti) FL(avius) APER V(ir) E(gregius) L(ibens) M(erito)

According to Dobó, Flavius Aper was an equestrian commander of the Dacian legions stationed at Poetovio between the years A.D. 262 and 268. Dobó (1968), p.101. Selem notes that in addition to Mithras, the emperor is also given the title *invictus* on this inscription. Selem (1980), p.131. Clauss notes that from A.D. 161 onwards, Mithraic dedications to the well-being of the emperor become very common. This tying in of elements of personal and imperial cult gives a quasi-official standing to the cult of Mithras, especially since dedications mentioning the emperor could not have been made without official consent. Concerning the title *Invictus*, although originally associated with Mithras, as of Commodus’ time it becomes appropriated by the emperors, as a semi-official titlature, along with other Mithraic epithets, such as *comes* and *conservator*. This provides a new rise in popularity to the cult. See also: Abramić (1925), p. 178, #241; Ferri (1933), p.198, fig.213; Vermaseren (1960), p.194, #1584-1585; Curk (1972), p.13; Zotović (1973), pp.54-55; and Clauss (2000), p.23 and p.25.

3. Votive altar (AIJ 314) made of white marble and measuring 88 x 42 x 21cm. The altar features a tauroctony relief. Only Mithras’ and the bull’s heads are missing. The inscription reads:

D(eo) S(oli) I(nvicto) M(ithrae) / PRO <SA> SALVTE / CANALICLARI / ET ACTARIORVM / ET CODICARIOR(um) / ET LIBRARIORVM / LEGG(ionum) V M(acedonicae) ET XIII G(eminae) / GALLIENARVM

According to Dobó, *CANALICLARI* should be *CANALICLARI(orum)*. *Librarii* were ration-clerks. Dobó (1968), p.101, #5; and Clauss (2000), p.36. Selem dates the inscription to A.D. 256 due to the mention of the two legions. Selem (1980), pp.129-130. Abramić believes that this altar was found next to AIJ 313. Abramić (1925), p. 179, #242. See also: Campbell (1954-1955), p.45, #24; Vermaseren (1960), p.195, #1589-1590; Curk (1972), p.13; and Zotović (1973), p.55.

4. Votive altar (AIJ 315) made of white marble and measuring 102 x 54 x 35cm. Depicted on the left side of the altar is an individual holding a *cornucopia*, which Selem interprets as a symbol of *Fortuna urbana*. The right-hand side of the altar features Sol holding a whip and a sphere. Selem (1980), pp.128-129. The inscription reads:

*D(eo) S(oli) I(nvicto) M(ithrae) / PRO SALVTE / TESSERARIOR(um) / ET CVSTOD(um) AR
/ MOR(um) LEGG(ionum) V M(acedonicae) / ET XIII GEMIN[A]E / GALLIENARVM*

Selem notes that the mention of both the *tesserarii* and the *custodes armorum* signifies a wide-spread adoption of Mithraism within the two legions. Selem (1980), p.129. See also: Abramić (1925), p. 181, #243; Vermaseren (1960), p.196, #1591-1592; Campbell (1968), plate XXXI; Curk (1972), p.15; and Zotović (1973), p.55.

5. Votive altar (AIJ 316 = Vermaseren, *Corpus*, 1594) made of white marble and measuring 74 x 51 x 26cm. The inscription reads:

*D(eo) S(oli) I(nvicto) M(ithrae) / PRO SAL(ute) OFFICIALIVM APRI PRAE / POSITI
LEGG(ionum) V M(acedonicae) ET XIII GEM(inae) / GALLI(enarum)*

Accompanying this inscription is an elaborate relief. The central theme of the relief is the birth of Mithras out of a rock. In his right hand Mithras holds a dagger, while his left hand carries a torch. Above Mithras is the depiction of Victoria, and below Jupiter, or according to Vermaseren, Saturn, who is being crowned by Victoria and who is observing the birth scene. Vermaseren (1960), p.196, #1593-1594; and Selem (1980), pp.131-132. Abramić supposes that Victoria's wreath is intended for Mithras. Abramić (1925), p. 181, #244. The whole birth scene is flanked by two male figures in eastern dress, sporting Phrygian caps, who Abramić believes represent *Cautes* and *Cautopates*. The dedicators of this inscription are soldiers of the two legions mentioned, who have made a joint dedication for the benefit of the staff of Flavius Aper, the commander of equestrian standing of the troops in Poetovio. Clauss points out that this joint dedication of *legio V Macedonica* and *legio XIII Gemina*, along with four other dedications (Vermaseren (1960), #1589, #1591, #1593 and #1595) most likely signify that whole groups of men belonging to these two legions, if not the legions in their entirety, were worshippers of Mithras. Clauss (2000), p.34. Joint dedications of this sort are not uncommon, as ordinary soldiers who did not have the financial means to set up an individual

dedication participated in Mithraic worship in this manner. In addition to the examples found in this Mithraeum, similar joint dedications are found in other parts of the Empire as well (see, for example, *AE* 1966, 314 and Vermaseren (1960), #2177). Clauss (2000), p.36. Selem believes that on the basis of other inscriptions recorded at this Mithraeum, it can safely be assumed that the Aper referred to in this inscription is the same as Flavius Aper seen previously. Selem (1980), p.132. Thus, according to Dobó, this altar could be dated to A.D. 262-268. Dobó (1968), p.102. See also: Vermaseren (1960a), p.69, fig.18; Campbell (1968), plate XXXII; Curk (1972), p.17; and Zotović (1973), p.56.

6. Fragmented relief (*AIJ* 317) broken into five pieces. The inscription measures 25 x 35 x 0,8cm. It is damaged, but according to Abramić could be reconstructed as:

D(eo) S(oli) I(nvicto) M(ithrae) / [PRO SALVTE ----] / [LEG(ionum) V] M(acedonicae) ET XIII / [G(eminae) GA]LLIENARVM / [FLA]VIVS APER V(ir) E(gregius) / [PRA]EPOSITVS

The mention of Aper would date this inscription as well between the years of A.D. 262-268. Zotović (1973), p.56. Abramić believes that the dedications *AIJ* 313-317 tell a particular story concerning Poetovio's military background. They not only attest to the presence of detachments, if not legions, of *V Macedonica* and *XIII Gemina*; but show that Flavius Aper held a very prestigious position as commander of both. All of these inscriptions can be dated to the time of Gallienus, more precisely between the years of A.D. 260-268. According to Abramić, most of these altars are set up for the success of the troops, but the biggest one was dedicated to the well-being of Gallienus. Abramić (1925), p.182, #245. See also: Vermaseren (1960), p.197, #1595-1596; Zotović (1973), p.56; and Selem (1980), p.132.

7. Marble slab (*AIJ* 312) broken in two parts measuring 91 x 44 x 11cm. The inscription, according to Hoffiler and Saria reads:

S(oli) I(nvicto) M(ithrae) / SEX(tus) VIB(ius) HERMES AVG(ustalis) / C(oloniae) V(lpiae) T(raianae) P(oetovionensis) SIGN(um) ARGENT(eum) / CVM BASE SVA D(ono) D(edit) / CVM SVIS PATRE / PROS(edente) L(ucio) VERNASIO / HERACLIDA

Vermaseren, Selem and Abramić offer an alternative reading to *PROS(edente)* as *PROS(tante)*. Abramić (1925), p. 186, #246; Vermaseren (1960), p.197, #1597-1598; and Selem (1980), pp.126-127. Selem believes that the two men mentioned on the inscription are of Oriental origin. Selem (1980), p.127. If we are to believe Clauss, the use of the formula

D(ono) D(edit) suggests that the worshipper may be of Italian origin, or at least, that he was initially introduced to the cult and worshipped in Italy, since, as Clauss points out, this formula is specific and well-spread among the Italian Mithraea. Additionally, Clauss further argues the hypothesis that Hermes was Italian, stating that : “...all known priests in Pannonia Superior are of Italian origin.” Clauss (2000), pp.38-39. According to Abramić, the formula used to invoke Mithras (*S.I.M.*) indicates that this dedication predates the reign of Gallienus, and that it may have been originally placed in the second Mithraeum. Abramić (1925), p.186, #246. Selem expresses doubts about this conclusion believing that the inscription forms part of the original building phase of the third Mithraeum. He likewise points out that the word *pater* here refers to a member of the highest degree of Mithraism, and not a relative. Selem (1980), p.127. See also: Curk (1972), p.14; and Zotović (1973), pp.56-57.

8. Two fragments of an altar (*AIJ* 318) made of white marble, badly damaged. The inscription reads:

*D(eo) [S(oli) I(nvicto) M(ithrae)] / PR[O SALVTE] / ATT[I ----] / SAT[VRNINI?] / ARI[----]
/ VIK(arius?)*

Selem suggests that if we take *VIK* in the last line as *VIK(arius)*, then this inscription becomes one of the “civilian” inscriptions belonging to the first building phase of the Mithraeum. Additionally, interpreting the last line as *vikarius* could also signal continuity of worship among customs officials. Selem (1980), pp.127-128. Selem also believes that *ATT* in line 3 could be interpreted as Attius or Attidius; signaling perhaps a connection with the deity Attis. Selem (1980), p.128. See also: Vermaseren (1960), p.195, #1588; and Zotović (1973), p.57.

9. Two fragments of a slab (*AIJ* 319) made of white marble which are badly damaged. The inscription reads:

[ELE]VAVIT IN MODVM SOLIS / [CA]VTI ET CAVTOPATI IN ONOR[EM]

See: Vermaseren (1960), p.194, #1581; Zotović (1973), p.57; and Selem (1980), p.133.

10. Fragment of an altar (*AIJ* 320) made of white marble and measuring 20 x 15 x 0,8cm. The inscription is very badly damaged:

----] COI [----] / [----] C [----

Zotović (1973), p.58.

11. Four fragments of the same marble slab (*AIJ* 321).

I. ----](*pro*) *SALV*(*te*)[----

----]TE[----

II. ----]ORVM *S*[----

----]S *SENIVS*[----

III. ----]VM[----

----]SENIV[----

IV. ----]C[----

Zotović points out that while the four fragments appear to belong to the same slab, they do not form any coherent inscription. Zotović (1973), p.58.

12. Fragment from a white marble altar (*AIJ* 320) measuring 34 x 18 x 0,8cm. According to Zotović, the inscription reads:

----]TVTIAM[----

Zotović (1973), p.58.

Selem interprets the inscription as:

TVLIAN[---- or *IVLIAN*[----

Selem (1980), p.133. See also: Vermaseren (1960), #1587.

13. Fragment measuring 0,35 x 13 x 0,5cm. The only letters visible are:

----]EO[----

Selem (1980), p.133.

14. Fragment of a relief scene made of white marble and measuring 18 x 22 x 0,4cm.

Although it was found in the third Mithraeum, the inscription appears to be a

dedication to Silvanus, as the relief partially depicts Silvanus next to a dog and a man wearing a toga. Selem (1980), p.133. The inscription reads:

FLA(vius) IVSTIANVS [PRO SAL(ute) SVA SVORVM]QVE OMNIV[M]

According to Selem, the connection between the gods Silvanus and Mithras is also displayed on a dedication from Emona (*ILJ* 302). Selem believes that the joint worship of Mithras and Silvanus was popular among the Illyrians. Selem (1980), p.77. See also: Abramić (1925), p.188, #251; and Vermaseren (1960), #1604-1605.

In addition to the dedications originating from the site of this Mithraeum, four further inscriptions were discovered in close proximity to this Mithraeum. These are:

1. Statue base (*CIL* III 4094 = *AIJ* 290) made of white marble and measuring 53 x 34 x 24cm. The inscription reads:

*D(eo) [S(oli)] I(nvicto) M(ithrae) / [----] I [----] I [----] / [----] I [----] ITI [----] / T(itus?) [---
-] IVL[IVS] or [IANVS] / [----] V [----] / [P(ublici)] P(ortorii) ILL(yrici) VIL(icus)[----] I / [-
---] EI[----*

Vermaseren notes that in line 6 we could read *VIL(icus)* or *VIL(ici) VIC(arius)*. Vermaseren (1960), p.181, #1506-1507. See also: Zotović (1973), p.58; and Selem (1980), p.105.

2. Votive altar measuring 80 x 47 x 30cm discovered in 1965 at Zgornji Breg. The inscription reads:

*CAVTI / PRO SALVTE FL(avii) / HERMADIONIS / ET AVITI SYRIAC(i) / ET FILIORVM /
FELIX LIBERT(us)*

Selem believes that Felix was a freedman of the two Syrian individuals mentioned. Selem (1980), p.128. See also: Šubić (1967), p.188; and Zotović (1973), p.58.

3. Fragment of an altar made of marble and measuring 20 x 38 x 12cm. The inscription is badly damaged but the following can be made out:

----]IAM VI / KAL(endis?) APR(ilis)

According to Selem, the inscription may mention a religious festival or a holiday. Selem (1980), p.133. See also: Vermaseren (1960), #1611.

4. Inscription on a pottery piece. It reads:

VALERIVS M [----] / D(ono) D(at)

According to Clauss, the abbreviation “DD” – *D(ono) D(at)* or *D(onum) D(edit)* is a specific formulaic feature of Mithraic dedications from Italy. The appearance of this formula outside of Italy could signify an Italian newcomer who had previously belonged to an Italian Mithraeum and had brought with him his particular manner of worship. Clauss (2000), pp.38-39. See also: Selem (1980), pp.139-140.

**CATALOGUE OF MITHRAIC DEDICATIONS FROM POETOVIO: FOURTH
MITHRAEUM (MUZEJSKI TRG, possibly circa third-fourth century A.D.)**

1. Votive altar (*CIL* III 4039) made of white marble. Discovered in 1880 in front of the Dominican monastery. Selem (1980), pp.140-142. The inscription reads:

*TEMPLVM DEI SOL(is) INV(icti) MIT(hrae) / AVRE[L(ius)] IVSTI / NIANVS V(ir)
P(erfectissimus) / DVX / LABEFA / CTATVM RE / STITVIT*

According to Cagnat and Goyau the use of the term *V(ir) P(erfectissimus)* dates this inscription to after A.D. 201, as this term was not in use before then. Cagnat and Goyau (1891), p.250. Horvat *et al.* believe that this inscription marks the restoration of the fourth Mithraeum in the fourth century A.D. Horvat *et al.* (2003), p. 162. Selem agrees with Horvat *et al.*, stating that the inscription must date either to the end of the third century or the beginning of the fourth century A.D. He also notes that the dedicator, Aurelius Iustinianus, was most probably a senior equestrian, as indicated by his title. Selem (1980), pp.140-142. As concerns the other titlature of Iustinianus, *dux labefactatum*, the present author was unable to find any other reference to this title; and is thus unable to offer any firm explanation of the post. In the context of accompanying inscriptions from this Mithraeum, it is unlikely that this was a military post, since none of Iustinianus' fellow dedicants display military titles. However, counter-arguments could be offered based on the fact that, firstly, a large number of inscriptions from this Mithraeum are incomplete and thus an absence of military personnel cannot be confirmed with certainty. Secondly, it could be argued that the title of *dux*, previously existing in a military context, continues to thrive in the same context. Millar (1993), p.191. Thirdly, the possibility that Iustinianus was indeed a military man who set up a dedication on a visit to Poetovio cannot be excluded. This would explain why his dedication stands out when compared to others from this Mithraeum. If we are to take the anti-military approach, and argue that *dux labefactatum* was a civilian post, we could point out, firstly, that it is unlikely that Iustinianus was a military man on a visit to Poetovio as his dedication refers to his refurbishment of the Mithraeum. Why would a man, who is simply passing through the city, finance a refurbishment of that city's temple? Thus, it is more likely that Iustinianus was a resident of Poetovio. As Poetovio was a well-established administrative centre, it is possible that the post of *dux labefactatum* was one of the senior administrative offices created in the

late Empire. Moreover, due to the fact that this post is not recorded anywhere else, it is perhaps possible that this was some official title local to the Poetovian administration. Until further evidence of this post is found, however, no certain theory can be offered on the nature of the post or on the duties associated with it. See also: Premerstein (1886), p.235; Cumont (1896-1899), p.145, #354; Klemenc and Saria (1939), p.39, #32; Vermaseren (1960), p.199, #1614; Mikl (1960-1961), pp.165-167; Mikl (1962), pp.212-218; Zotović (1973), p.59; and Šubić (1977), pp.93-94, #5.

2. Votive altar (*CIL* III 4041) made of white marble. The inscription reads:

D(eo) S(oli) I(nvicto) M(ithrae) / SACRVM [M(arcus)] STATIVS M(arci) F(ilius) / SATVRNINVS / PRO STATIO / [CA]SSIANO F[R]A[T]RE / EX VOTO

Selem suspects that the use of *frater* indicates kinship as well as religious affiliation. Selem (1980), p.143. Clauss notes that it was not uncommon to see kinship relations displayed on Mithraic inscriptions, as membership to the cult was encouraged between male members of a family, and several generations could be attested. Clauss (2000), p.39. See also: Cumont (1896-1899), p.145, #355; Vermaseren (1960), p.200, #1615; Mócsy (1959), p.215; and Zotović (1973), p.59.

3. Votive altar (*CIL* III 4040) made of white marble. The inscription reads:

SOLI SA[CR(um)] C(aius) / DOMIT[IVS] / HERM[ES] / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

Selem notes that the dedicator is probably of Graeco-Oriental origin. Selem (1980), p.143. See also: Cumont (1896-1899), p.149, #388; Abramić (1925), p.147, #173; Vermaseren (1960), p.200, #1618; and Zotović (1973), p.59.

4. Votive altar (*CIL* III S 10874) made of white marble. According to Selem it was reused along the Ptuj - Karčevina road. Selem (1980), p.143. The inscription reads:

DE[O SOLI INVICTO] / MITHR[AE----SEC] / VND[VS PRO SECVND(?)]INO F[ILIO ----] AN[----]

Mócsy believes that Secundinus is either an autochthonous or an Oriental name. Mócsy (1959), p.214. See also: Cumont (1896-1899), p.145, #357; Vermaseren (1960), p.200, #1617; and Zotović (1973), p.59.

In addition to these dedications, two further dedications were discovered in the vicinity. Horvat *et al.* (2003), p.162, believe that their close proximity to the fourth Mithraeum would seem to indicate that they originated from this site rather than from any of the other Mithraea. These are:

1. Stone slab discovered in the Vičava part of Ptuj in 1965. The slab is made of marble and measures 0,8 x 15 x 0,3cm . It depicts the head and torso of Sol and part of a *Cautopates*. The depiction resembles the one found on *AIJ* 303. The inscription reads:

D(eo) I(nvicto) M(ithrae) A[----] / ET AVR(elius) V[----]

The name Aurelius signals that the monument may date from the post - *constitutio Antoniniana* period. Selem (1980), p.144. See also: Šubić (1967), pp.187-188; and Zotović (1973), p.59.

2. Votive altar (*CIL* III 4042) which is very damaged. The inscription reads:

D(eo) I(nvicto) M(ithrae) / [---- RI] / RINNI ET / D [----] IVI / [---- TVR / PELLVI / II

It was discovered in Vurberg part of Ptuj in 1827. It was subsequently moved to Ptuj. See: Cumont (1896-1899), p.145, #356; Saria (1933), pp.127-128; Vermaseren (1960), p.200, #1616; Zotović (1973), pp.59-60; and Selem (1980), p.143.

CATALOGUE OF NUTRICES DEDICATIONS FROM POETOVIO: SPODNJA HAJDINA SANCTUARY

1. Votive altar (*CIL* III 14051 = *AIJ* 331) measuring 30 x 35cm, discovered by Gurlitt at Spodnja Hajdina in 1895. Only the upper part of the altar is preserved. The inscription is very badly damaged. It reads:

NVTRICI / BVS AVG(ustis)

See: Gurlitt (1896), p.3; Wigand (1915), p.211; and Šašel Kos (1999), p.161.

2. Votive relief (*CIL* III 14052) discovered by Gurlitt at Spodnja Hajdina in 1895. The relief is very badly damaged, only the feet of (a presumably seated Nutrix?) can be seen. The inscription reads :

*[NVTRI]CIBVS AVG(ustis) [SACRVM] / [THEOP]HILVS AVG(usti) [S(ervus) ----] / [PRO
SAL]VTE THE[OPHILI ----] / [V(otum)] S(olvit) L(ibens) [M(erito)]*

The dedicator is most likely of Greek or Oriental origin. He identifies himself as an imperial slave, although the dedication is too damaged to deduce his function. Given the fact that Poetovio was a large administrative and customs centre, it is likely that he may have worked in the customs offices, like Aeliodorus below (*CIL* III 14062). Šašel Kos dates the inscription to the latter part of the second century A.D. Šašel Kos (1999), p.160. See also: Gurlitt (1896), p.7; and Wigand (1915), pp.209-210.

3. Votive inscription (*CIL* III 14053 = *AIJ* 332) measuring 24 x 37 cm, and discovered by Gurlitt in 1895 in proximity of the Nutrices sanctuary in Spodnja Hajdina (parcel no. 1077). The inscription is accompanied by a relief broken in four pieces and depicting four figures. A Nutrix is sitting on the right side of the relief holding a child. The bottom half of the Nutrix is broken off. The mother of the child is placed in the middle, holding an offering over an altar, perhaps bread, fruit or meat. To the left of the mother-figure a large, cylindrical object rests on the ground; it may be a receptacle of some sort. Gurlitt believes this to be a portable incense altar. The third figure, which occupies the far-left side of the relief, is perhaps an attendant. She holds a

basket on her head (presumably bringing more offerings). Šašel Kos (1999), pp. 156-157. The inscription is partly damaged, but the following can be made out :

[N]V[TRI(cibus)] AVG(ustis) / AV[R(elius)] VIA[T]O[R?] / D[----E]X VO(to) PO(suit)

Šašel Kos dates the inscription to late second century or early third century A.D. Aurelius Viator is thus most likely a newly-minted citizen. He may possibly be of autochthonous origin, as several persons bearing that *cognomen* are found in Pannonia, such as AE 1994, 1452 from Sirmium, and AE 1993, 1574, a soldier with the *legio II Parthica* stationed in Syria, who is identified as “*natione Pannonius*”. Šašel Kos (1999), p.157. See also: Gurlitt (1896), p.1; Wigand (1915), pp.198-201; and Diez (1993), pp.251-262, fig. #15.

4. Votive relief (*CIL* III 14054 = *AIJ* 333) measuring 13 x 20cm. Discovered at Spodnja Hajdina parcel no. 1077. Both the inscription and the relief are only partly preserved. The relief only features the covered heads of two women (perhaps a mother and an attendant?). According to Wigand, the woman on the left carries a caryatid. The inscription, unusually placed above the relief, reads :

[N]VTRECIB(us) AV[G(ustis)] S]ACR(um) SATI[----

The unusual spelling of the goddess' invocation is to be noted : Nutrecibus instead of Nutricibus. Šašel Kos dates the inscription to either the second or the third century A.D. Wigand remarks on the low quality of lettering. Combined with the alternative spelling, this may indicate a worshipper of low financial means, who may not have been able to afford a better stone cutter. Unfortunately since the name of the worshipper is not preserved, we are unable to comment on his/her cultural background. Šašel Kos (1999), pp.157-158. See also: Gurlitt (1896), pp.5-6; and Wigand (1915), pp.204-205.

5. Votive relief (*CIL* III 14055) discovered by Gurlitt in 1895, and measuring 11 x 10cm. Both the relief and the inscription are damaged. On the relief only the lower part of a seated Nutrix can be seen. The inscription reads:

[NVTRICIB(us) AVG(ustis) P]RO SAL(ute) / [----]SVS V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

The dating of this dedication is similar to the ones above. Again, no comment may be made on the dedicator as his/her name is not preserved. See: Gurlitt (1896), p.6; Wigand (1915), p.210; and Šašel Kos (1999), p.161.

6. Votive relief (*CIL* III 14056 = *AII* 334) with an inscription measuring 42 x 22cm. Discovered at Spodnja Hajdina parcel no. 1077. Only one figure is preserved on the relief, presumably a young attendant holding a basket on her head and a cylindrical object (perhaps a vessel?) in her hand. Her feet are bare and her hair is pulled back. Another pair of feet to her right can be seen as well. The inscription reads :

[NV]TRICIBVS AVG(ustis) [SACR(um) PRO SAL(ute)] / [BE]NIGNES VITA[LIS----
POSVIT?]

Šašel Kos dates the inscription to the second or the third century A.D. Our dedicator's name may indicate that he is of Italic origin. Šašel Kos (1999), p.158. See also: Wigand (1915), pp.202-203.

7. Votive relief (*CIL* III 14057) which was also discovered by Gurlitt in 1895. Both the inscription and the relief are very badly damaged. What can be made out of the inscription reads:

[NVTRI]CIB(us) [AVG(ustis)----] / [PRO] SAL(ute) FI[NITE?-----]

See: Šašel Kos (1999), p.161.

8. *Tabula ansata* (*CIL* III 14059) discovered by Gurlitt. The inscription reads :

NVTR[ICIB(us) AVG(ustis) SACR(um) ACHE----] / LOVS [---- PRO SAL(ute)] / AEL(ii or
iae) [----]

Šašel Kos dates the inscription to late second century A.D. Although the name of the dedicator is damaged, it is likely that he is of Greek or Oriental origin. Šašel Kos (1999), p.160. See also: Gurlitt (1896), p.7; and Wigand (1915), p.211.

9. Two fragments (*CIL* III 14060) which are very badly damaged. The first fragment reads :

[NVTRICIB(us)] AV[G(ustis)----]

The second fragment reads :

[----]VIT[----]

It must be pointed out again that the dedicatory formula does not survive and we can only identify this inscription through associations. See: Šašel Kos (1999), p.162.

10. Fragment (*CIL* III 14061) discovered by Gurlitt within the temple. It is very badly damaged. The inscription reads :

[----] / [----*PRO SAL(ute)*] / [----*H*]*ONORATI* / [*V(otum) S(olvit)*] *L(ibens) M(erito)*

It is to be noted that the direct invocation of the Nutrices is missing, thus this inscription can only be identified through its location and association with other dedications. See: Šašel Kos (1999), pp.161-162.

11. Votive relief (*CIL* III 14062 = *AIJ* 335) which is badly damaged. On the right side of the relief only two feet can be seen, where on the left side only the bottom part of a robe can be seen. Between the two figures there is an altar which features the letters *AVG*. According to Šašel Kos, presumably the small altar within the relief would have featured the dedication : *NVTRICIBVS AVGVSTIS*. Šašel Kos (1999), pp.159-160. Below the relief is the dedicatory inscription. The whole dedication would have read :

[*NVTR(icibus?)*] / *AVG(ustis)* / *AELIODORVS C(ontrascriptor)* / *S(ervus) AVG(usti) N(ostri)*
EX VOTO POS(uit)

According to Šašel Kos the inscription can be dated to the late second century or the early third century A.D. The dedicator is most likely of Greek or Oriental origin. To the present author's knowledge, this name is attested only two other times (*CIL* XIII 7333 and *AE* 1961, 331). One dedicator (*AE* 1961, 331) identifies himself as "*natione Greca civis Tarsus Cilicia*", indicating that he may have been of mixed Greek/Oriental background. It is possible that our dedicator had a similar mixed origin. Our dedicator identifies himself as an imperial slave. According to Weaver, the term "*N(ostri)*" employed here emphasises the relationship between a slave and his master, as well as perhaps denoting personal attachment. This particular formula (*S(ervus) AVG(usti) N(ostri)*), however, is uncommon, and may denote a provincial variant. Our dedicator's professional title, *contrascriptor*, a post typically occupied by slaves, indicates that he was a mid-level official within the customs service, most likely a customs collector. Weaver (1972), p.54, p.57, p.202, and p.235; and Šašel Kos (1999), pp.159-160.

12. Two pieces (*CIL* III 14355 = *CIL* III 14058 and *CIL* III 13411) of a marble slab. The first piece was discovered in 1895 in Spodnja Hajdina, and the second piece in or before 1892, east of where the first piece was discovered, on parcel no. 1070/2. No relief was found accompanying the inscription. The complete dedication reads:

[NVTRICIBV]S AV[G(ustis) S]ACRVM IV[L---] / [---E]X VOT[O] POSVIT [PRO] / [SE ET] SV[IS] V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) [M(erito)]

Šašel Kos believes that the inscription can be dated to the second or third century A.D. The name of the dedicator is too badly damaged in order to give any speculation on his background. Šašel Kos (1999), p.157. See also: Gurlitt (1896), p.8; and Wigand (1915), p.211.

13. Votive relief (*CIL* III 15184,25 = *AIJ* 327) measuring 34 x 37 x 8cm (according to Šašel Kos), or 34 x 33 x 5cm (according to Wigand). The relief was discovered in the second Mithraeum. It is badly damaged and is broken into several pieces, but three figures can be made out. On the right side a Nutrix is sitting holding a small child on her lap. She has long hair but her head is not covered. The child appears too large to be nursing. The Nutrix is extending her hand to another small, naked child, who is positioned in the middle of the relief. Wigand believes that the Nutrix is offering a piece of fruit to this child, or possibly vice-versa. On the left side of the relief we have a partial depiction of an attendant holding a tray with, presumably, bread loaves. The inscription below the relief reads:

NVTR[I]CIBVS PRO SA(lu)TE / IVCVND[A]E DOMINAE ET HER / [A]CLITI FILI(i) PH[ILO?] PATER V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

An alternative reading to the last two lines may be: *THER[M]ON E[T] FILI P(ublici) P(ortorii) (servi)*; however, Šašel-Kos deems this unsuitable. She dates the inscription to the late second or the early third century A.D. Iucunda, may have been of Italic or autochthonous origin, while Herculitus and Philo were most likely of Greek or Oriental origin. Šašel Kos (1999), pp.158-159. See also: Wigand (1915), pp.193-194; Abramić (1925), pp.78-79; Jevremov (1988), pp.51-52; and Diez (1993), pp.251-262 fig. #7.

14. Votive altar (*CIL* III 15184,26) measuring 71 x 42 x 22cm. It was discovered within the second Mithraeum and it is very badly damaged. The inscription reads:

*NVTRICIB / VS AVG(ustis) P(ublius?) / [----] I A I [----] / VIN S[----] / TITI [----] / I L POS I
N [----] / [----] / [----] S [----] / [----]*

Šašel Kos, M. (1999), p.162. It is interesting to note that Wigand classifies under the same *CIL* entry an equally damaged inscription interpreted entirely differently (whether this is the same inscription with a different interpretation can be debated, since Wigand provides the same place of origin as the inscription above, but different measurements (43 x 100 x 65cm)). The inscription, according to Wigand, reads: *NVTRICIB(us) / AVG(ustis) FL(avius) AVR[EL(ius)] IO / VINVS [ET] [----] / [----] PRO SALVT(e) / L ?[----] AVR[EL(ii)] IO / VINI S [----] / [V(otum) S(olverunt) L(ibentes)] M(erito)* Although both are badly damaged, two similarities exist which could point to the fact that this is the same inscription. Firstly, both versions have the identical break in the invocation of the deities' name, namely that the inscriber in both versions chooses to break off the line in the middle of the invocation. This practice is very unusual when compared with other Nutrices dedications, occurring on only one other dedication (*CIL* III 14051 = *AIJ* 331). Secondly, although the line breaks in the text are not identical, certain similarities can be seen. In the first text, in line four, the word “VIN” on its own makes little sense. It may perhaps be combined with the letter “S” following it to form “VIN(u)S”. The break in front of the word “VIN” would correspond to the break in the name “IO / VINVS” that we see in the second text. This, of course, is a debatable reconstruction due to the nature of the damage. Wigand presumes that the Aurelius Iovinus mentioned on this inscription may be the same Aurelius Iovinus mentioned on an altar *CIL* III 15184, 5 = *AIJ* 300 from the year A.D. 244. Wigand (1915), pp.211-212. Given the post-*constitutio Antoniniana* dating of this dedication as well as the fact that the *cognomen* Iovinus appears on several inscriptions from the Danubian provinces (*CIL* III 13398; *AE* 1955, 63; *CIL* III 3370; and *CIL* III 818, among others), this author is inclined to believe that our dedicator may have been of autochthonous background or even possibly of mixed Italic-autochthonous background.

15. Inscription without relief (*CIL* III 3314), noted by Wigand. It reads :

*NVTRICI[B(us)] AVG(ustis) SACR(um) PRO SALVT(e) [----] / VAL[E]RIAE MAR[C]ELLAE
[----] / [P]ATER V(otum) [S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)]*

According to Wigand, this inscription no longer exists. Wigand (1915), pp.210-211. The dedication dates most likely from the late second/early third century A.D. Valeria Marcella may have been of Italic descent, and perhaps related to the famous *Valerii* from Poetovio.

In addition to the above epigraphic dedications there are ten reliefs which have survived from this sanctuary.

1. Relief measuring 34 x 37 x 8cm which is partially damaged (the bottom left-hand side is missing; and the inscription, if there was one, is missing as well). It was discovered in close proximity to the second Mithraeum, in the year 1899. The relief features two figures. On the right-hand side is a Nutrix who is seated facing the viewer and holding a suckling, swaddled baby on her lap. The Nutrix wears a long robe and has curly hair. On the left-hand side is an attendant woman or the mother, holding a tray of fruit, or loaves of bread on her head. She is dressed in a long belted robe. Šašel Kos dates the relief to the late second or the early third century A.D. Šašel Kos (1999), p.163. See also: Wigand (1915), pp.193-196; Abramić (1925), p.80; Jevremov (1988), pp.50-51; and Diez (1993), fig. #5.
2. Relief in two pieces, the entire measuring 31 x 53 x 6cm. It was discovered within the second Mithraeum. The relief depicts three female figures and three children. On the right-hand side a seated Nutrix is holding a swaddled and suckling baby. In front of the Nutrix there is an altar, and a female figure (presumably the mother) is holding out another child over the altar towards the Nutrix. A little girl is standing behind the mother, holding onto her robe. Behind the little girl a female attendant is holding a basket on her head with one hand and a receptacle of some sort or a blanket with her other hand. According to Šašel Kos the relief dates from the second century A.D. Šašel Kos (1999), pp.163-164. See also: Wigand (1915), p.196; Jevremov (1988), p.54; and Diez (1993), fig. #13.
3. Very badly damaged fragment of a Nutrix, displaying her with both breasts exposed, as a wetnurse, nursing a baby. It would appear that this fragment, along with #4, #5 and #6 below are from the same relief. The fragment measures 13 x 14cm and was

discovered by Gurlitt in proximity of the Nutrices sanctuary in Spodnja Hajdina (parcel no.1077). See: Gurlitt (1896), p.6; Wigand (1915), p.197; and Šašel Kos (1999), p.164.

4. Very badly damaged fragment of a Nutrix measuring 10 x 11 x 8cm and discovered in the second Mithraeum. The fragment features part of a sitting Nutrix with a baby on her breast. The baby's left hand is holding the robes of the mother. See: Wigand (1915), p.197; and Šašel Kos (1999), p.164.
5. Very badly damaged fragment of a Nutrix measuring 25 x 20cm. The fragment was unearthed in proximity of the Nutrices sanctuary in Spodnja Hajdina (parcel no.1077). It shows a seated Nutrix holding a baby in her arms. The Nutrix wears an arm band on her left wrist. See: Gurlitt (1896), p.6; Wigand (1915), pp.197-198; and Šašel Kos (1999), p.164.
6. Very badly damaged fragment of a Nutrix measuring 13 x 20cm. The fragment was unearthed in proximity of the Nutrices sanctuary in Spodnja Hajdina (parcel no.1077). Only the head of the Nutrix can be seen. She sports a curly haircut. See: Gurlitt (1896), p.6; Wigand (1915), p.198; and Šašel Kos (1999), p.164.
7. Two very badly damaged fragments of a relief measuring 30 x 33cm. They were discovered in Spodnja Hajdina on parcel no. 1077. The right-hand side of the relief features a seated Nutrix wearing a short-sleeved dress and holding a child on her knees. The child wears a loose robe and is kicking towards the mother-figure. Standing in the middle of the relief is a woman (perhaps the mother of the child) who is holding the child's hand. On the left-hand side of the relief is a female attendant who is carrying an unidentified (damaged) object on her head. Šašel Kos dates the relief to the second century A.D. Šašel Kos (1999), p.165. See also: Gurlitt (1896), p.4; and Wigand (1915), pp.201-202.
8. Very badly damaged fragment of a relief measuring 24 x 18cm, which was discovered near the Nutrices sanctuary in Spodnja Hajdina (parcel no. 1077). The relief features the upper part of a female attendant holding a tray filled with either fruit or bread. See: Gurlitt (1896), p.3; Wigand (1915), p.203; and Šašel Kos (1999), p.165.

9. Very badly damaged fragment of a relief measuring 17 x 30cm which was discovered by Gurlitt at Spodnja Hajdina (parcel no. 1077). The relief features two heads, one of a female attendant holding what appears to be a basket or a tray on her head with both of her hands; and another of presumably a mother. The mother's hairstyle is odd. Gurlitt believes that her hairstyle (after Otacilia) dates the relief to the middle of the third century A.D. Šašel Kos and Wigand draw attention to the Norico-Pannonian volute featured on the relief. Šašel Kos (1999), p.165; and Wigand (1915), pp.203-204. See also: Gurlitt (1896), p.6.
10. Very badly damaged fragment of a relief measuring 11 x 16cm, which was discovered in close proximity to the Nutrices sanctuary at Spodnja Hajdina (parcel no. 1077). The relief only features the head of the middle figure, presumably the mother. Gurlitt and Šašel Kos believe that the woman's hairstyle dates the relief to the latter part of the second century A.D., as featured on coinage from that time. Šašel Kos (1999), p.165; and Gurlitt (1896), p.6. See also: Wigand (1915), pp.205-206.

CATALOGUE OF NUTRICES DEDICATIONS FROM POETOVIO: ZGORNJI BREG SANCTUARY

1. Votive slab (*AIJ* 329) discovered in 1911 in reuse in a late Roman cemetery. The slab with the relief measures 43 x 45 x 8cm. The relief features a Nutrix on the right-hand side sitting on a throne and cradling a swaddled baby. The Nutrix is an older woman in a long robe with her head covered. There is an altar in the middle of the relief with a flame burning on top. A female figure on the left-hand side holds a tray of bread-loaves or fruit on her head and is about to make an offering. She is dressed in a long belted robe. The woman also holds the hand of a little girl, who is standing behind her on the far-left side of the relief. The little girl is dressed identically to her mother. Both figures are standing on an elevated podium. The inscription below the relief reads:

NVTRICIBVS AVG(ustis) SVCCCESSIVS / MAXIMIANVS ET MALIA VERINA / PRO SAL(ute) SVCCCESSI(a)E VER(a)E FIL(iae) / V(otum) S(olverunt) L(ibentes) M(erito)

Šašel Kos dates the inscription to the second century A.D. Šašel Kos (1999), pp. 166-167. Wigand believes that the inscription is early third century A.D. Wigand (1915), pp.192-193. See also: Rak (1911), pp.176-177; and Diez (1993), fig. #5. Maximianus and his family were most likely of autochthonous Norican origin as the *nomen* Successius is found most commonly in Virunum (*CIL* III 6501; and *AE* 1998, 1016, among others). Considering Poetovio's proximity to Noricum, it is not unusual to find them attested here.

2. Votive slab (*AIJ* 330) measuring 52 x 35 x 6cm. It was discovered in 1911 in reuse as a lid of a burial chamber in a late Roman cemetery southwest of the third Mithraeum, along with the dedication above. Both the relief and the inscription are very well preserved. The relief depicts a sitting Nutrix who is cradling a swaddled baby with both hands. She is holding the child to her left breast, although the child is not suckling since the Nutrix is depicted as fully dressed in a long robe. She is depicted as an older woman with a hood covering her head. Rak describes her appearance as: "Ein Schleier(?) ein langes Gewand mit Überwurf und zwei grossen Fibeln an den Schultern sind ihre Tracht." This leads Wigand to question whether this is a "native"

costume, worn usually by men. The Nutrix is depicted facing the viewer. Placed to the left is a small altar with what appears to be a flame burning on top. Below the relief the inscription reads:

NVTRICIBVS AVG(ustis) / VAL(erius) SECVN<N>DIAN(u)S / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) L(aetus) M(erito)

Šašel Kos dates the inscription to late second or early third century A.D. Wigand and Alföldy, however, prefer the early third century dating. Šašel Kos notes that both the letters and the lines of the text are uneven. The inscriber uses ligature for the letters CVNN in the second line of the inscription, and punctuates the text with two small “x” signs. Šašel Kos (1999), p.167. Wigand chooses to interpret the name Secundianus as: SECV<V>NDIAN(u)S. Since the letters are ligatured, they can be interpreted as CVNN, CVVN or even CVVV, which is far less likely. Secundianus may have been of either autochthonous or Italic heritage, or indeed, if he was a descendant of the famous Valerii from Poetovio, by the time of this dedication, he may very likely have held mixed Italic and autochthonous heritage. See: Rak (1911), pp.177-178; Wigand (1915), pp.189-191; Alföldy (1964), p.139; and Diez (1993), fig. #2.

3. Votive relief (*AII* 325) discovered southwest of the third Mithraeum (Zgornji Breg) in the year 1914. The relief and the inscription measure 47.5 x 69 x 7cm. The relief is framed. In the middle of the relief a sitting Nutrix is facing the viewer, and is depicted holding an unproportionately large child (perhaps one which is three or four years old) to her left breast. The child is naked, while the Nutrix is dressed in a long robe with her hair pinned back in a high bun (although Wigand believes this to be a flat cap). The Nutrix is flanked on either side by two standing women, dressed in long robes similar to the one the Nutrix herself is wearing. Both women are facing the Nutrix. The woman on the right-hand side holds an Omphalos bowl (*patera*) and a blanket (*mappa*); while the woman on the left side holds an *urceus* and what appears to be either a sponge or a dish. The inscription below is framed in a *tabula ansata* and reads:

NVTRICIBVS AVG(ustis) SACRVM / AVRELIVS SIRO PRO SALVTE / AVRELI(i) PRIMIANI V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

Šašel Kos dates the inscription to late second or early third century A.D. Both Šašel Kos and Wigand note that the inscription and the relief are of high quality. Considering the dating of this dedication and the names of the dedicators we may assume that they would have been most likely of autochthonous origin. The name Aurelius indicates that they both received citizenship fairly recently under the *constitutio Antoniniana*; while both the names Siro and Primianus are frequently found in Noricum, Pannonia and Dacia (Primianus: *AE* 1929, 49; *AE* 1964, 185; *CIL* III 3781; *CIL* III 5080, among others. Siro: *CIL* III 873; and *CIL* III 11133, among others). See: Wigand (1915), pp.206-207; Abramić (1925), pp.190-191; Diez (1993), fig. #4; and Šašel Kos (1999), pp.167-168.

CATALOGUE OF NUTRICES DEDICATIONS FROM POETOVIO: PANORAMA SANCTUARY

1. Votive relief (*AE* 1986, 568) set in a frame and measuring 56 x 71 x 10cm. The upper left half of the relief is badly damaged, while the inscription remains intact. The relief depicts, from right to left, a sitting Nutrix, facing the viewer, and holding a child to her left breast. The Nutrix is entirely preserved except for her head. To the left of the Nutrix stands an altar, and next to the altar two standing figures (presumably female). The figure standing closest to the Nutrix holds what appears to be a child extended over the altar and towards the Nutrix. The other figure, presumably a servant woman, holds, according to Šašel Kos, either a bucket or a lantern in her left hand. The relief is too damaged for the two standing figures and the second child to be described in more detail. Below the relief the inscription reads:

*NVTRICIBVS AVG(ustis) SACR(um) T(itus) CASSIVS / VERINVS DEC(urio) COL(oniae)
POET(ovionensium) PRAEF(ectus) FABR(um) PRAEF(ectus) / PRO II VIR(is) ET DONNIA
MAXIMILLA CON(iunx) / PRO SALVTE T(iti) CASSI SEVERI FILI*

Šašel Kos notes that both the inscription and the relief are skilfully executed. She dates them from mid to late second century A.D. In terms of peculiarities concerning the inscription it is to be noted that the letters “E” and “T” in the word *POET* are reversed and ligatured; as well as the letters “A” and “E” in both the abbreviations *PRAEF* are ligatured, with the “F” in the second *PRAEF* spilling over into the frame of the inscription. Otherwise, the letters are regular, and the words separated by interpuncts. There are no interpuncts, however, between the words *PRO II VIR*. Line four is unusual with respect to the fact that the words are more spaced out than in the preceding lines. See: Tušek (1986), p.349; Jevremov (1988), pp.58-59; Diez (1993), p.226, #15; and Šašel Kos (1999), pp.169-170.

2. Votive relief (*CIL* III 4052/3 = *AIJ* 328) measuring 53 x 32cm which is severely damaged. It appears to have been found in 1800 on the outskirts of the Medieval town of Ptuj. Currently only two figures are preserved on the relief. On the left-hand side a sitting Nutrix is facing the viewer and holding an unclothed child to her left breast. Šašel Kos supposes that originally the Nutrix was placed in the middle of the relief,

thus indicating that the left-hand figure (probably another servant girl) was completely erased due to time/misuse. The other figure, to the right of the Nutrix, is a woman wearing a belted dress with long sleeves and carrying a large shell in her hands (Šašel Kos calls this object “a shell-like washbasin”). Šašel Kos (1999), p.170. The inscription below the relief, likewise badly damaged, reads:

*[NVTR(icibus) A]VG(ustis) SACR(um) P(r)O SALV[TE] / [AEL(iae) SECV]NDINES AELI [-
---] / [---- AEL(ius) SE]CVNDINVS DEC(urio) P(osuit?) / [---- CEN]SOR[I]N[O] ET VRS[O
CO(n)S(ulibus)?]*

Wigand and Šašel Kos both date the inscription to the second century A.D. Although both the relief and the inscription are badly damaged, Wigand is of the opinion that this is the most masterfully done Nutrices dedication. Since the inscription is badly damaged, there has been much speculation as to the names mentioned in the last line of the text. Šašel Kos is of the opinion that the people referred to here are neither the dedicators nor family members. Her interpretation of these men as consuls falls in line with Saria and Kubitschek's views, although she does point out that those particular consular names are unrecorded up to date. It is likely that the dedicators are autochthonous Pannonians who gained citizenship under Hadrian. The name Secundinus is commonly found in Pannonia, Dacia, Dalmatia and Noricum. See: Liebenam (1909), p.64; Wigand (1915), pp. 207-208; Abramić (1925), p.148 and p.150; Klemenc and Saria (1939); Degrassi (1952), p.117; Leunissen (1989); and Diez (1993), fig. #5.

3. Votive relief (AE 1986, 569) measuring 62 x 71 x 10cm. The upper right-hand side of the relief is broken off, as well as the lower left-hand side of the inscription. The relief depicts three adult figures and two children. On the far-right a Nutrix clothed in a long-sleeve dress is sitting and holding a baby to her left breast. The head of the Nutrix has been broken off. The baby which she is holding is swaddled and wears a cap on its head. To the left of the Nutrix is an altar. A female figure standing in the middle of the relief holds an older child over the altar, extending it to the Nutrix. The female figure (presumably the mother) is dressed in a long robe and has her hair tied back in a bun. Lastly, to the far left of the relief is (presumably) a servant girl, attired not unlike the mother, who holds a basket on her head, gripping a handle in each hand

(Šašel Kos believes that these are “ribbons” and not handles). Šašel Kos (1999), p.171. Below the relief the inscription reads:

*NVTRICIBVS AVG(ustis) SACRVM L(ucius) FVSC(inius) / [E?]XSVPERATVS AVG(ustalis)
COL(oniae) POET(ovionensium) ET / [AE?]LIA HONORATA PRO SALVTE / [---
F?]VSCINI HONORATI FIL(ii) V(otum) S(oluerunt)*

Šašel Kos dates the inscription to the middle of the second century A.D. She notes that both the relief and the inscription are very well executed; the letters are even and adequately spaced featuring interpuncts between the words. The letters of the word *ET* in the second line are reversed and ligatured. Due to the damage to the inscription the first word of the third line could be the name Aelia, or even Iulia. *AE* and Tušek choose to interpret the missing letters as “FI”, thus giving *FILIA HONORATA*; however, Šašel Kos deems this unlikely. The *nomen* Fuscinius is uncommon, with the present author only being able to find four recorded instances, one in Pannonia, Noricum, Africa Proconsularis and Germania Inferior each. The *cognomen* Exsuperatus, likewise uncommon, occurs most frequently in Pannonia (*AE* 2003, 1406; *AE* 2009, 1063; and *ILJug* 02, 1135, among others), leading us to conclude that the dedicator and his family may possibly have been of autochthonous descent. Honorata’s *nomen* would lead us to conclude that her family obtained citizenship quite recently, under Hadrian, indicating perhaps an autochthonous origin in her case as well. See: Tušek (1986), pp.349-350; Jevremov (1988), pp.59-60; and Diez (1993), p.226, #10.

4. Votive relief (*AE* 1986, 567) measuring 60 x 58 x 7cm. The left side of the relief is badly damaged, with almost half the relief missing. Three figures are depicted on the relief: the first on the far right is a sitting Nutrix clothed in a long robe and holding a baby to her left breast. Next to the Nutrix is an altar, and a female figure in the middle of the relief is placing an offering on the altar, perhaps fruit or loaves of bread or cakes. The woman’s feet are missing due to the damage on the relief. The third figure, of which only the head and a part of a forearm can be seen, is presumably a servant woman, as she holds a tray or a basket on her head, propping it up with her forearm. This relief is particular in the fact that each of the figures is placed under an arch. The spandrels between the figures are decorated with chalices and two rosettes feature on the upper left and right corners of the relief. The inscription below the relief is also severely damaged. It reads:

*[NVTRICIB(us)] AVG(ustis) AELIA VERA / [PRO SALVTE? ----]IAR ANTONIAE [F(iliae)?]
/ [---- ANTON?]I FILI V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)*

According to Šašel Kos, the relief can be dated to the mid or the late second century A.D. Šašel Kos (1999), pp.171-172. The reading of the inscription is very uncertain. Šašel Kos suggests an alternate reading to the lines two and three as: *[PRO SALVTE FIL]IAR(um) ANTONIAE [ET?]* / *[---- ET ANTON]I FILI V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)*. It is to be remarked that the relief is well executed and that the letters are even and adequately spaced. Our dedicator's family may have received citizenship recently, under Hadrian, indicating perhaps that she is of autochthonous origin. See: Tušek (1986), p.349; Jevremov (1988), pp.57-58; and Diez (1993), p.226, #17.

5. Votive relief (*AE* 1986, 566) measuring 46 x 60 x 10cm. The relief is badly damaged, only two partial figures can be seen in addition to one of the children. The Nutrix, who was presumably holding a suckling baby, is completely missing. In the middle of the relief a woman clothed in a long dress with her hair tied in a bun is holding a child (presumably) over an altar, which is also missing. To her left is a servant woman, dressed not unlike the mother figure, holding a tray of bread loaves or cakes on her head. The woman holds the tray with both hands. Both women are missing the lower part of their bodies (*id est*, feet) due to the damage on the relief. The whole relief scene is set in a frame. The unusual feature of this relief is that the inscription is produced in a single line on top of the relief, and not in multiple lines below the relief as has been the feature of other Nutrices dedications. The inscription, damaged as well, reads:

NVTRICIBVS AVG(ustis) SACR(um) P(ublius) MI[----

Šašel Kos dates the inscription from the mid to the late second century A.D. Šašel Kos (1999), pp.172-173. It is to be remarked that both the relief and the inscription are very well executed. *AE* suggests expanding "MI" to Minucius or Mindius, however, this is a conjecture as only a part of the third letter can be seen, and may not necessarily signify that it is an "N". All we can deduce from the dedicator's name was that he held Roman citizenship. See: Tušek (1986), p.348; Jevremov (1988), pp.55-56; and Diez (1993), p.226, #9.

6. Votive relief (AE 1986, 565) measuring 41 x 46 x 7cm. The relief is slightly damaged along the sides. It depicts three female adult figures and two children. On the far right, a sitting Nutrix, clothed in a long robe, is holding a baby to her left breast. The baby's and the Nutrix's heads are damaged, supposedly the child is suckling. To the left of the Nutrix is placed an altar. A mother figure, placed in the middle of the relief, is holding an older child over the altar, extending it to the Nutrix. The mother is likewise clothed in a long robe featuring numerous folds. To the far left, standing next to the mother figure, a servant girl is depicted. She is clothed not unlike the mother. She is propping up with both her arms a tray or a basket which is filled with either fruit, cakes or bread, and is resting on the servant girl's head. Below the relief is an inscription:

NVTRICIBVS AVGVSTIS / DEIS AVRFLIVS SERVANDVS ET / VLPIA SECVNDINA PRO SECVMDINO / ET SERVATO FILIS VOTVM / V(otum) S(olverunt) L(ibentes) M(erito)

Šašel Kos dates the inscription to either the late second or the early third century A.D. Both the relief and the inscription are very clumsily executed. In terms of the inscription itself a few major observations are to be made. Firstly, both the letters and the lines of the text are very irregular. Secondly, apart from the formula *V.S.L.M.*, the inscriber does not use abbreviations. This is highly unusual when compared to the other Nutrices dedications. Thirdly, there is a rampant misuse of interpuncts in the text. Some words are separated in half by interpuncts, while in other instances, words which should be separated by interpuncts are not. Punctuation included, the text resembles the following: *NVTRICI·BVS AVG·VSTIS / DEIS AV·RFLIVS· SER·VANDVS ET· / VLPIA· SECV·NDINA PRO SECVMDINO / ET SERVATO· FILIS· VOTVM· / VSLM·* Fourthly, it is quite obvious that the “M” in *SECVMDINO* should be replaced by an “N”. Likewise, the inscriber made a mistake in the word *AVRFLIVS*; the “F” should be an “E”. The low quality and rampant errors of the dedication indicate perhaps worshippers of low economic status who may not have had sufficient funds to hire a better stonecutter. The names of our dedicators would tend to indicate that they may have been of autochthonous origin, with Servandus' family gaining citizenship most likely under Caracalla, and Secundina's family under Trajan. The *cognomen* Servandus may indicate servile origins. See: Tušek (1986), p.348; Jevremov (1988), pp.61-62; Diez (1993), p.226, #11; and Šašel Kos (1999), p.173.

7. Votive relief (*AII* 324) measuring 30 x 25 x 6cm. The relief was first found on August 28th, 1937 on 8 Krekova Street. This location can be approximately equated with where the Roman cemetery would have been. The relief is badly damaged, the left and upper sides are missing. Only two figures (one partial) can be made out. On the right-hand side of the relief a sitting Nutrix, dressed in a long robe and with her left breast exposed, is suckling a baby. The Nutrix is facing the viewer. The baby appears to be swaddled. To the left of the Nutrix an altar is placed. A woman (presumably) dressed in a long robe is placing an offering on the altar. Her head is badly damaged, so it must be presumed that this is indeed a woman according to the precedent set on other Nutrices reliefs. It appears that the woman is holding a *patera* in her hand and is making an offering of fruit. The inscription, placed below the relief reads:

[*NVTRICIBVS AVG(ustis) ---- L]AETVS ET AVR(elia) EXXVPER / [ATA PRO SAL(ute) ---- E]XXVPERATI V(otum) S(olverunt) L(ibentes) M(erito)*

Šašel Kos dates the inscription to the late second or the early third century A.D. Since the inscription is likewise badly damaged, Šašel Kos notes that *NVTRICIBVS* could have been abbreviated as well. Saria gives an alternate interpretation of lines one and two, turning Aurelia Exxuperata into Aurelius Exxuperatus. Šašel Kos does not believe this hypothesis as she notes that in all the other cases of Nutrices dedications, when there are two dedicators they are usually parents, thus one male and one female. Given the dating of this dedication and our dedicator's name it is possible her family may have been of autochthonous origins, gaining citizenship under Caracalla. See: Jevremov (1988), pp.52-53; Diez (1993), p.226, #16; and Šašel Kos (1999), pp.173-174.

8. Votive relief (*AE* 1986, 564) measuring 53 x 80 x 12cm. The relief is well preserved. It is unusual in the scene that it depicts. Three adult figures and three children are present. In the centre of the relief is a mother figure making an offering over a three-legged altar. The mother holds the hand of a little girl with her left hand and what appears to be a *patera* with her right hand. The mother figure is flanked by two sitting Nutrices on each side, each Nutrix holding a baby to her left breast. The Nutrices are dressed in long robes and their heads are covered. The babies are swaddled. The scene is unusual in the fact that it deviates from the Nutrix/mother/servant girl type. Also,

unusual is the three-legged altar and the fact that the Nutrices' heads are covered. This relief is accompanied by an inscription below:

*NVTRICIBVS AVG(ustis) SACR(um) / VITALIS ET VI[N]TVMILA CONIVGI PRO
MAXIMILLA F(ilia) / V(otum) S(olverunt) L(ibentes) M(erito)*

Šašel Kos dates the inscription to late second or early third century A.D. The surface of the inscription is worn out, thus it is difficult to interpret certain letters. Šašel Kos is especially concerned with the interpretation of the name VINTVMILA, as the letter "N" in the name is badly damaged. She believes that the name could be a *hapax*. Judging by the names of the other persons attested, it is likely that our dedicators may have been of autochthonous and/or Celtic origin. See: Tušek (1986), p. 348; Jevremov (1988), p.61; Diez (1993), p.226, #18; and Šašel Kos (1999), pp.174-175.

9. Votive relief (*CIL* III 4047 =*AII* 326) measuring 43 x 36.6cm. Although blackened from having endured a fire, the relief and the inscription are surprisingly well preserved. The relief was first discovered in Ptuj, "in platea versus Traun" according to Peutinger (*CIL* III 4047 entry). It was damaged in a house fire in 1855, having most likely been reused for the building of a house at 3 Cankarjeva Street in Ptuj shortly after its discovery. A sketch of the dedication is to be found in the Codex Augustanus (no.656, fol.44). According to Šašel Kos, it was found anew during the renovations of the same house in 1991, and it still remains there. The relief depicts two adult female figures and one child. On the right-hand side of the relief a Nutrix is sitting and holding a baby to her left breast. The Nutrix wears a long robe featuring numerous folds, and has her hair tied in a bun. To the left of the Nutrix is an altar, and a woman (presumably the mother figure) is standing over the altar and making an offering. Her right hand holds an *urceus*, as she is pouring her offering. According to Šašel Kos, she holds out towards the Nutrix a *patera* in her left hand; although Wigand believes it to be a sponge, and Saria a fruit. The mother figure is dressed similarly to the Nutrix, and her hair is done in the same manner. Below this relief a three-lined inscription is featured:

PRO SALVTE FOR / TVNI POSVIT / FORTVNATVS

According to Šašel Kos the inscription is to be dated to the second century A.D. Of note is the ligature of letters “A” and “L” in line one; and the ivy leaf interpunct at the end of line two. It is interesting to note that the inscription does not explicitly state the deity, although previous scholars have always attributed it to the *Nutrices* due to the imagery on the relief. See: Wigand (1915), pp.208-209; Diez (1993), p.226, #19; and Šašel Kos (1999), pp.174-175.

It is to be noted that one altar (*ILJug* 1963, 341), discovered in Poetovio in 1944, could be presumed to be dedicated to the *Nutrices*, although due to the damage on the inscription this is not certain. The altar is made of marble and measures 51 x 31 x 15.5cm. The inscription reads:

[----] / AVG(ustis) SACR(um) / C(aius) NOVELLIV[S] / VITALIS AVG(ustalis) / COL(oniae)
POET(ovionensis) CVM / VALERIA / SATONIA CON / IVGE / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens)
M(erito)

There are several reasons why this author chooses to believe that this dedication should be classified among the *Nutrices* dedications. Firstly, the invocation *formula* (*Nutricibus Augustis sacrum*) corresponds to the previous examples seen above. Secondly, this dedication fits the pattern of a joint *Nutrices* dedication on the part of a husband and a wife seen previously. According to *ILJug* 1963, 341, Vitalis is a name of Celtic origin, while Satonia is Illyrian. It is to be noted that among dedicators to the *Nutrices*, two other men named Vitalis appear: namely on *CIL* III 14056 and *AE* 1986, 564 above. The *nomen* Novellius occurs frequently in *Regio X* and *Regio XI*, thus our dedicator's family may have been of northern Italian, perhaps Celtic, origin. The same origin is perhaps shared by his wife, who may have belonged to the prominent Valerii family from Poetovio which emigrated from northern Italy. As noted above, the Celtic-sounding *cognomina* of our dedicators may indicate intermarriage and integration with the autochthonous Celtic element. The dedication dates to the second century A.D. See: Alföldy (1964), p.139.

In addition to these, two further votive reliefs without inscriptions were found on the left bank of the Drava river. These are:

1. Votive relief measuring 42 x 56 x 6cm. The relief is damaged on the right-hand side and at the bottom. It features five figures; three standing women and two children. On

the far left is a servant girl, who carries a lamp (perhaps a receptacle of some kind) in her right hand, and holds up a basket filled with fruit or loaves of bread on her head with her left hand. Standing by her is another woman holding a small, swaddled baby. The child's head is pressed to her right breast. Finally, a mother figure holds out an older, naked child over an altar, (presumably) offering it to the Nutrix (the Nutrix and part of the altar are not visible due to the damage on the relief). All three women are dressed in a similar manner: they wear long robes with sleeves cut off at the elbow, and have their hair pinned back in a bun. Šašel Kos presumes that an inscription would have accompanied this relief, but is at present missing. The relief was discovered in 1983 at an orchard in Panorama. Šašel Kos dates it to the second century A.D. See: Tušek (1986), p.349; Jevremov (1988), pp.56-57; Diez (1993), #14; and Šašel Kos (1999), p.176.

2. Votive relief measuring 40 x 58 x 4.5cm. The upper left-hand corner of the relief is missing. The relief features four female figures and two children. On the far right a woman (presumably a servant) is standing facing the viewer and holding a child with both hands. Next to her is a seated Nutrix, holding a baby in her lap. The left breast of the Nutrix is exposed and it appears that the child's head is reaching for it. The Nutrix likewise faces the viewer. In the middle of the relief is the mother figure, kneeling and making an offering on an altar. The last figure, to the far-right of the relief is only partially visible. Due to the damage on the relief her upper body is missing, but we can see that it is most probably a servant woman. She holds in one hand either a receptacle of some sort or a lantern, and in the other hand a loaf of bread or possibly a bowl. The two servant women on the far left and on the far right of the relief are dressed in an identical manner: they both wear long robes with many folds and have short sleeves. Šašel Kos dates the relief to late second or early third century A.D. The relief is immured in a house at 3 Cankarjeva Street in Ptuj, roughly in the area where the Roman cemetery would have been. See: Diez (1993), #20; and Šašel Kos (1999), pp.176-177.

CATALOGUE OF ISIS AND SERAPIS DEDICATIONS FROM POETOVIO

1. Votive altar (*CIL* III 4015) found in St. Martin's church in Spodnja Hajdina. The original provenance is uncertain. The altar was lost in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The inscription reads:

ISIDI / AVG(ustae) / SACRVM / MARTI / ALIS / FIRMINI / Q(uinti) SABINI / VERANI / T(ertiae?) P(artis?) / CONDVC(toris) / PORTORI / ILLYRICI / AR[K]ARI VIC(arius) / VOTO / SVSCEPTO / D(onum) D(at) / SAC(erdotibus) T(ito) FL(avio) / MARTIALE / ET FL(avio) MARVL / LINO FIL(io)

Martialis was a slave in the service of Firminus, who was in his turn employed by Quintus Sabinius Veranus, who is attested on several Mithraic inscriptions of Poetovio. Due to the mention of Veranus, the inscription can be dated to the middle of the second century A.D. It is possible that our other Isaic dedications date from the same period. Selem believes that this inscription proves the existence of the temple of Isis at Poetovio, since it mentions two priests of Isis. Our dedicator's name, Martialis, is commonly found throughout the Empire, thus it is hard to pinpoint his origins. It is possible that he may have been of Oriental origins, due to the predominant number of persons of Oriental descent attested as part of the Illyrian customs service. See: Drexler (1890), p.24; Saria (1937), p.20; Perc (1968), pp.185-186; Vidman (1969), #654; Selem (1972), pp.31-32; and Selem (1980), p.12 and p.35.

2. Statue base (*CIL* III 4016) found in St. Martin's church in Spodnja Hajdina. The original provenance is uncertain. The base has since been mislaid. The inscription reads:

ISIDI / AVG(ustae) / SIGNVM / CVM BAS(i) / VICTORIN(us) / EX VOTO / POSVIT

Selem notes that Victorinus is a common name amongst the worshippers of Isis (see *CIL* III 1684; *CIL* XIV 343 and *CIL* XIV 4290, for example). The name occurs throughout the Empire, thus it is hard to pinpoint our dedicator's origins. Victorinus, like Martialis above, was most likely of servile status. See: Drexler (1890), p.24; Saria (1937), p.20; Perc (1968), p.185; Vidman (1969), #658; Selem (1972), p.33; and Selem (1980), p.14.

3. Bronze *tabula ansata* (CIL III 15184) found in 1898 at Spodnja Hajdina, but is currently located at the Ptuj Museum. The inscription reads:

APOLLINAR(is) / ISID(i) V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

Apollinaris, a Greek or Oriental name, also appears in the customs context in Ampelum in Dacia (CIL III 7837; and Dobó (1940), p.179). Selem believes that the Apollinaris attested here and the Apollinaris attested at the customs office of Ampelum may be the same, although chances of this may be slim, not only due to the distance between the two customs posts, but also because the Apollinaris of Ampelum bears a *tria nomina*, whereas our Apollinaris lacks it. See: Abramić (1925), p.128; Saria (1937), p.22; Perc (1968), p.189; Vidman (1969), #658; Selem (1972), p.33; and Selem (1980), pp.15-16.

4. Bronze *tabula ansata* (AIJ 271) discovered in 1935 at Spodnja Hajdina. Currently located at the Ptuj Museum. The inscription reads:

IS[IDI] / VAL(erius or Valeria?) A [----] / P(ublius) M [----]

Our dedicator's name is very damaged, thus it is hard to divine his/her origins or occupation. He/she may have been of northern Italic origin, since the prominent Valerii from Poetovio are known to have emigrated from northern Italy. Alföldy speculates that it is also possible that this person was a freedman/freedwoman of the Valerii family, which would account for his/her worship of Isis, as the goddess was primarily worshipped by the lower classes. According to Selem, in addition to the mention of two priests of Isis on CIL III 4015, these two *tabulae ansatae* prove as well the existence of a temple of Isis at Poetovio, since they would have hung originally on the walls of the temple. The dedication dates from the second century A.D. See: Saria (1937), pp.22-23; Alföldy (1964), pp.139-140; Perc (1968), pp.189-190; Vidman (1969), #659; Selem (1972), p.33; and Selem (1980), p.16.

5. Votive altar (CIL III 4017) found in 1852 in Ptuj. Current location is unknown. The inscription reads:

[IS]IDI / [MY]RIO / [NY]MAE / [PRO] FRVCTO / [SABI]NI VERANI / [CO]NDVCT(oris) / [----]

The person mentioned on this dedication, Fructus, is likely of Oriental origin, considering his position with the Illyrian customs service, although one must be careful when attributing

nationality on the basis of slave names. He is attested as a worshipper on two other dedications, one to the Nymphs (*CIL* III 5146) and one to Mithras (*AE* 2008, 1020), indicating the versatility of his religious identity. Both dedications are from Noricum, so it is likely that he may have travelled throughout the region as a requirement of his post. From his dedication to the Nymphs we have learnt the exact nature of Fructus' post (*servus vilicus*), in the service of Sabinius Veranus. Veranus is mentioned on another Poetovian Isis dedication (*CIL* III 4015) and on several Mithraic inscriptions mentioned above. (For more information on Veranus see: Leber (1955)). Selem points out that dedications to *Isis Myrionyma* become more frequent in the second century A.D., thus this inscription could belong to the mid-second century A.D. (see for example the dedication to *Isis Myrionyma* from Minturnae – Vidman (1969), #505). See: Drexler (1890), p.24; Marić (1933), p.81; Saria (1937), pp.20-21; Perc (1968), pp.187-188; Selem (1972), p.32; and Selem (1980), p.12 and p.35.

6. Votive altar (*AIJ* 269) made of marble and found in 1936 at Spodnja Hajdina. Currently located in the Ptuj Museum. The inscription reads:

C(aius) VL(pius) AVR(elius) / GAIVANV[S] / I(sidi) V(ictrici) ET SER(api) / PRO SALV[TE] / S]VA SVORVM[Q(ue)] / OMNIVM / V(otum) / S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

Our dedicator Gaianus may have been of autochthonous or possibly Italic origin, as his name is frequently found in Pannonia (see for example: *CIL* III 3913; *CIL* III 4197 and *AE* 2009, 1159), Moesia (see for example: *AE* 2004, 1229; *CIL* III 6298; and *CIL* III 8279b), Dalmatia (*CIL* III 12839), Dacia (*AE* 1944, 50; *CIL* III 1152 and *CIL* III 1060) and Italy (Rome, *Regio I, X and XI*). His *nomina*, Ulpus and Aurelius, are consistent with the granting of citizenship to certain autochthonous elements in Pannonia during the reigns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, supporting the possibility that he or his family may indeed have been of autochthonous origin. It is likely that Gaianus was adopted due to the fact that he bears two *nomina*. Gaianus was an equestrian who, according to other dedications from Mediolanum (*CIL* V 5797) and Virunum (*CIL* III 4802), held the post of *praefectus vehiculorum*. These three inscriptions indicate that Gaianus was not only a devout follower of Isis and Serapis, but also of Mithras, as *CIL* V 5797 and *CIL* III 4802 are addressed to *Invicto Patrio*. From this evidence it appears that Gaianus held a personal preference not only for Eastern gods, but also for joint dedications. This can be seen both through inscriptions and accompanying imagery, as the dedication from Virunum bears an imagery of Serapis but an inscription to

Mithras. Selem (1980), p.13. (For further reading on the relationship between the cults of Serapis and Mithras see: Squarciapino (1962), p.23; and Malaise (1972a), pp.464-467). Saria and Dessau (see *ILS* 4193) conjecture that this Gaianus is the same Gaianus who held the post of *iuridicus Alexandria* in the year A.D. 167. Saria (1937), p.23; and Selem (1972), p.81. If this is true, then Gaianus may not only have created an interesting link between the place of origin of the cult of Isis and Poetovio, but may also have permitted more precise dating of this inscription, placing it during the reign of Antoninus Pius, or possibly during the early reign of Marcus Aurelius. It is also possible that Gaianus' cultural, religious and professional connections to Alexandria influenced his own worship of Isis and Serapis, moulding his religious identity. See: Perc (1968), pp.182-183; Selem (1972), p.33; and Selem (1980), p.13. Giunio suggests that in the second century A.D. the pairing of Isis and Serapis was reflected through the imperial family and the imperial cult; thus presenting the possibility that if this dedication was indeed set up during the Antonine dynasty, it may additionally exhibit underlying devotion to the emperor and his wife. Giunio (2002), p.31.

7. Votive altar (*CIL* III 4044 = *AIJ* 336) made of white marble and measuring 94 x 49 x 24cm. The sides of the altar are decorated with symbols most commonly associated with the god Anubis, such as palm branches; which has raised speculations that this dedication may be intended as displaying joint worship of Serapis and Anubis. Selem (1980), pp.62-63. It is to be noted that this combination only appears one other time, in the form of a bronze statuette of Serapis holding a palm branch. Kater-Sibbes (1973), p.190, #987. The inscription reads:

*SERAPI / AVG(usto) / SACRVM / EPAP(h)RODITVS / ALEXANDRI / AVG(usti)
DISP(ensatoris) / TABVLARIVS / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)*

Epaphroditus may be of North African origin as the use of the epithet "Augustus" in the evocation of Serapis was popular in North Africa. He was employed as a fiscal clerk (*tabularius*) in the service of an imperial *dispensator*. See: Selem (1972), p.32; and Selem (1980), pp.14-15. Saria believes that Epaphroditus may have kept customs accounts. He chooses to read *ALEXANDRI* as the name of the *dispensator* for whom Epaphroditus worked; whereas Selem believes that it is more plausible to see it as the name of the emperor Alexander Severus, thus dating the inscription between A.D. 222 and 235. Saria (1937), p.22. Selem points out as well that *DISP* could be read either as *dispensatoris* or *dispensator*;

stating that it would not have been impossible for Epaphroditus to hold both the position of *tabularius* and *dispensator* as both posts were staffed from the same social stratum. Selem (1980), pp.14-15. It is interesting to note that the name Epaphroditus appears on another inscription from Poetovio (*CIL* III 15184), and also on an inscription from Moesia Inferior (*CIL* III 7434). Both inscriptions have a connection to the customs service, so it is possible that we may be dealing with the same individual. See also: Drexler (1890), pp.24-25; De Laet (1949), p.389; Perc (1968), p.184; and Vidman (1969), #647.

CATALOGUE OF JUPITER OPTIMUS MAXIMUS DEDICATIONS FROM POETOVIO

1. Altar (AE 1978, 647), badly damaged and broken up into several pieces. The inscription reads:

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / MERCATORIVS / [----] MECILLI / [----] PROC(uratoris)
AVG(usti) / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)*

The dedication dates to the second century A.D. The name Mercatorius may perhaps indicate a Celtic origin for our dedicator as it is frequently found in provinces with a large Celtic element (see for example: AE 1990, 726 and AE 1989, 549 from Belgium; CIL XII 1945 from Gallia Narbonensis; AE 2001, 1469 from Germania Inferior; and AE 1994, 1334 from Noricum). Although our dedication is severely damaged, we are able to ascertain that Mercatorius was connected to the procurator's bureau whose offices were at Poetovio. Thus, Mercatorius was likely a clerical slave or a freedman working in the bureau of the procurator. The third line perhaps refers to the name Maecilius. The name appears frequently in Italy and Africa, and may denote a person of those origins. Due to the damage on the inscription, however, it is hard to speculate on this matter.

2. Altar (AE 1986, 572). The inscription reads:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / SPECTA / TIVS MA / RO V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

Our dedicator is most likely of Norican origin as the name Spectatius is only found on two other dedications, both from Noricum (AE 1961, 216a and 216c), and one from Mauretania, where the dedicator identifies his Norican origins (AE 1975, 951). The *cognomen* Maro may likewise indicate Norican Celtic origins as it (and its derivatives, such as Iantumaro, and Magimaro) are commonly found in Noricum (see for example: CIL III 14109; and CIL III 14367). It is a shame that our dedicator does not offer us his professional affiliation. A lack of such note would lead us to believe that this may have been a private dedication.

3. Altar (AE 1991, 1302) measuring 100cm x 50cm x 30cm. Discovered near the Mithraeum at Rabelčja vas in 1987. The inscription is badly damaged. It reads:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / [----] VII MP(?) / [----] OM [----]

Due to the state of the inscription, it is impossible to ascertain when the altar was erected or who the dedicant was. Its proximity to the fifth Mithraeum, however, would seem to signal that perhaps it was part of a sanctuary complex, or at least, that there was a sanctuary to Jupiter nearby.

4. Altar (AE 1993, 1286) measuring 61.5cm x 26cm x 20cm. Discovered at Panorama in 1989. Dated between the late first and late second century A.D. The inscription reads:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / C(aius) GEVSI(us) / DOMESTI / CVS / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

According to Tušek, the *nomen* Geusius may point to autochthonous, perhaps Celtic Norican origins. Tušek (1993), p.203. As far as this author is aware, it is only recorded on this dedication. The *cognomen* Domesticus may point to servile origins, as several freedmen are recorded bearing this name (see for example: *CIL* VI 29376; and *CIL* VI 3311); however, the name is also found in Noricum (see for example: *CIL* III 5319; *CIL* III 5359; and *CIL* III 6499). It is a shame our dedicator does not provide a professional affiliation. A lack of such would lead us to conclude that this may have been a private dedication.

5. Altar (AIJ 273) badly damaged on all sides, only the central part of the dedication has been preserved. The inscription reads:

[I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)] / [PRO SALVTE] / [IMP(eratoris) CAES(aris)] / [M(arci) AVR]ELI [ANT(onini)] / [D(omini) NO]STRI A[VG(usti)] / [----] TVRE[LI] / [VS] PAET[VS] / [SP]ECVL(ator) L[EG(ionis)] / [X] GEM(inae) AN[T] / ON(inianae) QVOT / MAGNIS ET / MVLTI PERI / [CVLIS] MAIEST(ati) / [AC NVMIN]I [EIVS] / [DEV(otus) FEL(iciter) EVASIT?]

Our dedicator Turelius Paetus identifies himself as a *speculator*, a senior staff officer of the provincial *officium*, fulfilling most likely the duties of a messenger. Since the *speculatores* were drawn from individual legions, it is natural that Paetus still identifies himself with his original legion, the *legio X Gemina*. He may have been of northern Italian or Celtic origin, as the names Turelius and Paetus are found in Spain, northern Italy and Gaul. We must not exclude the possibility either that Paetus may have originated from one of the settlements on the Pannonian *limes*, as northern Pannonia was heavily Celticised, and the *legio X Gemina* was stationed in Vindobona from the second century A.D. onwards, where it came to recruit

most likely among the local inhabitants. This dedication is to be dated most likely not before A.D. 211 (when the legion still did not have the title *Antoniniana*), but not after A.D. 238 (when it received the title *Gordiana*). On *speculatores* see: Austin and Rankov (1995), pp.150-155.

6. Altar (AIJ 275) very badly worn. The overall quality of the dedication seems to be very low. The inscription reads:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / [B]ASSIANVS [----]

Since the dedication is very damaged it is hard to divine much about our worshipper. The name Bassianus occurs frequently in the Danubian provinces, as well as in Italy and in Africa.

7. Altar (AIJ 276 = AE 1934, 221) badly worn and chipped at the top and the bottom. The inscription reads:

*[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo) / [F]IRMIN[V]S E[T] / SATVRN / INA POSV[ER(unt)] / PRO
SALVTE / [S]VA*

Due to their singular names it is likely that Firminus and Saturnina were of servile status. The name Firminus occurs frequently in Pannonia (see for example: AE 1974, 499; and CIL III 3669) and Dalmatia (see for example: CIL III 1899; and CIL III 2063), as well as in Italy, and may signify a person of this origin, although when attributing ethnicity on the basis of slave names one should be very cautious. The name Saturnina is to be found throughout the Empire. It is a shame that our dedicators do not provide us with professional or social affiliations.

8. Altar (AIJ 278 = AE 1938, 154). The top half of the altar has been hacked off. The inscription reads:

*[I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)] / [----] / [----AV] / G[G](ustorum) NOSTRORVM / TABVL(arii)
VECTIGAL(is) ILL / YRIC(i) ET VIL(ici) STAT(ionis) PO / ETOVIONENSIS / TERTIVS
SER(vus) EX VOTO*

Our dedicator Tertius identifies himself as a slave in the Illyrian customs service. He sets up the dedication on behalf of the *tabularii* and the *vilici* stationed at Poetovio. The inscription is

dated most likely to the latter half of the second century. For more on the *tabularii* see: Weaver (1972), pp.241-249.

9. Altar (AIJ 279). The altar is badly damaged. The inscription reads:

*[I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)] / [PRO S]ALV[TE] / V[A]LER[I] / M[----]I / D[EC(urionis)]
C(oloniae) V(lpiae) T(raianae) P(oetovionensis) / A[EDI]LI[S Q(uaestoris)] / PR[AE]F(ecti)
PR[O] / II[VIRIS] I(ure) D(icundo) / IV[LI]VS ET S[AL]VIA / [IVL]IANA / P[AR]ENTES /
[V(otum)] S(olverunt)*

The altar was set up by Iulius and Salvia Iuliana, who are likely of Italic descent, and who are the parents of a decurion of Poetovio whose full name has not been preserved. According to Alföldy, the people mentioned in this inscription likely belong to the prominent Valerii family of Poetovio, who emigrated to the city from northern Italy in the first century A.D. He further believes that the decurion mentioned here is Marcus Valerius Maximianus, who is also recorded with his son, the famous senator, on *CIL* VIII 4600. Alföldy (1964), pp.138-139. The dedication is of the emotional type, as it displays the pride of the parents by listing the son's *cursus honorum*. It is likely that the parents, at the same time, are expressing gratitude to the supreme god and the emperor for their son's success. The dedication dates to mid to late second century A.D.

10. Altar (AIJ 281). The inscription reads:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) [M(aximo)] / E[T----

11. Altar (AIJ 282) very badly damaged. The inscription reads:

IOVI

12. Altar (*CIL* III 4019) badly damaged. The inscription reads:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / [PRO R]EDITV / [----

Although this dedication is severely damaged and nothing is known of the dedicator, it is likely that the dedicator was a soldier or a merchant, as he invokes the god for his safe return.

13. Altar (*CIL* III 4020 = AIJ 272) elaborately executed and almost entirely preserved.

The top of the altar features leaf decorations. The right side of the altar depicts a standing, naked Jupiter leaning on a staff, while the left side depicts a standing

Victory holding a laurel wreath (Kolšek sees instead the goddess Juno). Kolšek (1968), p.274. The inscription reads:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / PRO SALVTE / ET VICTORIA / IMP(eratoris) CAES(aris) LVCI / SEPTIMI SEVERI / PERTINACIS AVG(usti) / DOMINI INDVL / GENTISSIMI / IVNIANVS LIB(ertus) / ADIVT(or) TABVL(ariorum) / P(rovinciae) P(annoniae) S(uperioris) / EX VOTO

This dedication was erected by one freedman Iunianus, who identifies himself as a junior accounting clerk. Weaver notes that the explicit mention of the province of Pannonia here may indicate a further refinement within the clerical grades, perhaps denoting that Iunianus was not an ordinary *adiutor*. He thus proposes that this post may refer to an assistant of the head provincial *tabularius*. Weaver (1972), pp.239-240. By the grandiose appearance of his monument Iunianus must have been a man of some financial means. He sets up the dedication in honour and for the well-being of the emperor Septimius Severus. Considering that Septimius is mentioned alone, this inscription dates to his early reign (A.D. 193-198), and could even commemorate his rise to the throne, especially as the word “*VICTORIA*” is employed, perhaps evoking Septimius’ victory over the other claimants to the throne in A.D. 193. Iunianus expresses particular affection for the emperor by the use of the adjective “*indulgentissimi*”. This word likely hides personal connotations in addition to the implied expression of loyalty. Iunianus may be particularly grateful, perhaps for a professional opportunity.

14. Altar (*CIL* III 4021) only the top part of which survives. It is built into a wall. The inscription reads:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / C(aius) ANTONIVS / ARG[----] / A[----]

Although our dedicator’s name is damaged, we could perhaps suppose that he may have been of Greek or Oriental background, bearing a *cognomen* such as Argaeus (*AE* 2006, 1194 from Moesia Superior); Argaeo (*CIL* VI 12299 from Rome) or Arganthonis (*CIL* VI 2997 (p.3380) from Rome).

15. Altar (*CIL* III 4022) the top part of which is worn. The inscription reads:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / C(aius) CLODIVS / AVITVS / DEC(urio) C(oloniae) V(lpiae) T(raianae) P(oetovionensis) / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

Šašel Kos argues that there is a possibility that our dedicator's name may be Norican in origin, but that equally plausible is the theory that his ancestors crossed over to Pannonia from northern Italy, like some of the other prominent families found at Poetovio. Such a case is to be found, for example, with the Clodii at Emona, who became a renowned family in that city (see for example: *AIJ* 152 and *CIL* III 10769). Alföldy, however, thinks that our dedicator may be of autochthonous origin, thus making him one of the first autochthonous decurions of Poetovio. His *cognomen*, Avitus, would seem to support this theory, as it is a name commonly found among men of autochthonous descent in Pannonia. The dedication dates most likely to the second century A.D. See: Alföldy (1964), p.243; and Šašel Kos (1993), pp.220-221.

16. Altar (*CIL* III 4023). The inscription reads:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / FORTVNATVS / AVG(usti) LIB(ertus) ADIV[T(or)] / TABVL(arariorum) P(rovinciae) P(annoniae) S(uperioris)

Our dedicator, Fortunatus, identifies himself as a freedman administrative clerk. He bears exactly the same title as Iunianus above (*CIL* III 4020 = *AIJ* 272). He thus may have been likewise an assistant of the head provincial *tabularius*, and not an ordinary *adiutor tabulariorum*. Divining both Iunianus' and Fortunatus' origins from their slave names proves difficult, although it is possible that they may have been of Greek or Oriental origins. It is likely that the two dedications date from the same period.

17. Altar (*CIL* III 4024) discovered in 1840. The inscription reads:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / PRO SALVTE GON / GI NESTORIANI / PROCVRATORIS / AVGGG(ustorum) NNN(ostrorum) / IANVARIVS / EORVNDEM / [S]ER(vus) / (contra)SC(riptor) / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

Our dedicator, Ianuarius, identifies himself as a *contrascriptor*, a mid-level clerical appointment typically held by a slave, consisting of verifying financial accounts. See: De Laet (1949), p.381; and Weaver (1972), p.235. Although slave names make it hard for us to determine ethnicity, it is possible that Ianuarius may have been of Greek or Oriental background. He dedicates to the supreme deity for the well-being of the procurator Nestorianus, under whose supervision he exercised his duties. Nestorianus is known from two other inscriptions (*CIL* XV 7465 where we learn that his *praenomen* is Marcus; and *CIL* X

8325), as an equestrian who also held the post of commander of the Ravenna fleet during the years A.D. 214-217. See: Cagnat (1880), pp.47-48; and Gatti (1888), pp.118-119. Due to the mention of the three emperors the dedication can be dated between the years A.D. 209 and 211.

18. Altar (*CIL* III 4025). The inscription reads:

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / L(ucius) IVL(ius) / MAXIMV[S] / [T]RIERARCHA / CL(assis)
FL(aviae) PAN / NONICAE / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)*

Our dedicator Maximus, identifies himself as a trierarch in the *classis Flavia Pannonica*. It is possible that Poetovio may have been one of the bases of the fleet, as the fleet is also attested at Taurunum (*CIL* III 10675) and Aquincum (*CIL* III 10343). The dedication dates most likely to the second century A.D.

19. Altar (*CIL* III 4026). The inscription reads:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / LIVIA / GENE / TIVA / EX VOTO

This dedication is unusual in that it is dedicated by a woman. As we have seen, the great majority of dedications to Jupiter Optimus Maximus are “official” in nature and closely connected to military or administrative posts. Female dedicators, unless in cases of joint dedications such as the case of the parents Iulius and Salvia on *AII* 279 above, are rare. It is a shame that the dedicator here does not offer us with additional information for the reasons of her dedication. Although the name Livia is common throughout the Empire, the name Genetiva occurs, to the present author’s knowledge, only two other times, once in Aquitania (*CAG*-18, p.63) and once in Baetica (*CIL* II 1817). Due to this distribution, it is possible that our dedicator may have been of Celtic or Italic descent.

20. Altar (*CIL* III 4027) broken off at the bottom. The inscription reads:

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / SACRVM / M(arcus) OCTAVIVS / VERINVS PRO / [SAL]VTE
SVA ET / [----]AE MAR / [----]TOC / [----]*

Our dedicator, Marcus Octavius Verinus, may have been of northern Italic descent. It is a shame that the rest of the dedication is not preserved as it could have given us further clues on his origins and his ties to Poetovio. The dedication dates most likely from the second century A.D.

21. Altar (*CIL* III 4029). The altar is broken in half although most of the dedication is preserved. It is built into a wall. The inscription reads:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / SEX(tus) VAL(erius) / NYMPHODO / TVS / PRO SALVTE SVA / ET SEX(ti) VALERI / SEVERINI FILI(i) / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

Our dedicator, Nymphodotus, sets up a dedication for the well-being of his son and his own well-being. It is possible that he may have been of mixed northern Italic and Greek/Oriental descent. Alföldy speculates that he may have been a freedman of the famous Valerii from Poetovio, who emigrated to this city from northern Italy in the first century. See: Alföldy (1964). Certainly the *cognomen* Nymphodotus betrays servile origins (*CIL* V 1319). A man with an almost-identical name is attested at Aquileia, which also boasted of a large Oriental population (Lucius Valerius Nymphodotus - *CIL* V 832 and *CIL* V 833).

22. Altar (*CIL* III 4030 = *AIJ* 277) The inscription reads:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / PRO SALVTE ET INCOLVMITATE / P(ubli) VAL(erii) TIB(eriani) MARCIANI / IVNIOR(is) P(ublius) VAL(erius) / MARCIANVS MIL(es) / DVPL(arius) LEG(ionis) X GEM(inae) / ANTONI<NI>ANAE / ADIVT(or) P[RAETORII] / [ET GRECINIA P(ubli) FIL(ia)] / [PRISCILLA] / [PARENT(ibus) V(otum) S(olverunt)]

This dedication was erected for the well-being and safety of young Marcianus on behalf of his father and Grecinia Priscilla. The elder Marcianus identifies himself as a double-pay soldier of the *legio X Gemina Antoniniana*. The epithet “Antoniniana” would tend to indicate a dating to the time of Caracalla or Heliogabalus (A.D. 211-222). It is possible that this family are the descendents of the prominent Valerii from northern Italy who emigrated to Poetovio in the first century. Alföldy believes that the family declined in prominence in the third century. This can perhaps be seen through the second *nomen* of the younger Marcianus, Tiberinius. It is the Tiberinii which rose to prominence to replace the Valerii at this time as the leading family (see for example: *CIL* III 4111), and it is likely that this second *nomen* reflects this mixing and intermarriage with the new aristocracy of Poetovio. Alföldy (1964), pp.143-144.

23. Altar (*CIL* III 4031 = *AIJ* 274) measuring 50cm x 76cm x 27cm. It was found in 1913.

The altar is badly damaged. It is broken into four pieces, one of which is missing. The

inscription likely dates to A.D. 180-193 due to the mention of Rufinus. The inscription reads:

*[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo) / [ET GE]NIO IMP(eratoris) / [----] / [----A]VG(usti) P(ii)
F(elicis) / [----] ATTONIVS / RVFINVS PROC(urator) / PR(ovinciae) P(annoniae)
S(uperioris) / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)*

This altar is dedicated by Attonius Rufinus, the procurator of Pannonia Superior. Little is known about Rufinus, since, to our knowledge, he does not appear on any other dedications. His dedication to the supreme deity in combination with the emperor may be taken as an overt display of loyalty.

24. Fragment of a votive altar (*CIL* III 10872). The inscription reads:

*[I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) NV]MINI A[VG(VST(i?))] / [POETOV]IONE [----] / [----]DFM[---
-*

Although this dedication is badly damaged so that we are unable to comment on the dedicator, by invoking the supreme deity in combination with the *numen* of the Emperor the dedicator most likely wishes to express loyalty. The mention of Poetovio leads us to conclude that this may have been a dedication of official character.

25. Fragment of a votive altar (*CIL* III 15184.01). The inscription reads:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) ET / GENIO LOC(i) / [----

Although, again, the dedication is badly damaged, the combination of the invocation of the supreme deity with the *genius loci* leads us to conclude that this dedication may have been set up by a member of the Roman army. Such invocations were particularly frequent among the *beneficarii consularis* (see for example: *AE* 1994, 1452; *AE* 1934, 77; and *AE* 1996, 1154). Thus, it is possible that our dedicator may have been a *beneficiarius*. Our dedication most likely dates to the latter second or early third century A.D.

26. Altar (*AE* 1950, 40 = *ILJug* 01, 337) measuring 96cm x 46cm x 24cm. It was discovered at Vičava in 1946. Although the altar is broken, the dedication is readable. The inscription reads:

[I(ovi) O(ptimo)] M(aximo) / SAC(rum) / M(arcus) CL(odius or Claudius?) AVITVS / (centurio) LEG(ionis) X GEM(inae) / P(iae) F(idelis) / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

Our dedicator, Marcus Clodius Avitus identifies himself as the centurion of the *legio X Gemina*. The honorary title *Pia Fidelis* dates this dedication between the years A.D. 96 (the *legio* received the title under Domitian) and 211 (before the *legio* received the title *Antoniniana*). In addition to this and the two above dedications attesting soldiers of the *legio X Gemina* at Poetovio (*CIL* III 4030 and *AIJ* 273), an additional funerary monument (*CIL* III 4114) attests a centurion and a signifer of the legion at Poetovio as well. It is interesting that all of these dedications date from the Severan period, suggesting perhaps that there may have been a special detachment of the legion at Poetovio at this time; or at least, since none of our dedicators are ordinary soldiers, that certain members of the legion may have been charged with special duties which required their presence in Poetovio. The dedicator of this inscription may be have been related to the second-century decurion of Poetovio, Caius Clodius Avitus of *CIL* III 4022 examined above.

27. Altar (*ILJug* 01, 338) measuring 52cm x 27cm. It was discovered at Panorama in 1945. The inscription reads:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / [C(aius) O]CTAV(ius) C(ai) / F(ilius) OFEN(tina) (tribus) / VICTOR / [----] / [----] / [----]

Our dedicator, Caius Octavius Victor, may have possibly been of Greek or Oriental origin.

28. Altar (*ILJug* 02, 1139) measuring 111cm x 51cm x 29cm. It is well preserved, broken only slightly at the base. The inscription reads:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / PRO SALVTE / PRIMITIVI / AVG(usti) N(ostri) LIBERT(i) / CIRC(itoris) ILLYRICI / SVORVMQ(ue) OM / NIVM MERCVRI / ALIS LIBERT(us) EX / VOTO

Our dedicator Mercurialis dedicates to the well-being of Primitivus and to the well-being of his relations. Mercurialis identifies himself as a freedman of the Imperial freedman Primitivus, who was an inspector attached to the Illyrian customs service. The same Primitivus may perhaps be attested on *CIL* XII 2227, another customs inscription, from Cularo in Gallia Narbonensis. Although Mercurialis does not state it explicitly, it is likely that

he could have been employed in the customs service as well. Mercurialis may have been of Celtic origin. See: Mikl (1960-1961), p.62; Solin and Salomies (1988), p.383; and Mihailescu-Birliba (2006), pp.172-173.

29. Altar (*ILJug* 02, 1140 = *AE* 1978, 642). The altar is dated from the mid-second to the late third century A.D. The inscription reads:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / CLODIVS / SPECTATVS / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

Our dedicator, Spectatus, is possibly related to the other two Clodii attested in this catalogue. His *cognomen* indicates a Celtic, possibly autochthonous origin, as it is frequently found in Pannonia and Noricum (see for example: *AE* 1990, 778; *AE* 2009, 981; and *CIL* III 11799). It is a shame that he does not offer us a professional or social affiliation, as this would have enabled us to divine more concerning his origins. Since such an affiliation lacks, we are to presume that this dedication is of a private nature.

30. Altar (*ILJug* 02, 1141 = *AE* 2003, 1348) discovered in 1955. It is made of sandstone. The inscription reads:

[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo) / [P(ublius) A]ELIVS / [HAD]RIANVS / [----]

In addition to these dedications, two further dedications to Jupiter Optimus Maximus were recovered from Mihaljekov Jarek, near Krapina, situated on the territory of the Poetovian *ager*.

1. Altar (*CIL* III 15187 = *AE* 1901, 238) measuring 56cm x 134cm x 31cm and made of sandstone. The monument dates to the late second or early third century A.D. It was discovered in 1895. The inscription reads:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / T(itus) ACCIVS SE / VERVS / B(ene)F(iciarius) CO(n)S(ularis) / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

The name of our dedicator would lead us to assume a Celtic/northern Italian origin. The *nomen* Accius appears often in provinces with a Celtic presence, with several examples from *Regio X*, especially Aquileia and Atria. (see for example: *AE* 1971, 146 from Lusitania; *AE*

2005, 573 from *Regio X*; *CIL* III 3492 from Aquincum; and *AE* 1969/70, 385 from Gallia Narbonensis). See: Brunšmid (1899), p.202; Brunšmid (1907), pp.100-101; and Marić (1933), p.54.

2. Altar (*CIL* III 15188 = *AIJ* 454 = *AE* 1901, 239) dating to A.D. 189 due to the mention of the consuls. The inscription reads:

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / M(arcus) VLP(ius) / PLACIDINV[S] / B(ene)F(iciarius)
CO(n)S(ularis) / II SILANIS / CO(n)S(ulibus) / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)*

Our dedicator Placidinus may have been of Celtic or Germanic origin, as this name is attested on only four other dedications, one of which is from Hispania Citerior (*CIL* II 6089), and three of which are from Germany (*CIL* XIII 6575; *CIL* XIII 6733; and *CIL* XIII 8654). His *nomen* indicates that his family had received citizenship under Trajan. See: Brunšmid (1899), p.202; Brunšmid (1907), p.101; and Marić (1933), p.54.

CATALOGUE OF JUPITER DEPULSOR DEDICATIONS FROM POETOVIO

1. Votive altar (*CIL* III 4033) the bottom part of which is damaged. The altar is built into a wall. The inscription reads:

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / DEPVLsor(i) / AVR(elius) CEION[I] / VS D[E]C(urio)
POE[T(ovionensis)] / SACERDOTAL(is) E[T] / V(ir) E(gregius) PRO SALVTE / [S]VA [ET]
SPECIATIAE / AISIAE VXORIS / [S]VORVMQVE / OMNIVM / V(otum) S(olvit) [L(ibens)]
M(erito)*

This is a third century inscription set up by a Poetovian decurion by the name of Aurelius Ceionius for his own well-being as well as that of his wife Speciatia Aisia, and his relatives. Ceionius held not only the decurionate of the city, but was also made *sacerdos* of Pannonia Superior, two very prestigious public functions. (It is to be noted that Aurelius Maximinus, another decurion of Poetovio, held the position of *sacerdos* as well in the third century. He is recorded on a dedication to Jupiter Culminalis, *CIL* III 4108 = *AIJ* 449). Both Ceionius and Maximinus attest to the rise in prominence of the autochthonous element in the public life of Poetovio in the third century. Since Ceionius and his wife both bear autochthonous names, and Ceionius bears as well the *nomen* Aurelius, it could be supposed that he gained citizenship by the virtue of the *constitutio Antoniniana*, and is thus a recent citizen. If this is so, then his already distinguished career path combined with his equestrian status indicates a rapid integration within Roman society and culture. This integration, however, does not appear to come at a loss of previous identity, as both Ceionius and his wife display dual, if not multiple, cultural identities. Thus, by retaining their autochthonous names after rising to prominence within Poetovio, and by worshipping the (possibly) amalgamated embodiment of a Roman and Celtic-Norican autochthonous deity, Ceionius and his wife display an integration of autochthonous and Roman cultural elements, at least in their public life, if not even in their private life, as this dedication shows. Additionally, if we are to view the worship of Jupiter Depulsor as a fairly new phenomenon, brought on by the uncertainties of the third century; then we may even claim that Ceionius and his wife are participating, along with contemporary Depulsor worshippers of Greek, Oriental, Italic and other descents, such as Apollinaris, Chryseros and Faventinus (see below), in the collective reshaping of southern Pannonian cultural and religious identity, brought on by the unstable political period of the

third century as well as by the outside barbarian threat. Thus, one could argue that the unstable political environment of the third century pushes Pannonian inhabitants of different creeds to bond, and participate in creating together new cultural and religious elements, such as the worship of Jupiter Depulsor, which reshape and redefine their collective cultural and religious identities as a response to new political circumstances that they find themselves in. See also: Zotović (1966), p.38; and Šašel Kos (1993), pp.221-222.

2. Votive altar (*CIL* III 4035 = *ILS* 1499 = *AIJ* 122 = *AE* 1986, 571). The inscription reads:

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / DEPVL(SORI) / APOLLINARIS / Q(uinti) SABINI / VERANI
T(ertiae) P(artis) / COND(uctoris) PORTORI(i) / ILLYRICI / SER(vus) / TABVLARIVS /
V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)*

Our dedicator Apollinaris identifies himself as a slave *tabularius* (accountant) within the Illyrian customs service. His name indicates a Greek or Oriental origin, although one should always be careful when attributing ethnicity on the basis of slave names as these may not have reflected the origins of the slave himself. Our dedicator here may be the same as the Isaic dedicator on *CIL* III 15184 from Poetovio. This dedication is interesting in the fact that it is the only dedication to Jupiter Depulsor made by an employee of the Illyrian customs service. The same “official” nature of the dedication found here (the mention of the *conductor* Veranus, and the dedicator’s professional title and ties to the customs service), so predominant among our Mithraic dedications, may indicate that although professional affiliations influenced one’s choice of deity (as Mithraic worship predominated among customs officials), flexibilities of religious identities in the ancient world can be seen not only by breaking through standard professional-religious affiliations, but also by practicing cross-cultural worship, as our dedicator of presumably Greek or Oriental descent worships an amalgamated embodiment of a Roman and presumably Celtic-Norican autochthonous deity. Šašel Kos (1999), p.127. According to Kolendo, this is one of the oldest attestations to the cult of Jupiter Depulsor. Kolendo (1989), p.1066. See also: Tušek (1986), p.356.

3. Votive altar (*AIJ* 286) only the top part of which is preserved. The inscription reads:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / DEPVL(sori) / [----

4. Votive altar (*CIL* III 4034) badly damaged in the middle. At least two, if not three lines of text have been completely lost. The inscription reads:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / DEPVL(SORI) / PRO SALVTE / [----] / [----] / SECVNDINA / FILIA / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

Although the inscription is badly damaged, the altar appears to have been set up by Secundina, the daughter of the person for whom she entreats the god. Due to the fact that almost all of our dedications to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Depulsor have been erected by worshippers holding public posts, it is possible that Secundina was dedicating here on behalf of her father who may have held a public post such as a decurionate. Secundina is possibly of autochthonous origin, as her name is popular in Noricum, Pannonia and Dalmatia (see for example: *AE* 1980, 703; *AE* 1986, 542; and *CIL* III 223). The name is also attested at Poetovio on a Nutrices dedication (*AE* 1986, 565), although we are unable to know whether this is the same person. See also: Abramić (1925), p.152; and Zotović (1966), p.38.

5. Votive altar (*CIL* III 4111) found at Klenovnik, belonging to the *ager* of Poetovio. The dedication is dated to late second or early third century A.D. The inscription reads :

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) DEP(ulsori) / C(aius) TIBERIN(ius) / FAVENTINVS / DEC(urio) COL(oniae) POET(ovionensis) / PR(a)EF(ectus) FABRVM / QVESTOR PR(a)EF(ectus) / PRO IIVIRIS / PRO SALVTE SVA / SVORVMQ(ue) OMNIVM

Our dedicator Faventinus appears to be of autochthonous Celtic or possibly northern Italic origin. The Tiberinii were a newly-minted aristocratic family at the beginning of the third century A.D., and appear to have risen and replaced in honours and prominence the Valerii, who by this time, had all but extinguished. *CIL* III 4030 would seem to indicate that the two families may have intermarried. Since the Tiberinii are unrecorded in Pannonia before the Marcomannic Wars, it is possible that they are either new settlers, or an autochthonous family who gained prominence at this time. Faventinus' *cognomen* would seem to favour the latter explanation, as it is to be found largely in provinces with a high Celtic element (see for example : *CIL* II 1652 – Baetica; and *AE* 1930, 150 – Hispania), as well as in Pannonia (*AE* 2001, 1679), Dalmatia (*CIL* III 2262), and Moesia (*AE* 1956, 230). Thus, it is quite likely that our dedicator may be of Celtic descent. The enumeration of his *cursus honorum* indicates not

only his personal desire to promote his achievements, but, in the larger social context of Poetovio, the rise to prominence of the autochthonous population in the late second and early third centuries, who now more and more come to occupy the chief public and municipal posts. Alföldy (1964), pp.143-144. See also : Zotović (1966), p.38; Pinterović (1975), p.127; and Šašel Kos (1995), p.379.

6. Votive altar (*CIL* III 10871, p.2187). The inscription reads :

[I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)] / [DEPV]LSO[RI] / [PRO REDI]TV [----] / [ANTON]INI [----] / [----]RICI[----] / [----]VT[----]

Since this dedication is very damaged it is hard to draw conclusions about the dedicator or the nature of this dedication. In line with the other dedications to Jupiter Depulsor and in the possible appearance of the name “Antoninus” we may suppose this dedication to date from the Severan period, more precisely from Caracalla’s reign. The use of the formula “*PRO REDITV*” may lead us to speculate that the dedicator may have been a soldier or a merchant, as it implies travelling, most likely for professional reasons. This formula is employed frequently on dedications by the *beneficarii consularis*, thus it is possible that our dedicator may have been a *beneficiarius*.

7. Votive altar (*CIL* III 4018 = *AIJ* 285), slightly worn at the top and at the sides. The inscription reads :

IOVI DEPVLS(ori) / C(aius) PETRONIVS / CHRYSEOS / EX VISV / L(ocus) D(atus) D(ecreto) D(ecurionum)

Judging by his name, our dedicator is most likely of Greek or Oriental descent. His invocation of Jupiter Depulsor as simply “*IOVI DEPVLS(ori)*”, without the award of epithets “Optimus” or “Maximus” departs from the standard set by the other dedications to Depulsor at Poetovio. Since all of the Depulsor dedicators examined above hold public offices (with the exception of *AIJ* 286 and *CIL* III 4034 which are too damaged to make this claim, although it is possible that Secundina may have dedicated on behalf of a man holding a public office), and since our dedicator does not offer us a professional affiliation, we may be led to believe that this was a dedication set up for personal reasons. See also : Zotović (1966), pp.37-38.

CATALOGUE OF *I.O.M.D.* DEDICATIONS FROM POETOVIO

1. Votive altar (*CIL* III 4036 = *AIJ* 122) discovered in 1822 and dated to A.D. 189 due to the mention of the consuls. Kolendo (1989), p.1068. The altar features lightening/arrow symbols on one side, and a *patera* on the other. The inscription reads:

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) D(olicheno? Or Depulsori?) / T(itus) FLAVIVS / CARINVS / PRO
SALVTE SVA / ET FL(aviae) VICTO / RINAE CONI(ugis) / ET SVORVM / V(otum) S(olvit)
L(ibens) M(erito) / [----] II [SI]LANIS CO(n)[S(ulibus)]*

Scholars are divided on the identity of the god invoked. Hettner and Kan believe that the god in question is Jupiter Depulsor, due to the inscriptions from Poetovio already found attesting the god. Hettner (1877), p.24; and Kan (1943), p.42. Merlat disagrees, stating that the Jupiter Depulsor inscriptions are not abbreviated, whereas the inscription in question is, thus it should be attributed to Jupiter Dolichenus. Merlat (1951), p.349, #351. Šašel Kos, in her examination of Jupiter Depulsor, argues that the act of abbreviating needed to be used within a context where it would be clear who the worshipped god is: thus, according to her, abbreviated inscriptions came from temples. Šašel Kos (1995), pp.371-382. Abramić does not believe that Jupiter Dolichenus had a temple in Poetovio; thus, according to him, this would be a dedication to Depulsor. Abramić (1925), p.37. Selem, however, believes that the question is not so clear-cut. He remarks that Dolichenus appears on inscriptions both in abbreviated and in unabbreviated forms; thus probabilities of the same occurrence with respect to Jupiter Depulsor should not be discounted. Selem (1980), pp.233-234. The present author is unable to offer further enlightenment on this debate other than to say that if indeed these abbreviated dedications are meant for Jupiter Depulsor, then they seem to conform to the nature of Depulsor's worshippers, namely men holding public posts of Greek/Oriental or Celtic/autochthonous backgrounds. If thus Hettner, Kan, Šašel Kos, Abramić and Kolendo are correct in supposing these abbreviated dedications to belong to Jupiter Depulsor, then it would appear that this deity was invoked primarily by city or imperial officials, perhaps in an "official" capacity, to protect the city from the barbarian threat, as the epithet Depulsor indicates, but most likely also in a private capacity, as the formula "*pro salute sua et suorum*" indicates. It is perhaps because of the common barbarian threat that the cult of Jupiter

Depulsor quickly gained momentum in Poetovio, permeating through cultural, social and professional barriers. Our dedicator Carinus (and his wife) are possibly of Greek or Oriental descent. The fact that they share the *nomen* Flavius indicates that both of their families gained citizenship under the Flavian dynasty. Since Carinus mentions no professional or social affiliation, we are to presume that he intended this dedication as a private vow.

2. Votive altar (*CIL* III 4035 = *ILS* 1499 = *AIJ* 122) made of marble and discovered in 1800. The dedication measures 40cm x 108cm x 29cm and is very worn. The inscription reads:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) D(olicheno? Or Depulsori?) / DIDYMVS / AVGG(ustorum) LIB(ertus) / EX NVMMVL(ario) PROVINCIAE P(annoniae) S(uperioris) / PRO SALVTE SVA ET / AVRELIAE / ALEXANDRIAE / CONIVGIS / [V(otum)] S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito) / APRO ET MAXIMO / CO(n)S(ulibus)

The inscription can be dated to A.D. 207 due to the mention of the consuls. Selem (1980), p.234. Our dedicator Didymus and his wife, if we are to judge by their names, appear both to be of Greek or Oriental origin. Didymus identifies himself as an imperial freedman, having gained freedom under the joint reigns of Septimius Severus and his son Caracalla, sometime between the years A.D. 198 and 207. It is possible that he sets up this dedication as a commemoration of his recent grant of freedom. Didymus also identifies himself as a *nummularius* in the province of Pannonia Superior. The exact nature of this post has been the subject of debate. In its essence a *nummularius* is a post similar to that of a banker; his duties involve inspecting and changing currencies. Andreau believes that generally a *nummularius* is a private businessman, and not an imperial official, except in the case of the Danubian provinces, where he believes the economy wasn't advanced enough to require the presence of private bankers. He supports this statement by citing our *nummularius* as an example of imperial involvement in the finances of the province; as well as by noting that for the *nummularii* to be considered as private bankers in the Danubian provinces their epigraphic attestation is too low (in addition to our dedicator, one *nummularius* is attested at Aquincum (*CIL* III 3500) and one at Sarmizegetusa (*CIL* III 7902)), that all our Danubian *nummularii* are freedmen, and that they are all attested in provincial capitals. Andreau thus believes that in the Danubian provinces, the *nummularii* were state employees, thus the mention of an imperial freedman as a provincial *nummularius*. Ardevan, who contests Andreau's arguments

on state involvement in financial affairs, argues that the low number of *nummularii* attested in the Danubian provinces does not automatically indicate that they were state employees or that Pannonia had no need of private bankers, but may simply be due to the shorter period of Roman occupation than in provinces such as Gaul. As for our freedman, Ardevan argues that he could have ventured into this line of business privately after his manumission. His title thus may indicate that he was a former (*id est* now retired) private *nummularius* exercising his duties in the province of Pannonia, and not a state official. The present author is hard-pressed to see why a private *nummularius* would identify himself with titles employed usually by those in official imperial service, such as for example *tabularius provinciae Pannoniae Superioris*. See: Abramić (1925), p.37; Merlat (1951), p.350, #352; Andreau (1987), pp.189-194; pp.202-215; and p.219; and Ardevan (1994), pp.173-178.

3. Votive altar (*ILJug* 1963, 339) made of marble and measuring 71 x 37 x 22cm. Found in 1946 in Lackova street in Ptuj. The altar is slightly damaged on the sides, at the top and the bottom. The inscription reads:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) D(olicheno or Depulsori?) / M(arcus) SECVNDINI[VS] VITALIS DEC(urio) / AL(ae) I THRAC(um) / PRO SE ET CLAV / DIA PRISCILLA / CONIVGE ET / SECVNDINIA VITALINA FIL(ia) / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)

The altar dates to the Severan dynasty. Our dedicator Vitalis, judging by his name, is likely of Celtic, perhaps autochthonous, origin. His *nomen* is commonly found in provinces with a high Celtic element, such as Belgica (see for example: *CIL* XIII 3735; *CIL* XIII 4010; and *CIL* XIII 4190), Germany (see for example: *CIL* XIII 8790; *CIL* XIII 8628; and *CIL* XIII 8350), nearby Noricum (see for example: *CIL* III 4781; *CIL* III 11526; and *CIL* III 12014.509), and to a lesser extent in Pannonia (*CIL* III 3495, p.1691). He identifies himself as a decurion of *ala I Thracum*. He does not specify whether this is the *ala I Thracum Veterana Sagittariorum* or the *ala I Thracum Victrix*, although Spaul does note that the common practice among recruits of both was to omit titles on stone inscriptions and simply record it as our dedicator has done. The dating of our dedication would seem to suggest that it is the *Veterana* that Vitalis was enrolled in, as the *Victrix* appears to have been merged into another unit in A.D. 189. According to Spaul, the *Veterana* was charged with the refurbishment of the Aquincum-Sirmium road in the third century A.D., although why our dedicator was present at Poetovio at this time remains a mystery. It is possible that he was

charged with some official business. See: Kolendo (1989), p.1065; and Spaul (1994), pp.223-227.

4. Votive altar (*CIL* III 4028 = *AIJ* 280 = *AE* 1966, 296) made of marble. It was found in 1852 and measures 21cm x 123cm x 38cm. The inscription reads:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) [M(aximo) D(olicheno or Depulsori?)] / C(aius) VAL[ERIVS M(arci?) F(ilius)] SCRI[BONIANVS] / DEC(urio) [C(oloniae) V(lpiae) T(raianae) P(oetovionensis)] / [----] / EQ(uo) P(ublico) PR[AEF(ectus) FABRVM] / IIII VI[R AED(iliciae) POT(estatis)] / Q(uin)Q(uennalis) II VI[R IVR(e) DIC(undo) Q(uin)Q(uennalis)] / VOTVM [SOLVIT] L(ibens) [M(erito)]

Alföldy seems to think that this inscription dates back to Hadrian's reign. Alföldy (1964), p.138; and Alföldy (1965), pp.101-104. If this is true then Scribonianus would be one of our earliest city decurions recorded (along with his father (*CIL* III 4069) and his brother (*AIJ* 288)), as well as one of the first Pannonian provincials to be elevated to the equestrian status. Alföldy (1964), p.142. Judging by his *nomen* and his prominent position Scribonianus most certainly belonged to the prominent Valerii of Poetovio, who emigrated from northern Italy to this city. Since Scribonianus takes great care to list his *cursus honorum*, one may suppose that this dedication served not only for self-promotion purposes, but was most likely also an official display of loyalty to the emperor and the state through the invocation of the official state deity. That Scribonianus possibly invokes Jupiter Depulsor is especially significant in the context of Poetovio, where a large number of this god's dedications have been discovered, as we have seen, and which may possibly have been his cultic centre within Pannonia Superior.

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